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Founded 1858 · Incorporated 1865

Broadway Between 155th & 156th Streets
New York, N.Y., 10032

PURPOSES: The Society was founded for the collection and preservation of coins, medals, decorations and paper money and for the investigation of their history and other subjects connected therewith.

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CONTENTS

ANCIENT

MARGARET THOMPSON. Some Noteworthy Greek Accessions 1

DOROTHY H. COX. Gordion Hoards III, IV, V and VII 19

MARGARET THOMPSON. A Hoard from Northern Greece 57

J. PETER STEIN. Trinummus 65

MANDO CARAMESSINI-OECONOMIDES. On a Hoard of Plated Roman Coins 71

MANDO CARAMESSINI-OECONOMIDES. An Unpublished Consular Solidus of Justinian I 75

JOAN M. FAGERLIE. 'Roma Invicta'—A New Follis of Justinian 79

ALFRED R. BELLINGER. Byzantine Notes 83

MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN

MARGARET THOMPSON. The Monogram of Charlemagne in Greek 125

GEORGE C. MILES. The Ferreira Collection of Visigothic Coins 129

PAUL BEDOUKIAN. Coins of the Baronial Period of Cilician Armenia (1080–1198) 139

HENRY GRUNTHAL. Selected Items from the Donald J. Rogasner Collection of Early Dated European Coins 147

ORIENTAL

RAYMOND J. HEBERT. Notes on an Umayyad Hoard from Khurāsān 157

GEORGE C. MILES. A Hoard of Kākwayhid Dirhems 165

HARRY W. HAZARD. Late Medieval North Africa: Additions and Supplementary Notes 195

DAVID M. LANG. Coins of Georgia in Transcaucasia (Acquired by the American Numismatic Society: 1953–1965) 223

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SOME NOTEWORTHY GREEK ACCESSIONS

(PLATES I–II)

MARGARET THOMPSON

Over the past few years the American Numismatic Society has been fortunate in acquiring a number of unique coins. Some presented problems of attribution and interpretation, and these were put aside in the belief that time and further research would furnish the answers. This, alas, has not happened in all cases. Many of the enigmas are still enigmatic and likely to remain so unless illumination comes from outside. In the hope that others will be able to provide solutions, the unpublished pieces are now placed on record, in company with some additional accessions of recent date which are remarkable for rarity or artistic merit.

LYDIA

Late 7th Century B.C.

1. *Obv.*:]ΓΑϟ[between the heads of two lions facing each other.
   Rev.: Two rough incuse squares of different sizes, side by side.
   EL Hecte. 2.35 gm.

This early electrum coin, found on the site of ancient Colophon, is a document of unusual numismatic and historical importance. In general appearance it closely resembles the trites and hectes of the well-known Alyattes series, which have the same obverse type of confronted lions' heads to left and right of an inscription and the same reverse pattern produced by two punches of unequal size. There are, however, significant differences between the two issues. On the new coin, as compared with a hecte of Alyattes (PLATE I, A),[1] the lion's head is considerably larger in scale, the jaws are further apart and the teeth more prominent, the sharply-outlined eye is more elongate, and the cheek is marked with a big globular pellet. This is a fiercer and cruder beast than the lion of Alyattes.

Both inscriptions are retrograde but on the ANS coin the reading is from bottom to top in relation to the head at the left while on all

[1] *BMCLydia*, p. 3, 16.

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known specimens of Alyattes the reading is from top to bottom in relation to the head at the right. Most important of all, the inscriptions themselves are different. Instead of the six letters which are generally taken to be the name of Alyattes—𐤠𐤡𐤠𐤠𐤡𐤠—the ANS hecte has 𐤠𐤡𐤉 between two doubtful letters, the first consisting of a vertical stroke and *perhaps* a diagonal to the right (𐤓) and the last of a vertical stroke and *perhaps* a diagonal to the left (𐤍). The uncertainty about the beginning and ending of the word is unfortunate, but the remaining letters are sufficient evidence that the new coin is inscribed with a new legend.[2]

From the obverses alone it would be difficult to determine whether or not the two issues come from the same mint. The differences in style and inscription might plausibly be explained in terms of different provenances, the one series copied from the other. Since the *digamma* and the peculiar *lambda* at the end of the Alyattes legend are found in the Lydian alphabet but not in the Ionic, there can be no question about the origin of the *valvel* issues, but the three certain letters of the new inscription are common to both dialects and point no more conclusively to one region than to the other. It has, in fact, been suggested that the new piece was struck at Ephesus or some other coastal city by a local dynast related to the royal Lydian house and thus entitled to use its types. The reverses of the two series provide proof that this was not so. In the case of the ANS and British Museum hectes (PLATE I, 1 and A), the smaller of the two reverse impressions was made by the same punch, which was beginning to break down by the time it was applied to the Alyattes coin. Our new hecte is Lydian and it pre-dates the hecte of Alyattes.

Beyond this point one passes from the realm of fact into that of speculation. The confused pages of Lydian history reveal no king or potentate whose name can readily be identified with our inscription.[3]

[2] In the attempt to interpret the legend, I have consulted G. L. Huxley, Roberto Gusmani, Lilian Jeffery and Mary White. Although no one of them has been able to solve the problem, I am most grateful for the time and thought they gave it.

[3] Anyone concerned with the genealogy of the royal Lydian house should consult L. Alexander, "The Kings of Lydia" (Doctoral Dissertation, Princeton, 1913) where the sources are carefully recorded and analyzed. Alexander's interpretations and identifications provide the basis for the present discussion.

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At first glance Askalos is perhaps the most promising but there is some doubt as to whether the name is anything more than a corruption of Daskylos and in any event the person in question was presumably the grandfather of Gyges, which is an impossible connection from the chronological point of view. The father of Alyattes is called Sadyattes by Herodotus (I. 16), but this name in some form—Sadyattes or Adyattes or Alyattes—appears over and over again in the Herakleid and Mermnad dynasties and is probably to be regarded as a title or a dynastic name borne by all Lydian rulers.[4] The personal name of the third Mermnad king may have been Kamblitas (Nicolaus of Damascus, *FGH* IIA, 342, fr. 22) or Kambles (Xanthus, *FHG* I, 38, fr. 12) or Kambes (Aelian, *Varia Hist.* I. 27). From the contexts in the various sources it is clear that the three names pertain to the same individual; it is possible that all are erroneous forms and that the correct Lydian version of the name is preserved on our coin.[5]

It is also possible that the inscriptions on the early Lydian electrum refer not to kings but to commoners. Lydian experts have seriously questioned the equation of the *valvel* legend with Alyattes on linguistic grounds,[6] and there are other difficulties as well, which are increased by the discovery of the new coin. Assuming that the name on the later coinage is Alyattes and that this is a dynastic name like Ptolemy, it is hard to see why the first electrum issue was inscribed with a personal name and the next with a dynastic one. Nor, if the names are those of Lydian kings, is it easy to understand why the practice of identifying the coinage in this way was such a short-lived phenomenon. Later issues of the time of Alyattes and all Croesus' strikings are uninscribed.

Some of these anomalies might be explained on the theory that the early Lydian electrum was a royal coinage in the sense that it

[4] The name, however, was not restricted to kings. In Suidas (s.v. Κροῖσος) there is the story of a wealthy Lydian merchant named Alyattes who refused to lend money to the youthful Croesus. In Nicolaus (fr. 65) the merchant is called Sadyattes.

[5] It is not likely that the ANS hecte gives the personal name of Alyattes himself. Alexander (op.cit., 42 f.) argues for an identification of Alyattes with Adramytes (or Adramys) known by the Greeks as Hermon.

[6] W. H. Buckler (*JHS* 1926, 36ff.) and R. Gusmani in a recent letter with reference to the discussion of Alyattes in his *Lydischen Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1964), a volume which I have been unable to consult.

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was guaranteed by the badge of the reigning house and hence by the ultimate authority of the king but that in the beginning the actual production of the money was entrusted to private citizens who had the facilities to do the work and that these men were required to place their names or other distinguishing marks on the coins as a check on their output. Once this makeshift arrangement had been abandoned in favor of a royal mint under the direct supervision of royal officials, individual guarantees were no longer necessary.

Admittedly all of this is highly hypothetical. In many respects the new hecte remains a problem, but this cannot obscure its significance as our first record of what may well be the first inscribed Lydian coinage.

UNCERTAIN ASIA MINOR

6th Century B.C.

2. *Obv.*: Forepart of hare to l.
   Rev.: Incuse of mill-sail type.
   EL Twenty-fourth (Phocaic). 0.65 gm.
3. *Obv.*: Four pellets and linear design.
   Rev.: Incuse with lines and pellets.
   EL Twenty-fourth (Milesian). 0.60 gm.
4. *Obv.*: Head of boar with long tusks to r.
   Rev.: Deep quadripartite incuse.
   Æ Hemidrachm. 2.91 gm.
5. *Obv.*: Head of lion facing, wearing prominent radiate crown.
   Rev.: Incuse.
   Æ Tetrobol(?). 2.74 gm.
6. *Obv.*: Forepart of winged goat to r.
   Rev.: Shallow quadripartite incuse.
   Æ Tetrobol(?) 2.57 gm.

With the exception of No. 4, these electrum and silver issues are apparently unpublished. All belong to the sixth century and probably come from mints in Asia Minor although a Macedonian provenance for No. 6 is possible.

The little hare with clearly-defined whiskers is a charming addition to the Ionian electrum series. In style it may be compared to the

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Phocaic twenty-fourth in the Burton Y. Berry Collection (*SNG* 1023) which has the forepart of an ibex on the obverse. Although the hare appears as a coin type or symbol in South Italy and Sicily, it is unknown in Asia Minor. The connection in the West is with the worship of Pan (*HN*, 153); in the East at this early period the association is more likely with Artemis or Apollo.[7]

An Ionian origin is possible but by no means certain for No. 3. The unusual obverse has no parallel in the electrum coinage but the arrangement of pellets and lines bears some resemblance to the reverse type of a silver fraction of Cyme (Babelon, *Traité*, pl. XIII, 20). Incuses similar to that of our coin are found on fractional electrum of Milesian weight which Babelon assigns to South Ionia and Chios (pls. III, 13 and VIII, 7).

Another example of the boar's head issue (No. 4) was published by G. F. Hill in an article on the coinage of Lycia.[8] Hill, however, expresses grave doubts of its Lycian origin and Babelon,[9] in commenting on the London coin, emphasizes its non-Lycian style and incuse type. Actually the deep quadripartite impression of the reverse, resembling that of early Chiote silver, suggests an Ionian mint and the boar's head would be appropriate for Clazomenae.[10]

The radiate lion of No. 5 and the winged goat of No. 6 are strange renderings with no obvious relationship to any of the numerous early coinages which employed the lion or the goat as a type.

MACEDONIA

TRIBAL ISSUES

Before 480 B.C.

7. *Obv.*: Boar to r.; above, flower.
   Rev.: Rough incuse.
   Æ Stater. 7.55 gm.

[7] Note the dedication of a bronze hare to Apollo Prie(n)eus ca. 500 B.C. (?), as cited by L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, 342, 15.
[8] *NC* 1895, p. 44, 2.
[9] *Traité* II.1, no. 985. Babelon describes the coin as found at Myra but it is the preceding entry in Hill's article that has the Lycian provenance.
[10] An electrum fraction with a boar's head on the obverse is tentatively assigned to Clazomenae in the *BMCIonia*, pl. III, 17.

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8. *Obv.*: Naked horseman to l., holding two spears; behind back, shield (?).
Rev.: Rough incuse.
Æ Tetrobol. 2.66 gm.

According to Svoronos,[11] the boar stater was struck by the Pierians of Mt. Pangaeus and the horseman type by the Bisaltae. Babelon[12] attributes both to the Thraco-Macedonian region but makes no specific identification of the tribes responsible for the coinage. The light weight of No. 7 is apparently due to corrosion; the coin shows no sign of plating. No. 8 is unusual in that the horseman moves left instead of right as on other published specimens.

CAPSA

ca. 480 B.C.

9. *Obv.*: Ass to r., above, kylix.
Rev.: Incuse of mill-sail pattern; in two triangles, K A.
Æ Tetrobol. 2.93 gm.
From the Bourgey Sale of June 17, 1959, no. 236.

AGRIGENTUM

5th Century B.C.

10. *Obv.*: AKRAC to r. of eagle standing to l.
Rev.: EXAKESIOS around crab.
Æ Didrachm. 8.99 gm.

On a few fifth-century didrachms of Agrigentum there are letters below the crab: A, E V, and E X A. The last can now, on the evidence of the ANS coin, be tentatively expanded as Exakesios.

At this early period it is surprising to find a complete name in such a prominent position, especially on an issue which is in no way remarkable. It is true that ΣΙΛΑΝΟΣ appears in large letters on the gold of Agrigentum and ΣΙΛΑΝΟΣ or ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ on the decadrachms but these are spectacular coinages and their identification with in-

[11] *L'Hellénisme primitif de la Macédonie*, p. 131, 1–2 and p. 109, 21–22.
[12] *Traité* II.1, nos. 1838–9 and 1487.

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dividual diecutters or magistrates is understandable. The didrachm issues with letters or a name in full are part of a long series in which the unmarked dies far outnumber the inscribed ones and are often superior in artistic quality.

Was Exakesios a magistrate or an engraver? The question has been raised before in regard to other Sicilian or Italian issues on which a name is given unusual prominence, and expert opinion more often than not has been sharply divided.[13] On the whole the argument for the artist seems stronger than that for the official. The tradition of recording magistrates' names on the coinage was a comparatively late development in most sections of the Greek world and, once established, the practice tended to be consistent and not sporadic. There would be no sense in indicating the officials responsible for certain issues and omitting the names of the men in charge of other issues within the same series. The employment of diecutters was another matter. Every mint must have made use of engravers who differed greatly in skill and reputation. Presumably it was only the famous artist who signed his dies and this indeed may have been a stipulation in his "contract." If his work was not always outstanding and if on occasion he exceeded the bounds of propriety in inscribing his name, it is unlikely that the minting officials were unduly disturbed. Having a celebrated artist on the payroll, however brief his tenure, must have been a status symbol in ancient as well as mediaeval times—only a wealthy state could afford such a luxury.

SIDE

5th Century B.C.

11. *Obv.*: Pomegranate encircled by olive-wreath.
Rev.: Dolphin to l.; below, human eye; all in linear square within incuse square.
Æ Stater. 10.83 gm.↘
Another example of a rare early issue from this Pamphylian mint.

[13] Particular instances are cited by Paola Zancani Montuoro in a recent study "Dossenno a Poseidonia," *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia* (1958), 79ff. I owe this reference to Kyle M. Phillips, Jr.

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UNCERTAIN CARIA

ca. 440 B.C.

12. *Obv.*: Forepart of lion, jaws open, to r.

Rev.: ƆTM'ƎMT (upward) in front of wreathed male head to l.; behind neck, ☿; all in incuse square.

Æ Stater. 11.18 gm.↙

This superb stater and an equally fine hemidrachm in the Berlin Cabinet (PLATE I, B) are our only record of an issue produced by an unidentified Carian mint in the mid-fifth century. The fraction, originally published by Prokesch-Osten,[14] is discussed at some length by E. S. G. Robinson in connection with a hoard found on the Caro-Lycian border in the early 1930's.[15]

The deposit contained at least 37 staters with a winged male figure in kneeling-running position on the obverse and a standing lion on the reverse. Both obverses and reverses are marked with the monogram ☿ and the reverses are inscribed with four letters which Robinson interprets as the Carian equivalent of *Lesbi*, the name of a local dynast. As a supplement to the hoard record, examples of two later issues from the same mint are cited: a stater in the British Museum with the types of the hoard coins but with a different inscription and the hemidrachm in Berlin with the same inscription as the London piece but with different types. Our new stater, identical in types and legend with the hemidrachm, can now be added to the impressive series of coins struck by this unknown mint.[16]

If the inscription on the hoard staters is the name of a Carian dynast, and Robinson's arguments for this are entirely convincing, the second inscription should be another name.[17] Assuming that the

[14] *NZ* 1870, 264 f. I am indebted to Hans-Dietrich Schultz for a cast of this coin (2.99 gm. →).

[15] *NC* 1936, 265 ff. See also a later article by the same author, "Coin-Legends in Carian Script," in *Anatolian Studies* (presented to William Hepburn Buckler), 269 ff.

[16] There are also fractions of the kneeling figure-lion type: Babelon, *Traité*, pl. XXIV, 14 and 17; *NC* 1936, pl. XIV, 17–18; *SNG* von Aulock (*Karien*) 2352–3. These have the monogram but no inscription. They probably belong with the second group of staters (*NC*, pl. XIV, 16).

[17] Or perhaps an abbreviated name and the beginning of some other word if the mark between M and Ξ is a dividing stroke and not a letter. Robinson takes it for an I but on our stater the sign is little more than a pellet although there is space for a longer stroke.

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two inscriptions above the standing lion read in the same direction, that is from right to left,[18] the sequence is ↄTM'ŦMT or ↄ⅂M'ŦM⅂, and the transliteration would be *g-t-s-*[*i*]*-ñ-s-t* or *g-l-s-*[*i*]*-ñ-s-l*.[19] All that one can say is that neither version lends itself to any sensible interpretation!

The monogram which appears on both obverses and reverses of the earlier staters and on the reverses of our issue is resolved by Robinson as Φ—Y (*vo—u* in Carian)[20] and interpreted as the initial letters of the mint. In this connection the Αὐλιᾶται—Οὐλιᾶται of the Athenian tribute lists is suggested, but there are difficulties in the attribution. Judging by its small assessment of 500 drachms, the place was apparently of minor consequence, and furthermore, the second version of the name, with which the monogram would be related, may be nothing more than a scribe's error.[21] A more promising possibility would seem to be Οὐλαιῆς, a town with a higher levy, which may be identified with the modern Ula situated in the region of Idyma and not too far from the Lycian border.[22] Any firm mint identification, however, must await a comprehensive study of earlier Carian issues with lion types on which the ⅋ monogram and the inscription OVΛ appear.[23]

[18] There can be no question of this in the case of the *Lesbi* legend since the last letter is omitted on some dies.

[19] On the London stater the second and last letters are clearly ⅂; on our stater they are just as certainly T. The Berlin piece seems to have ⅂ as the second letter and T as the last.

For the transliteration see Hans Jensen, *Die Schrift in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1958), 448ff. The letter Ŧ is not known in Carian but occurs in Lycian and Lydian. If the mark before the Ŧ is the letter I, it is also non-Carian.

[20] Actually the combination may be O-Y, a common beginning for Carian names, and it is conceivable that the monogram was intended to include Λ as well. On our coin the engraving was done in several stages: a deeply-cut O, a lightly-incised Y, and two additional diagonals paralleling the upper segments of the Y.

[21] As Robinson noted, citing B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* I, 473.

[22] Meritt, 362 and 529–30. It is possibly significant that Oulaies is listed in close proximity to Πακτύες Ἰδυμεύς and just before Ταρβανῆς, which may be a border city (Meritt, 553).

[23] Babelon, *Traité*, pl. XIX, 13 and 22. The monogram is also found on a Lycian stater (Babelon, pl. XCII, 14) and as a counterstamp on a coin of Phaselis (*NC* 1936, pl. XIV, 6).

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Mallus

ca. 425–400 B.C.

13. *Obv.*: Beardless male figure with two pairs of curved wings in kneeling-running position to r.; he is draped from the waist down and holds a disk before his body with both hands.

Rev.: MAP and eagle above a pantheress moving to l., head facing and r. forepaw raised; all in shallow incuse square.

Æ Stater. 10.43 gm. ↗

The diecutter responsible for this hitherto unknown issue of Mallus has produced a remarkable work of art, original in concept and outstanding in technical skill. On the obverse the winged god with disk provides still another version of the Mallian solar deity found in various guises on the coinage: as a bearded half or full figure with single or janiform head and two or four curved wings, and later as a beardless figure with two straight wings.[24] The combination of beardless head and four curved wings is new.

It is the reverse which is truly noteworthy for its treatment of the pantheress. Here there is no suggestion of the conventional wild beast of the coin types. The unusual rendering of arched hindquarters, lowered head and tail, and slightly-raised forepaw conveys a vivid impression of a startled animal, freezing in a posture of defense.

The ANS coin, like another new issue of Mallus recently discovered,[25] seems to precede the long series of solar deity-swan emissions of that mint.

Tarsus

ca. 385–333 B.C.

14. *Obv.*: Athena, draped and helmeted, seated to l., holding spear in r. hand and leaning l. arm on shield; behind, trunk of olive-tree with branch. Border of dots.

Rev.: TEP [ΣIKON] Girl kneeling to l., playing with astragali; behind, plant.

Æ Stater. 9.99 gm. ↑

[24] Babelon, *Traité*, pl. CXXXVII, 16–23.

[25] C. M. Kraay, "The Celenderis Hoard," *NC* 1962, 7. There is no evidence that our piece comes from the same deposit but it is certainly possible.

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In this graceful rendering of a girl at play, the artist has created a coin type which is all the more charming by contrast with the rather stodgy Athena of the obverse.

MYRIANDRUS

ca. 350–345 B.C.

15. *Obv.*: Traces of Baaltars inscription to l. of the Persian king (or Baaltars) seated to r. on elaborate throne with curved back ending in swan's head; he wears long robe and high crown of Egyptian type and holds lotus bud in l. hand and long lotus-tipped scepter in r.; in front, round shield. Border of dots.

Rev.: Recumbent lion to l.; above, bow. Border of dots. (Traces of an undertype above the bow.)

Æ Stater. 9.86 gm. ↙

Two series of lion staters and related obols are assigned by Newell to the mint of Myriandrus under Mazaeus.[26] Our stater belongs to the early coinage struck shortly after Mazaeus' appointment ca. 350 B.C. as satrap of both Cilicia and Syria. It differs, however, from other recorded specimens in having a symbol in the right field of the obverse and borders of dots instead of linear circles around the obverse and reverse types. These variations place it at the end of the series with recumbent lion and just before the series with prowling lion, on which one finds dotted borders and in some cases a round shield behind the throne of Baaltars.

The enthroned figure on the earliest issues of Myriandrus is not only strikingly different from the Baaltars of Mazaeus' second sequence but unparalleled in the entire satrapal series. This makes it uncertain whether it is Baaltars or the Persian king who is represented. Newell believes that the legend points to the god, but Le Rider, in publishing a new specimen from Susa,[27] argues that the distinctive crown is a royal attribute and that the figure is the king identified with Baaltars. There is another element of the costume which is

[26] "Myriandros-Alexandria Kat'Isson," *AJN* LIII.2, 1919, 16ff.

[27] *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes* (*Mém. de la Mission Arch. en Iran*, XXXVIII, 1965), p. 215, 573.

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perhaps significant. On the staters the figure is clad in a plain robe, but on an obol[28] he wears a garment rendered by interlocking circles and suggestive of chain mail. This unusual type of kandys is also found on a rare issue of darics,[29] and the relationship there is undoubtedly with the Persian king.

Mylasa

Late 4th or 3rd Century B.C.

16. *Obv.*: Zeus Labraundus in chiton and himation standing to r., holding double-ax over r. shoulder and long spear(?) in l. hand.

Rev.: ΜΥΛΑΣΕΩΝ to l. of Zeus Osogoa, similarly clad, standing to r., holding trident in r. hand and eagle in l.; ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ (upward) in r. field. (Traces of earlier striking to r. of name.)

Æ Tetradrachm. 12.24 gm.↑

In a study of the mint of Mylasa,[30] Aşkidil Akarca publishes two similar coins: a tetradrachm in Istanbul with Zeus Osogoa on the obverse and Zeus Labraundus on the reverse, and a didrachm in Berlin with the position of the two deities reversed. The ANS acquisition is a third specimen of this very rare Mylasan coinage. It corresponds closely with the Berlin half in the placement of the two gods, in the absence of the border of dots found on the reverse of the Istanbul tetradrachm, and in the arrangement of the ethnic which reads upward in unbroken sequence to the left of the Zeus Osogoa figure whereas on the Istanbul coin it is divided and reads downward to right and left of Zeus Labraundus.

On the ANS coin there is a second inscription, ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ, which must signify an individual connected with the coinage.[31] Hierokles is otherwise unknown at Mylasa but the name was evidently common

[28] Note the specimen from the Burton Y. Berry Collection (*SNG* 1309), erroneously attributed to Tarsus.

[29] *BMCArabia*, pl. XXV, 14.

[30] *Les monnaies grecques de Mylasa* (Bibl. Arch. et Hist. de l'Inst. Français d'Arch. d'Istanbul, I, 1959), p. 57, 9–10.

[31] The Berlin didrachm was also inscribed in the right field. In the catalogue of the Philipsen Collection from which the coin came (Hirsch XXV, 1909, 2361), it is described as having ΔΙ . . . From the photographs this reading is not clear but there is a *sigma* to the right of the eagle and traces of other letters preceding it.

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in Caria for it appears on coins of later date from Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Myndus, Stratoniceia and Rhodes.[32]

In Miss Akarca's publication the Istanbul and Berlin issues are assigned to 150–100 B.C. This seems much too late.[33] Style and fabric alike point to an earlier date and the Zeus Labraundus representation has obvious parallels with the main reverse type of the Carian dynastic coinage which came to an end in 334 B.C. with the arrival of Alexander and the destruction of Halicarnassus. After Alexander's death Caria was controlled in succession by Asander, Eumenes, Antigonus and Ptolemy Soter. How much freedom the individual cities enjoyed under any of these rulers is uncertain, but an emission of autonomous silver in large denominations on the Milesian-Phoenician standard[34] is perhaps more likely under Egyptian influence after 309 B.C. than at an earlier period. In putting out this distinctive coinage reminiscent of the issues of the Carian satraps, Mylasa may have been attempting to reclaim the pre-eminence which had been hers before the rise of Halicarnassus when, as the royal residence and the site of the famous temples of Zeus Osogoa and Zeus Labraundus, she had been the chief city of Caria.

ALEXANDER III

ca. 325–323 B.C.

17. *Obv.*: Head of Athena to r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet with serpent on bowl; below neck, fulmen.
Rev.: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ to r. of Nike standing three-quarters l., holding wreath in r. hand and stylis in l.; in lower l. field, 𐤀.
AV Drachm. 4.26 gm. ↙

[32] R. Münsterberg, "Die Beamtennamen auf den griechischen Münzen," *NZ* 1914, 29. The only numismatic record of the name outside Caria is at Cius and Synnada.
[33] E. S. G. Robinson (*NC* 1961, 115) dates the coinage to the 3rd(?) century; Jacob Hirsch places the Philipsen coin in the 4th century.
[34] The two tetradrachms are on the same "Milesian" standard as tetradrachms of Hecatomnus and Mausolus with the types of lion's head and Milesian star. Babelon (*Traité* II.2, 144) believes the satrapal issues were struck at Miletus but the use of the "Milesian" standard for the autonomous coinage of Mylasa is an argument for the Mylasan origin of the earlier issues. This weight system of Mylasa is somewhat lighter than the reduced standard adopted by Ptolemy I ca. 312 B.C. (G. K. Jenkins, *MN* IX, 35ff. for the date).

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Numerous staters and some quarters of the present issue are known but this seems to be the first record of the half stater. Although the monogram on the reverse of our coin is somewhat obscure, the obverse style is identical with that of a hemidrachm in the British Museum on which the Ⱶ marking is clear. Both the monogram and the fulmen symbol of the obverse are characteristic of the gold issues of Miletus struck ca. 325–323 B.C.[35]

PTOLEMIES

CYRENE UNDER PTOLEMY I

ca. 313–312 B.C.

18. *Obv.*: KYPANAI above head of Athena to r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet with serpent on bowl.

Rev.: Traces of inscription to r. of Nike standing three-quarters l., holding wreath in r. hand and stylis in l.; in lower r. field, silphium.

AV Drachm. 4.25 gm. ←

The Ptolemaic gold of Cyrene with the types of Alexander and the names of Theupheides and Euphris is extremely rare. As recorded by Lucien Naville,[36] it includes one stater with ΘEY on the reverse and two staters and four drachms with EY or EYΦPI. Both series have the standard Alexander types and the legend KYPANAION ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΩ (or ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ), but there are noteworthy differences in style and composition. On the Theupheides stater the hair of Athena is rendered in stiff formal curls, the Nike is standing, and the legend is divided with KYPANAION on the obverse above the helmet of Athena and ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑ... on the reverse; on the coins of Euphris, Athena has loose flowing locks, Nike is walking left, and both elements of the legend are on the reverse.

Although there is no trace of the ΘEY inscription on the ANS drachm, its association with the unique Theupheides stater in the Athens Cabinet is unquestionable. The representation of the Athena

[35] They are also found on tetradrachms and drachms of the same period (M. Thompson–A. R. Bellinger, "A Hoard of Alexander Drachms," *Yale Classical Studies* XIV, 1955, 25).

[36] *Les monnaies d'or de la Cyrénaïque* (Geneva, 1951), 54f.

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head, the standing Nike, and the placement of the legend are identical on the two coins. We now have evidence that Theupheides, like Euphris, struck drachms as well as staters.

E. S. G. Robinson[37] assigns this Theupheides-Euphris gold to the interval between the suppression of the revolt against Ophellas in 313 and the beginning of the revolt led by Ophellas in 312. Considering the brief period of emission, the rarity of the coinage is understandable.

PTOLEMY II
271–246 B.C.

19. *Obv.*: ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ above jugate busts of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe; behind Ptolemy's head, shield. Border of dots.
Rev.: ΘΕΩΝ above jugate busts of Ptolemy I and Berenice. Border of dots.
Æ Didrachm. 6.94 gm.↑

One example of this denomination, a coin in the Vienna Cabinet, is listed by Svoronos.[38] It is from the same obverse die as our specimen.

SELEUCIDS

ANTIOCHUS I
ca. 280–278 B.C.

20. *Obv.*: Head of Herakles to r., wearing lion's skin. Border of dots.
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΩΣ] ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟ[Υ] in two lines to r. of Zeus aetophorus enthroned to l.; in l. field, ⋈; below throne, A/. Border of dots.
Æ Drachm. 3.96 gm.←

The first monogram is not recorded by Newell for the early Seleucid coinage[39] and the unusual arrangement of the Antiochus legend has its only parallel in a tetradrachm issue (*WSM* 932) which Newell assigns to Antioch. Our new drachm probably comes from the same mint. The rugged style of the Herakles head is in the Antiochene

[37] *BMCCyrenaica*, lxxxiii–lxxxvii.
[38] Τὰ Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων, no. 605.
[39] A somewhat similar monogram occurs on a drachm of Seleucus I of uncertain origin (*WSM* 1625).

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tradition and the monogram below the throne is found in the exergue on the earliest Apollo-type tetradrachms of Antiochus I from Antioch (*WSM* 937).

ANTIOCHUS III
ca. 222–220 B.C.

21. *Obv.*: Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Fillet border.
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ to r. and ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ to l. of Apollo seated to l. on omphalos; in outer l. field, head of horse.
Æ Tetradrachm. 17.07 gm.↑ (Overstruck but undertype uncertain.)

A second specimen of an issue first published by Georges Le Rider in his monumental study of the coinage of Susa.[40] The ANS coin is from the same obverse and reverse dies as the Susa piece; it is also from the same obverse die as a tetradrachm without symbol or monogram which Newell tentatively assigns to Sardes (*WSM* 1454). As Le Rider points out, the new issue with its symbol of a horse's head is an argument for the correctness of Newell's attribution.

Three other issues of tetradrachms (*WSM* 1451–3) are associated with No. 1454 as the possible output of the Sardes mint after the suppression of Achaeus' rebellion. In discussing these emissions and Achaeus' own coinage, Newell poses two questions: 1) did Achaeus strike for Antiochus in the interval between his capture of Sardes ca. 222 B.C. and his revolt in 220? 2) was the horse's head which appears as type, symbol and counterstamp on Achaeus' issues a personal badge or merely a reference to a region famous for horses?

In the writer's opinion, the new issue answers both questions. No. 1454, without symbol or monogram, was the first coinage of Achaeus as deputy for Antiochus, struck shortly after he occupied Sardes. The ANS-Susa issue followed and here the appearance of the horse's head, the badge prominently displayed on Achaeus' personal coinage, surely suggests that Achaeus was already toying with the idea of rebellion. When this culminated in the proclamation of kingship in 220 B.C., the mint began to strike gold, silver and bronze with Achaeus' portrait and name, and it was not until after the defeat and execution of the rebel in 213 that Sardes resumed coining for

[40] Op.cit., 222f. No. 612 from Hoard 4.

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Antiochus. On the new series (*WSM* 1451–2 and possibly 1453)[41] the horse's head has disappeared.

ALEXANDER BALA

150–ca. 147 B.C.

22. *Obv.*: Diademed head of Alexander Bala to r. Fillet border.
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ to r. and ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ (sic) to l. of Apollo seated to l. on omphalos; in outer l. field, Ⱥ; in exergue, ΜΡ. Border of dots.
Ⱥ Tetradrachm. 16.81 gm.↙

Three other examples of this final issue of Alexander Bala at Susa are published by G. Le Rider.[42] Our piece shares obverse and reverse dies with tetradrachm C on his plate VIII, and provides a clear impression of the monogram in the left field.

DEMETRIUS II

146–138 B.C.

23. *Obv.*: Diademed head of the youthful Demetrius to r. Border of dots.
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ to r. and ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ/ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ to l. of Sandan standing to r. on animal; in outer l. field, Ⱥ; in exergue, Δ.
Ⱥ Drachm. 3.91 gm.↑ (ex Hesperia Art, Bulletin XXXIV, 126)

This is apparently the only record of a coinage from Tarsus during the first reign of Demetrius II. A drachm of Alexander Bala with the

[41] The portraits of Nos. 1451–2 and 1454 are very similar in style; that of No. 1453 is quite different, and difficult to fit into the series.

Newell's sequence places No. 1454 as the last striking of Antiochus after his recapture of Sardes, on the ground that the head is older. It seems to me, on the contrary, that it is a younger representation. On No. 1454 there is no trace of the furrow from nose to mouth which is clearly indicated on Nos. 1451–2, the furrow of the brow is less pronounced, and the hairline is lower.

In connection with this new arrangement, it is possibly significant that both the ANS and Susa tetradrachms are overstruck, and the deep depression on the reverse of Newell's 1454 may be the result of a careless hammering of the flan to obliterate an earlier type. When Achaeus reopened the Sardes mint after his conquest of the city, he may have experienced difficulty in getting adequate supplies of bullion and been forced to make extensive use of old coins as flans for the new Antiochus money.

[42] Op.cit., 74.

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same reverse type is known,[43] and Demetrius during his second reign (130–125 B.C.) issued tetradrachms and drachms with Sandan and the pyramidal pyre of Tarsus as reverse types.[44] The Δ| combination of the ANS coin may have some long-term significance. It is found not only on the emissions of Bala and Demetrius already mentioned but also on some of the Tarsian issues of Antiochus VII, Antiochus VIII and Antiochus IX.

Within the period of his first rule, Demetrius II struck at a number of Cilician cities: Mallus,[45] Seleuceia ad Calycadnum or Elaeusa,[46] and Soli.[47] It would be surprising if he had not used Tarsus, the major mint of the region.

[43] Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 433, 96.
[44] *BMCSeleucids*, p. 78, 22–23.
[45] Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. 119, 929.
[46] *BMCSeleucids*, p. 59, 15–16 and for the mint, A. R. Bellinger, *MN* III, 1948, 27 ff.
[47] O. Mørkholm, *MN* XI, 1964, 60.

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GORDION HOARDS III, IV, V, AND VII

(PLATES III–XXI)

DOROTHY H. COX

The University Museum at Philadelphia has been conducting excavations at the site of Gordion in Asia Minor since 1950. After running trial trenches at various points on the mound Professor Rodney S. Young, the director, chose a section on its eastern part for extensive investigation. No signs of Roman habitation were found here. The top level in this area, very close to the surface, seemed to have been thoroughly looted in antiquity and in modern times has suffered further damage by peasants and from the grazing of hundreds of goats over the years.

Among the fragmentary remains recovered from this level no coins were recognized as of later date than the end of the third century B.C. It was therefore early assumed that Level I marked the devastation and subsequent desertion of this part of the city following the Roman sack of Gordion by Vulso in 189 B.C. Level II seemed to date some twenty years prior to that sack. Since, however, no known historical event can account for a complete destruction of the city at that time, it now seems to this writer more probable that Level II was in fact the result of Vulso's raid, as at least one reviewer of the Gordion hoard published in 1953 suggested, and that Level I was a subsequent short-lived settlement. This is pure hypothesis and at this time can be neither confirmed nor disproved.

Level II, practically undisturbed, provided much richer remains than Level I. Associated with the second level, usually by burial in the floor, are three hoards of tetradrachms. The first, Hoard I, was published by the University Museum, Philadelphia in 1953, *A Third Century Hoard of Tetradrachms from Gordion*, by D. H. Cox. Hoards III and V appear here. In addition this level produced a small group of gold coins, the final hoard published here, Hoard VII. Partial destruction of Gordion by the Galatians and temporary abandonment of the city in the third decade of the third century B.C. closed Level III. In this stratum the group of Alexander drachms, Hoard IV, was found.

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At lower levels Hoards II and VI were unearthed. The first is a group of 110 sigloi not yet published. Hoard VI consists of 45 Lydian electrum pieces. These have been studied by Professor A. R. Bellinger and an article on them is included in *Essays in Greek Coinage Presented to Stanley Robinson*, edited by Colin Kraay and G. K. Jenkins.

The coins from all of the hoards as well as the stray finds from the Gordion excavations are now housed in the National Museum at Ankara.

In identifying the coins from these hoards, I owe particular thanks to Miss Margaret Thompson for repeatedly allowing me to examine the relevant trays in the collection of the American Numismatic Society. I am also much indebted to Yale University for granting me permission to use the books of the Sterling Memorial Library.

The abbreviations used refer to the following publications:

Andritsaena — E. T. Newell, *Alexander Hoards III: Andritsaena* (*NNM* 21), 1923.

CDP — E. T. Newell, *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*, London, 1927.

Demanhur — E. T. Newell, *Alexander Hoards II: Demanhur* (*NNM* 19), 1923.

ESM — E. T. Newell, *Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints, from Seleucus I to Antiochus III* (*NS* 1), 1938.

Müller — L. Müller, *Numismatique d'Alexander le Grand*, Copenhagen, 1855.

Müller — L. Müller, *Die Münzen des Thracischen Königs Lysimachus*, Copenhagen, 1858.

N. *Reatt.* — E. T. Newell, *Reattribution of Certain Tetradrachms of Alexander the Great*, New York, 1912.

RGMG — William H. Waddington, *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1904.

SNGC — *Sylloge nummorum graecorum, Danish National Museum: the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals: Macedonia*, Copenhagen, 1943.

T & B — M. Thompson and A. R. Bellinger, *Greek Coins in the Yale Collection, IV: A Hoard of Alexander Drachms*, New Haven, 1955.

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TCHT — D. H. Cox, *A Third Century Hoard of Tetradrachms from Gordion*, Philadelphia, 1953.

WSM — E. T. Newell, *Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints, from Seleucus I to Antiochus III*, (*NS* 4), 1941.

An asterisk preceeding an entry indicates that the specimen is illustrated in the plate section.

Gordion Hoard III

This tetradrachm hoard of forty-two pieces was found by the University Museum's expedition digging at Gordion in 1959. The coins were located in a black glazed grey-ware feeding bottle buried under a Level II floor. Forty-one of the coins are of the usual Alexander type: *obv.*: Head of Heracles r.; *rev.*: Zeus seated l. Of these, thirty-five bear the inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, four the name of Philip III, and two the name ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ. A single coin with the name and types of Lysimachus completes the total. The earlier pieces are much worn and almost all of the coins are badly defaced by gashes made to expose their inner fabric. Such tests were a necessary precaution. Among the stray finds at Gordion plated coins are common. They include even so small a piece as a twelfth from Cyzicus. Two sigloi were found reduced to bronze cores on which only scraps of the silver shell remain. So far, however, no plated tetradrachms have been recognized.

Inscribed with the name of Alexander

Amphipolis

obv.: Head of Heracles r. wearing lion's scalp.

rev.: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Zeus aetophoros enthroned to l.; distinguishing marks in l. field and beneath throne.

	in field	*under throne*	*date*
1	forepart of Pegasus		ca. 331 B.C.
	16.6 gr. ↗		*Demanhur*, 340
*2	Macedonian helmet		ca. 324/3 B.C.
	16.8 gr. ↘		*Demanhur*, 1251–1343
*3	Phrygian cap		ca. 324/3 B.C.
	17.2 gr. ↗		*Demanhur*, 1344–1355

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*4			ca. 322/1 B.C.
	16.5 gr. ↗		*Demanhur*, 1471–1487
*5	(?)		ca. 324/321 B.C.
	17.1 gr. ↖		cf. *Demanhur*, 1210–1537
*6	wreath		ca. 318–308 B.C.
	17 gr. ←		N. *Reatt.*, p. 16, LVI
7	Akrostolion		ca. 318–308 B.C.
	16.9 gr. ←		N. *Reatt.*, p. 16, LX
8	(?)		ca. 318–308 B.C.
	16.4 gr. ↗		
*9	Λ over torch		
	17.05 gr. ↑		Müller 36
*10, 11	Λ over torch		
	16.9 gr. ↖, 16.7 gr. ↑		Müller 37
*12	Λ over torch		
	17 gr. ↖		Müller 34
*13	Λ over torch	star	
	16.9 gr. ↖		Müller 62
*14	Λ over torch	dolphin	
	16.6 gr. →		Müller 73
*15	Λ over torch	(?)	
	16.2 gr. ↙		
16	(?)	(?)	
	16.8 gr. ↘		

In the publication of the first hoard found at Gordion tetradrachms similar to Nos. 9–16 (Hoard I, 4–7) were attributed to "Amphipolis or Uranopolis." The race torch in the field suggests Amphipolis, the more distinctive symbol, conical stone surmounted by a star (Hoard I, No. 7), is characteristic of Uranopolis. On the basis of the latter symbol and of a lambda over torch found on an autonomous coin of Uranopolis, N. Breitenstein,[1] following Imhoof-Blumer, ascribes all coins with lambda over torch to Uranopolis. All of the coins, with and without the emblem of Aphrodite Urania, are undeniably similar in style. But that the whole of this vast issue can come from the small mint at Uranopolis seems improbable. The city was founded ca. 300

[1] *Acta Archaeologica* XIII, 1942, pp. 248 ff.

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B.C., probably a few years earlier. For local use its mint produced an insignificant number of autonomous coins. The mint at Amphipolis on the other hand was opened in the fifth century and because of its proximity to gold and silver mines was one of the principal places of mintage of the Macedonian kings and remained in operation continuously until 168 B.C. It issued Alexanders probably from the first year of his reign and became one of the most active mints in Alexander's empire, continuing the output of Alexander type coins down to ca. 298 B.C. when Demetrius struck coins there in his own name and type. A discussion of the series is beyond the scope of this paper, but the Alexanders with lambda and torch form the final part of that series.

As a port and ship-building center Amphipolis was an ideal base from which the products of its mint could be shipped out as payment for troops abroad or for commerce in areas with no mints. In the time of Alexander's quarrelling successors Amphipolis was still a prolific mint striking coins for export as well as for local use. In the late fourth century when Cassander and Lysimachus were waging their last campaigns in Asia Minor and Greece against the encroachment of Antiochus and Demetrius, Amphipolis was still the logical mint to furnish pay for their armies. The great issue of tetradrachms with lambda and torch was probably struck to meet this emergency demand for large quantities of cash. One can imagine the resources of the Amphipolis mint strained and, to meet the demand for specie, that the new small mint at neighboring Uranopolis, then in the hands of Cassander's brother, Alexarchus, was pressed into service. The initial Alexander issue there may have been those tetradrachms with lambda and torch in field and the symbol of Aphrodite Urania under the throne,[2] the later issues, those on which the lambda and torch are missing (Hoard I, No. 7; *SNGC* 704, 705). With victory and many larger and more widely scattered mints available to Lysimachus, Uranopolis lost its usefulness and its mint was closed down.

	in field	*under throne*	*date*
ATTUDA			
17	thyrsus and phallus 16.2 gr. ↑		ca. 250–220 B.C. *SNGC* 868; Müller 1173

[2] Ibid, p. 249, fig. 20.

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This coin and the example cited in the Copenhagen Museum share identical obverse and reverse dies.

SARDES

*18	star 16.9 gr. ↗		ca. 304 B.C. T & B, p. 27, 13 and 15

UNCERTAIN PAMPHYLIAN

*19	 16.4 gr. ↗	 in ex.	cf. *TCHT*, p. 5, 38

ARADUS

*20	Λ (?) 16.4 gr. ←		ca. 328–319 B.C. cf. *Demanhur*,3380–3405

DAMASCUS

*21	forepart of ram 15.1 gr. ↖		ca. 330–319 B.C. *Demanhur* 3247–3249
*22	forepart of ram 14.55 gr. ↗	(?)	ca. 330–319 B.C. cf. *Demanhur* 2917–3256

CARRHAE

*23	 17.1 gr. ↖		ca. 316–305 B.C. *WSM*, p. 40, 2

BABYLON

*24	grapes 15 gr. ↘	 and M	ca. 324/3 B.C. *Demanhur* 4454
25	torch 16.5 gr. ↖	and M	ca. 324/3 B.C. *Demanhur* 4456

On both Nos. 22 and 23 the small M is under the front leg of the throne as on *SNGC* 828, 829.

On the following seven coins the inscription reads: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

	in field	*under throne*	*date*
*26	(?) 16.6 gr. →	ΛΥ	ca. 323/320 B.C. *Demanhur* 4479

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*27	Μ in wreath	MI	after 317 B.C.
	15.9 gr. ↘		cf. *SNGC* 838
28	(?)		after 317 B.C.
	15.6 gr. ↘		cf. *Andritsaena*, p. 15, 83
*29	MI over bee	Μ in wreath	after 317 B.C.
	16.8 gr. ↗		*SNGC* 835
*30	Μ in wreath	⊛	after 317 B.C.
	16.05 gr. ←		*SNGC* 842
31	prow r.	(?)	after 317 B.C.
	16.02 gr. ←		cf. *SNGC* 836

ECBATANA

*32		𐤋	ca. 311–303 B.C.
	16.9 gr. ↓		cf. *ESM*, p. 163f., 434, 439

UNCERTAIN MINTS

Inscription: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

*33		(?)	cf. *TCHT*, p. 6, 42
	15.2 gr. ↗		
34	(?)	in ex., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	
	16.85 gr. ↓		
35	(?)	(?)	
	15.65 gr. ↗		

No. 33 is from the same obverse die as Hoard I, 42; the reverses are similar, but there is no monogram in the exergue of No. 33, although possibly an illegible one under the throne.

No. 32 and Hoard I, 38 afford another instance of identical obverses. No monogram was noted in the exergue of the latter, but a close examination of its photograph on pl. III of the earlier publication suggests traces of a monogram there.

Inscribed with the name of Philip III

	in field	*under throne*	*date*

ARADUS

*36	Σ and grapes	I	ca. 322–317 B.C.
	15.95 gr. ↙		ANS, Newell Collection

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BABYLON

*37	M	ΛΥ	ca. 323–320 B.C.
	17.1 gr. ↘		*Demanhur* 4526–4594
*38	wheel and M	M	ca. 320–319 B.C.
	16.2 gr. ←		*Demanhur* 4609
39	16.4 gr. ↙	I	ca. 320–317 B.C.
			SNGC 1084

Lysimachus

PERGAMUM 297–281 B.C.

*40

obv.: Head of Alexander r., wearing ram's horns.

rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ
Athena Nikephoros seated l., shield at her side; in inner l. field, Δ; in ex., Σ

16.7 gr. ↑ *SNGC Thrace* 1102

Seleucus I

SELEUCIA on the Tigris 305–304 B.C.

*41

obv.: Herakles head r., wearing lion's scalp

rev.: ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, illegible. Zeus enthroned to l. holding eagle in outstretched r., in l. field, ΜΦ

16.8 gr. ↙ *ESM*, p. 12, 2

UNCERTAIN MINT 312–280 B.C.

*42

obv.: Similar

rev.: ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
Zeus enthroned to l. holding Nike in outstretched r.; in l. field Π; under throne, ΒΕΛ

16.2 gr. ↙ *WSM*, p. 359, 1623

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No. 41 is completely illegible. It is however struck from the same obverse die as *ESM*, pl. I, 15. The reverse differs. The throne is backless as it appears on *ESM*, pl. I, 13, but struck from another die. The monogram too on our coin is almost obliterated, only the P at its r. is decipherable.

This hoard seems to reflect less the history of Gordion than perhaps the personal history of the owner. The feeding bottle in which the hoard was stored supplies a homely touch suggesting a small trader saving for the future of his child. The well worn coins from ca. 330–310 B.C. seem to indicate an active trade between East and West over that period. From the slightly later homogeneous group of coins, Nos. 9–16, one might infer that, taking advantage of the proximity of Gordion to Dorylaeum where Lysimachus lay entrenched for a year in 301 B.C., the trader had concentrated his enterprise at that time on supplying the Thracian army. That venture seems to mark almost the end of his activities. In fact, it may have been his only activity that is reflected in the hoard. The large proportion of coins with lambda and torch seem to attest to dealings with Lysimachus' army; and as all of the earlier coins then still enjoyed wide currency they may have been earned at the same time and not in previous trade at Gordion.

Between 300 and 280 B.C. not more than one coin was added to the hoard, the one for Lysimachus (No. 40) which falls early in his reign. Like Hoards I and V this collection was not increased, indeed may have been hidden away, during the thirty years, ca. 280–250 B.C., when the Galatians overran Phrygia and normal trade was at a standstill. When in the second half of the third century less oppressive conditions prevailed at Gordion, the hoard was again added to. The addition of three Asia Minor tetradrachms (Nos. 17, 19, 33) was possibly made by the heir of the original owner.

Gordion Hoard IV

In 1959 a small grey jug containing a hoard of fifty silver drachms was found at Gordion. All but one of these are of the usual Alexander types: Head of Heracles r. on the obverse and Zeus seated l. on the reverse. Forty-seven are inscribed ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ and two ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

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The fiftieth and latest coin bears both the name and types of Lysimachus. Most of the varieties included in the hoard have been convincingly dated and ascribed to specific mints by Miss Thompson and Mr. Bellinger.[3] The Gordion coins are listed by mint and date, according to that work. A few new varieties are added, some are incorporated in those series, others listed as of uncertain origin and date. The number of mints from which these drachms reached Gordion, although not so widely scattered as those from which the tetradrachms of Hoards I, III and V come, nevertheless offer another illustration of the success of Alexander's plan to create a universal coinage. Drachms as well as tetradrachms are known from the mints of Syria, Phoenicia and Babylonia, but it was the mints of Asia Minor, where in pre-Alexandrian times small silver was commonly in use, that produced the great bulk of Alexander drachms.

LAMPSACUS

	in field	*under throne*	*date*
*1	Artemis	Δ	325 B.C.
	4.05 gr. ↗		*SNGC* 882, cf. T & B, p. 32, 1
*2	Forepart of Pegasus	ΑΛ	310 B.C.
	3.95 gr. ↗		T & B, p. 33, 6d
3, *4	KI	M	ca. 309 B.C.
	4.05 gr. ↗ 3.85 gr. ↗		Müller 820
*5, *6,	KI	ΜΕ	309 B.C.
7, 8	4 gr. ↗, 3.95 gr. ↗,		T & B, p. 33, 7a
	3.85 gr. ↗, 3.85 gr. ←		
*9	Amphora	⊙	306 B.C.
	3.95 gr. ↘		T & B, p. 33, 9b
*10	Mouse	ΜΕ	305 B.C.
	3.95 gr. →		T & B, p. 33, 10a

On No. 1, as one would expect from its early date, the legs of Zeus are parallel. On No. 2 the feet are crossed, the right foot drawn back as on all later examples except Nos. 3, 4 and 5. On these Zeus sits in the early position, both feet flat on the ground. The obverses of Nos. 2–6 are consistent in style. Coins 7 and 8 introduce a new obverse

[3] *Greek Coins in the Yale Collection IV.*

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die cutter whose style is apparent also on 9 (same obverse die as T & B, pl. I, 9b), less marked on No. 10. The later attitude of Zeus with legs crossed seems to have appeared sporadically at the discretion of the die cutter; the older men perhaps continued to draw the figure in the traditional manner, the younger introducing the new more graceful position of the body.

ABYDUS

	in field	*under throne*	*date*
*11,	Μ	I	310 B.C.
12, *13	4.15 gr. ↗, 3.9 gr. ↑, 3.95 gr. ↗		T & B, p. 34, 19c
*14	ΜΕ	ivy leaf	305 B.C.
	4.05 gr. ↗		T & B, p. 34, 24
*15	Μ	ivy leaf	ca. 304 B.C.
	3.85 gr. ↗		cf. T & B, p. 16, 17
*16,	Μ	griffin's head	ca. 302 B.C.
17, 18	4 gr. ↙, 3.85 gr. ↗, 4.1 gr. ↓		cf. T & B, p. 34, 25b

No. 15 with the monogram Μ and ivy leaf is not listed by Thompson and Bellinger, but since the more elaborate Μ appears on the coins of this city (see T & B, p. 16, 17) in 303 and the ivy leaf occurs as late as 305 B.C., Μ may be a simpler version of the signature and the coin struck 304–303 B.C. Nos. 16–18 are similar to T & B, p. 34, 25b on which the lion of Lysimachus is added. They probably represent the last issue before Lysimachus gained control at Abydus.

TEOS

	in field	*under throne*	*date*
*19	Ρ	ΔΙ	ca. 321 B.C.
	4.1 gr. ↑		cf. T & B, p. 35, 27
*20	Π		ca. 310 BC.
	3.9 gr. ↑		cf. T & B, p. 18, 10

COLOPHON

	in field	*under throne*	*date*
*21	ear of barley, horizontal	at r., spear head	ca. 325 B.C.
	4.05 gr. ↗		cf. T & B, p. 35, 32a

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*22	ear of barley, vertical 4 gr. ↑	at r., spear head	ca. 325 B.C. T & B, p. 35, 32c
23, *24	Φ 4.05 gr. ↖, 3.75 gr. ↑	Γ	313 B.C. T & B, p. 36, 39c
*25	⋖ϟ 4.1 gr. ↗	𐊠	ca. 311 B.C. cf. T & B, p. 36, 40a, b
*26	K 3.85 gr. ↑	crescent l.	310 B.C. T & B, p. 36, 41b
*27	K (?) 3.7 gr. ↑	crescent l.	310 B.C. T & B, p. 36, 41b
*28	lion's head 4 gr. ↗	lobster claw	304 B.C. T & B, p. 20, 22
*29	forepart of lion over crescent 3.95 gr. ↖ *Inscribed* ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	✯	300 B.C. T & B, p. 36, 46b
*30	forepart of lion over ΔI 4 gr.	K	297 B.C. cf. T & B, p. 37, 49

The letters ⋖ϟ of No. 25 are combined in Thompson and Bellinger with signatures of two other magistrates and in *SNGC* 918 with a third, 𐊠. This last magistrate may be the same who signs himself 𐊠 on our coin and with a simple Γ on coins of 313 B.C. (T & B, p. 36, 39a–d). The single letter K on No. 30 appears on no other coins of Lysimachus at Colophon, but is found on a drachm of 307 B.C. in the time of Antigonus (T & B, p. 20, 19).

MAGNESIA

	in field	*under throne*	*date*
*31	M 3.7 gr. ↑		ca. 310 B.C. cf. T & B, p. 37, 58; Müller 791

MILETUS

	in field	*under throne*	*date*
*32	𐊠 4.05 gr. ↗		325 B.C. T & B, p. 38, 68
*33	thunderbolt 3.95 gr. ↑	𐊠	323 B.C. T & B, p. 38, 69

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*34	Ⱨ		320 B.C.
	4.0 gr. ↑		T & B, p. 38, 70
*35	helmet crest	bipennis	310 B.C.
	4.0 gr. ↑		T & B, p. 38, 71
*36	ⱮⱣ	Ⱬ	ca. 296 B.C.
	4.05 gr. ↑		*SNGC* 997
37, *38	Ɱ		293 B.C.
	3.9 gr. ←, 4.05 gr. ↗		T & B, p. 38, 74

The series of coins for Miletus as given in Thompson and Bellinger is interrupted between the years 310 and 297 B.C. The drachms for 297–294 B.C. all show a bipennis, the symbol of Caria, beneath the throne. The bipennis is combined in the year 296 B.C. with the monogram ⱮⱣ and in 295 with Ⱬ, both possible variations of the monograms on No. 36. These magistrates may have signed a coin jointly in 296/5, or possibly in 298/7 before the bipennis became a fixture.

SARDIS

	in field	*under throne*	*date*
39, *40	Ⱪ over bee		ca. 324/3 B.C.
	4 gr. ↑, 4 gr. ↗		cf. T. & B, p. 38, 76, 77; Müller 520
*41	bee over Ⱦ		ca. 320 B.C.
	3.85 gr. ↙		T & B, p. 39, 80a
*42	Ⱦ	bee	ca. 320 B.C.
	3.9 gr. ↑		cf. T. & B, p. 39, 80a; Müller 522
*43		race torch	310 B.C.
	4.1 gr. ↙		T & B, p. 27, 14; Müller 26

On No. 39 the legs of Zeus are in the usual early position, parallel in front of the throne. No. 40 has an uneasy transitional look, the left leg drawn back under the throne.

LYSIMACHEIA

	in field	*under throne*	*date*
	Inscribed ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ		
*44	forepart of lion over Ⱨ	Ⱡ	299–297 B.C.
	4.15 gr.		T & B, p. 42, 95

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EPHESUS 294–281 B.C.

obv.: Head of Alexander r., wearing ram's horns.
rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ Athena Nikephoros seated l. on throne; in inner l. field, tripod; Φ on throne; E (?) in exergue.
4.05 gr. T & B, p. 41, 85

UNCERTAIN MINTS

	in field	*under throne*	*date*
*46, *47,	torch	A	
*48	4 gr. ↑, 4.1 gr. ↑, 4 gr. ↑		cf. T & B, p. 41, 91a, b

Nos. 47 and 48 (symbol in field off flan) where A is beneath a rungless throne read ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (cf. T & B 91a). No. 46 is illegible and A is below the rung of the throne; here, as on T & B 91b, the inscription may have been ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. Thompson and Bellinger suggest that these coins are Pamphilian, possibly from the mint at Side. Two similar coins in the Royal Danish Collection (*SNGC* 878, 879) are tentatively attributed to an uncertain mint in Macedonia.

*49 2 in field; ΚΛ under throne cf. Müller 1583
4.05 gr. ↘
Müller's drachm 1583 has the monogram ☭ in the l. field, and ΚΛ beneath the throne.

*50 scallop shell in field
4.00 gr. ↖ cf. Müller 385

Müller lists a tetradrachm and a bronze with scallop shell, but no drachm.

Panic and flight at the approach of the Galatians may account for the burial of these coins. An early third century burial date for the hoard is consistent both with the stratigraphical evidence and with the hoard's latest coin, No. 45. This coin of Lysimachus, struck between 294 and 281 B.C., shows almost no sign of wear, but others minted fifteen or possibly thirty years earlier show as little (see No. 21 from Colophon, ca. 325 B.C.). We seem to have here a collector's cache, the property of someone who saved only the fresh looking coins

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that came his way. Evidence of wear, the length of time the coins seem to have been in circulation, is a poor guide to the relative dates of these drachms.

Gordion Hoard V

In the 1961 excavations a fifth hoard of coins was found, a hundred silver tetradrachms stowed away in a jar of grey coarse ware. The composition of the hoard is similar to that of Hoard I. About a third of the coins are Alexander types, some from his life-time, the majority posthumous, from the fourth century down into the last quarter of the third. A slightly larger number of coins are Seleucid, from the reigns of Seleucus I to the early years of the reign of Antiochus III. Tetradrachms of Lysimachus and isolated examples of other rulers including one each for Nicomedes and Piusias of Bythinia make up the total.

Alexander Type Tetradrachms

obv.: Head of youthful Heracles r. wearing lion skin.
rev.: Zeus seated l. holding eagle and scepter; in r. field, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ added as noted; symbol and/or monogram in l. field and under throne.

AMPHIPOLIS ca. 336–334 B.C.

	in field	*under throne*	
*1	Double head 16.50 gr. →		*Demanhur* 91 ca. 308–300 B.C.
*2	Λ over torch 16.50 gr. →	Ꟍ	Müller, 36

Müller lists this coin as Class IV as indeed it is except that unlike Nos. 3–6 with the same symbol, the legs of Zeus are not crossed.

Drachms Nos. 3, 4 and 5 in Hoard IV (see p. 28) are similar sporadic examples of the use of the earlier rigid position of Zeus after the more graceful pose with crossed legs had been introduced.

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	in field	*under throne*	
*3, 4	Λ over torch	ΜΥ	
	16.35 gr. ↓, 14.05 gr. ↑		Müller 37
*5	Λ over torch	Ε.	
	16.35 gr. ↑		Müller 46
*6	Λ over torch	illegible	
	16.35 gr. ↑		cf. Müller 42

PELLA ca. 308–300 B.C.

*7 ΣΙ
16.30 gr. ↖

ODESSUS ca. 250–220 B.C.

*8 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on l.; ΜΗ under throne
16.05 gr. ↑

The monogram under the throne is certain only after comparison with a similar coin at the ANS. That coin has letters in the exergue; no trace of them is visible on our piece.

SINOPE ca. 250–220 B.C.

*9 Similar; in inner l. field, Α over ΣΙ; under throne, ΜΡ over ΑΡ
16.40 gr. ↑ cf. Newell, *AJN* LII, p. 122, 32f.

*10 Similar; in inner l. field, Α over ΣΙ; under throne, ΦΜ over ΑΡ
16.05 gr. ↑ cf. ibid., p. 122, 32f.

BLACK SEA DISTRICT ca. 250–220 B.C.

*11 Similar; barbarous inscription; Α in exerque. In inner l. field, ΠΙ which is directly over the Η of ΒΑΣΕΛΗΟΣ and may be intended only as Ε, a correction in spelling.
16.10 gr. ↑

TENEDOS

*12 In l. field, bipennis
16.55 gr. ↖ Müller 1128

MAGNESIA AD MAEANDRUM

*13 In field, ΜΡ above horse prancing r.; in ex., Maeander pattern.
16.20 gr. ↑ cf. Müller 1070

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PRIENE

*14 In field, AΓOΛ above trident; under throne, ΓPI; in ex., Maeander pattern.
16.30 gr. ↑ cf. Müller 1030

Müller attributes coins with a trident and ΓPI in l. field to this city. Here the name of the city appears under the throne and a magistrate's name is added in the field, the same magistrate probably who signs himself AΓOΛΛ and AΓOΛΛO on some third century autonomous coins of Priene (*BMCIonia*, p. 230, 16–18).

CHOIS Second half of third century

*15 In field, sphinx l. above ΠB; under throne, Π.
16.35 gr. ↑ Müller 1095

LYCIAN-PISIDIAN DISTRICT 217–216 B.C. (?)

*16 In field, forepart of free horse l. over IΓ.
15.90 gr. ↑ cf. *TCHT*, p. 6, 44

This is another example of Hoard I, 44, but from different obverse and reverse dies. On neither coin are the letters under the symbol easily read, but on re-examination the letters on No. 44 of Hoard I seem not to be T as there stated, but the date IΓ as here. An attribution to Termessos on the basis of the symbol alone is not conclusive. Aspendos, where the Alexanders of this period are dated, also used the symbol of the forepart of a horse although there the horse is generally bridled and accompanied by the letters AΣ.

Since the writing of the above, M. Henri Seyrig has published an article redating the era on which the Pamphilian coins were struck.[4] Rejecting our reason[5] for beginning the era in 229/8 B.C. as too vague, he argues convincingly for an era beginning in 221 B.C., after the death of Ptolemy III, and ending with the treaty of Apamea in 188 B.C. This would date the Pamphilian tetradrachm, No. 25 in Hoard I, and the two coins with the forepart of a horse, No. 44 from Hoard I and No. 16 above, in the years 208/7 and 209/8 B.C., making them the latest coins in the Gordion hoards. The only other datable coin from the hoards

[4] *RN*, Nov. 1963, pp. 38ff.
[5] *TCHT*, p. 17.

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possibly struck after 210 B.C. is one for Antiochus III from Laodicea (Hoard I, 110) dated by Newell to ca. 215–205 B.C.

The dated Pamphilian coins are all in very fine, practically uncirculated condition, comparable to that of Antiochus III from Laodicea, indicating that they are among the latest coins of the hoard. Other coins showing as little wear are tetradrachms from Aradus for the years 219/18 and 217/16 B.C. and the coin of Simyra, No. 24, here dated 230 B.C. which weakens any argument based on condition alone.

LYCIAN-PAMPHILIAN-PISIDIAN DISTRICT Second half of third century

*17 In field, thunderbolt.
16.10 gr. ↓

The style of this coin suggests the general district; the form of the thunderbolt suggests that Selge may be the mint.

ARADUS ca. 323–285 B.C.

*18 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in ex.; caduceus in field; 𐤀 under throne.
16.15 gr. ← Rouvier, *JIAN* III (1900), p. 141, 56
ca. 316 B.C.

*19 ΒΑΣΙ . . . in ex.; in field, anchor and 𐤀 under throne, Γ (?)
15.95 gr. ↙ cf. *WSM*, p. 192; pl. XLIII, E.

*20 In l. field, palm tree; 𐤓 under throne; no date legible in ex.
16.15 gr. ↑ cf. Rouvier, *JIAN* III (1900), p. 143, 70
ca. 219–218 B.C.

*21 Similar; in ex. date, 41 in Phoenician characters.
16.40 gr. ↑ ibid., p. 144, 77

This is the most brilliantly preserved of the Aradus pieces in the hoard, although Nos. 22 and 23 were minted a year or two later.

*22, *23 ca. 217–216 B.C.
Similar. End of date in both cases off flan.
16.25 gr. ↑, 16.40 gr. ↑ ibid., p. 144, 78

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On neither of these coins struck from the same obverse die is the date entirely legible, but No. 23 and Rouvier's No. 78 from this year (43) share an identical reverse. Therefore both our coins are probably from that year.

SIMYRA OR ZIMYRA ca. 230 B.C.

*24 Similar; 𐤉𐤋 above palm tree; in ex., date, 30 (?)
16.30 gr.

In identifying a series of small coins, both silver and bronze, with *obv.*: Head of Tyche; *rev.*: 𐤉𐤋 above prow, Rouvier and Sir George Hill[6] interpreted 𐤉𐤋 as the initial letters of the town of Zimyra(Simyra). Here these letters must also stand for Simyra for both the style and the symbol, palm tree, with the initials of the city above leave no doubt that the coin comes from the *paralia* of Aradus.

The date, in Phoenician characters, in the exergue of our coin is not wholly on flan. Only the horizontal dash of the final ten is legible. This reverse and that of a Marathus tetradrachm[7] from the year 30 are so similar that they seem the work of one man producing almost simultaneously two nearly identical dies. If the date 30 which appears on these tetradrachms is reckoned on the era of Aradus, 259 B.C.,[8] as it usually is, the coins would have been issued in the year 230/229 B.C. Nothing in the style of this coin or in its preservation suggests to the writer that it antedates Nos. 22 and 23 by thirteen years.

BABYLON ca. 316–306 B.C.

*25 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in ex.; in field, MI over club, upright; 𐤌𐤐 in wreath under throne.
16.20 gr. ↑ *SNGC* 837

[6] *BMC Phoenicia*, p. xlv.
[7] *BMC Phoenicia*, pl. XXXIX, 2.
[8] Jules Rouvier's discussion of "L'ere de Marathos en Phoenie," *Journal Asiatique* XII (1898), pp. 361 ff. proves conclusively that the era of Marathus is not the Seleucid era, but some other era more nearly contemporary with the era of Aradus. M. Henri Seyrig in an article "Aradus et sa peree sous les rois Seleucides," *Syria* XXVIII (1951), pp. 206 ff., argues that all of the cities in the *paralia* of Aradus dated their coins on the Aradian era. Hill (*BMC Phoenicia*) based his dates of the coins of Carne and Marathus on an era of 259 B.C.

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*26 Similar; in field ΜΕ over club slanting down to r.; Ψ under throne.
16.35 gr. → *SNGC* 862

ALEXANDRIA ca. 326–316 B.C.

*27 In l. field, rose; under throne, ΔΙ.
16.40 gr. ↖ *Demanhur* 4610

UNCERTAIN MINTS late fourth century B.C.

*28 Legs of Zeus parallel; illegible.
16.20 gr. ↑

*29 Similar; uncertain symbol in l. field; monogram under throne uncertain.
16.40 gr. ←

30 Legs of Zeus crossed; illegible.
16.35 gr. ↑

*31 In l. field, bunch of grapes, uncertain letters below.
15.90 gr. ↑

*32 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in ex., uncertain letters and symbols in field; under throne, ΔΕ.
15.05 gr. ↗

IMITATIONS

*33 Similar; in l. field, thyrsus (?) or Athena Promachos (?)
16.20 gr. ↑

ca. 322–321 B.C.

*34 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝ ... around from l. to r. in barbarous lettering; under throne, ΨΡ.
15.95 gr. → cf. *Demanhur* 1471–1512

*35 In field, W.
16.15 gr. ↑ cf. *TCHT*, Nos. 49, 50

*36 No distinguishing marks.
14.05 gr. ↖ Imitation of 3rd Century Asia Minor types

None of these imitations shows much wear; No. 35 and the two similar coins from Hoard I, Nos. 49 and 50, with W in the field are in

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practically mint condition and unlike the great majority of the coins from these hoards none has suffered from test gashes, which suggests that these tetradrachms were a known and accepted coinage in Gordion, probably a product of the Galatians in this region.

Philip III

MACEDONIA 323–316 B.C.

*37 *obv.*: Head of Heracles r. in lion skin.
rev.: ΦΙΛΙΓΓΟΥ to r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in ex.; Zeus seated l.; in l. field, fulmen on ; under throne, .
16.45 gr. ← cf. Müller, xxvii, 1

In Müller the fulmen is shown above the monogram not superimposed on it as it is here. That arrangement may be only for the sake of clarity and does not indicate a variety.

IMITATION OF PHILIP III

*38 *obv.*: Similar
rev.: Similar; meaningless inscription to r.; Zeus holds rod instead of eagle; in l. field, .
16.50 gr. ↓

Demetrius Poliorcetes

AMPHIPOLIS ca. 290–289 B.C.

*39 *obv.*: Head of Demetrius r., horned and diademed.
rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΣΩΣ to r., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ to l. Poseidon stg. l.; in inner l. field ; in inner r., .
15.25 gr. ↘ *CDP*, p. 109, 116

ca. 298 B.C.

*40 *obv.*: Similar.
rev.: Similar; same monograms, but in outer l. and r. fields.
16.15 gr. ↑ *CDP*, p. 113, cxx

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Antigonus Gonatas

277–239 B.C.

*41 *obv.*: Macedonian shield, head of Pan on boss.
rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ to r., ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ to l. Athena Alkidemos striding l.; in l. field, Macedonian helmet; in r. field Μ.
16.50 gr. ← cf. Gaebler, *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*, III² (Berlin, 1935), p. 186, No. 3

Lysimachus

obv.: Head of the deified Alexander r. wearing horn of Ammon.
rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ to r. and l. of Athena Nikephoros seated l.; monograms and symbols as noted.

AMPHIPOLIS ca. 286–285 B.C.

*42 In inner l. field ; in outer r. .
15.80 gr. → Müller 102

PELLA

*43 In outer l. field (?); in ex., .
16.80 gr. ↓ cf. Müller 404 (Atarneus)

LYSIMACHIA

*44 In inner l. field lion's head l. over ; on throne.
16.20 gr. ↙ cf. Müller 47

BYZANTIUM

*45 In inner l. field above aplustre.
16.80 gr. ↑

*46 In inner l. field, .
16.55 gr. ↑ Müller 527

*47 In inner l. field, (?)
16.40 gr. ↑

CALCHEDON

*48 In inner l. field, Μ; in ex., ear of grain l.
16.20 gr. ↑

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LAMPSACUS

*49 In outer l. field, herm; in inner l., Φ.
16.45 gr. ↑ cf. Müller 90 (Sestus)

SARDES

*50 In outer l. field, ΡΕ; in ex., Δ.
16.30 gr. ↑ Müller 406 (Pergamum)

UNCERTAIN MINTS

*51 In inner l. field, Ρ; in ex., long torch l.
16.20 gr. ↑
*52 In inner l. field Χ
16.40 gr. ↑
*53 In inner l. field Α; in ex., Ν (?)
16.40 gr. ↑
*54 In inner l. field, Ρ
16.05 gr. ↑
*55 Illegible symbol
15.85 gr. ↑
*56 Illegible symbol
16.05 gr. ↑

The attributions above are based on a comparison of the Gordion pieces with the coins in the ANS collection. Since the arrangement in those trays is still tentative, our attributions are at best probable, not certain.

Nikomedes I

BITHYNIA ca. 279–255 B.C.

*57 *obv.*: Head of the aged Nikomedes r., diademed. Countermark of Calchedon; head of Apollo r., Κ in field r.
rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΟΥ to r. and l. Artemis seated l. on crag holds two javalins; shield beside her, tree behind; in l. outer field, Nike; in l. inner field, Μ; in ex. ΜΗ
16.45 gr. ↑ cf. *RGMG* I², pp. 219f.

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The monograms here given do not appear in Waddington, but are found on a tetradrachm of Nikomedes at the American Numismatic Society, from the E. T. Newell collection, which also bears the Calchedon countermark.

The same countermark was found on an Alexander from Amathus, No. 27 in Hoard I. It is there described as a head of Artemis and ascribed to Callatis. A number of similar countermarks, head r. and K, were found on a hoard of tetradrachms from Büyükçekmece published by Miss M. Thompson.[9] In that study the heads on these stamps were found to be of three types: veiled head of Demeter; wreathed unveiled head, possibly also Demeter; and a third type with neither veil nor wreath, the hair rolled at the nape and a lock falling over the shoulder, probably Apollo. All three stamps are attributed to Calchedon. The countermarks on both Gordion coins, No. 27 in Hoard I and on No. 57 above, are of the third type, head of Apollo, the curl over the shoulder being quite clear.

Prusias

ca. 238–183 B.C.

*58 *obv.*: Head of Prusias r., diademed.
rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΓΡΟΥΣΙΟΥ to r. and l. of Zeus stg. l.; in inner field, thunderbolt above ΜΗ over ΑΝΓ
16.45 gr. ↑ *RGMG* I², pp. 219ff.

Eumenes I

PERGAMUM 263–241 B.C.

*59 *obv.*: Head of the deified Philetaerus r., laureate.
rev.: ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ on r.; Athena l., arm on upright shield before her; bow in outer r. field; ivy leaf under outstretched arm; A on throne.
15.90 gr. ↑ Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen der Dynastie von Pergamon*, Berlin (1884), p. 5, 12, pl. 1, 7

[9] "A Countermarked Hoard from Büyükçekmece," *MN* VI, pp. 11ff.

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The Seleucid Kings

Seleucus I

obv.: Head of Heracles r. in lion's skin.
rev.: ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ to r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in ex., Zeus seated l.; symbols as noted below.

LAODICIA ca. 300 B.C.

*60 In l. field dolphin over Ⓜ; under throne, Ⓟ
15.95 gr. ↗ *WSM*, p. 182, 1212

SELEUCIA ca. 305–300 B.C.

*61, 62 In l. field ⋔Ⓟ; ΔΙ under throne.
16.40 gr. ↑, 16.55 gr. ↑ *ESM*, p. 12, 4

SUSA ca. 298–280 B.C.

*63 In l. field, ⋔Ⓜ; under throne, ΑΡΧ.
16.20 gr. → cf. *ESM*, p. 116, 312

ECBATANA ca. 303–293 B.C.

*64 In l. field, horse's head l.; ΔΙ under throne.
16.00 gr. ↓ *ESM*, p. 170, 457

The description of No. 457 in *ESM* omits the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, it is legible on neither of the examples there illustrated. Our coin is in very poor condition, but the exergue is less worn than on the coins known to Newell. It seems probable that the title appeared on all coins of this type.

ca. 293–283 B.C.

*65 *obv.*: Similar.
rev.: ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (illegible) at r., Zeus seated l.; at his feet forepart of horse l. feeding (no other details visible).
16.00 gr. ↓ cf. *ESM*, pl. 36, 5ff.

UNCERTAIN MINT

*66 *obv.*: Head of Heracles r. in lion's skin. Countermark of Byzantium: prow l. with terminal dolphin; ⊓ above, ΑΝΚ below.

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rev.: Illegible, Zeus seated l. holds eagle and scepter.
16.20 gr. ←

Miss Thompson in her article on the Büyükçekmece Hoard (see n. 9 above) dates this countermark, as well as those of Calchedon found on coins Nos. 57 and 76 in this hoard, to the middle of the third century B.C.

Antiochus I

SELEUCIA-ON-THE-TIGRIS — ca. 274–270 B.C.

*67 *obv.*: Head of Antiochus r., diad.
rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Apollo seated l. on omphalos; in outer l. field ; in outer r.,
16.20 gr. ↓ *ESM*, p. 56, 149

*68 Similar; in l. field; in r.,
16.50 gr. ← *ESM*, p. 57, 155

*69 Similar; in l. field, ; in r.,
16.20 gr. → *ESM*, p. 66, 177

SUSA — 280–261 B.C.

*70 *obv.*: Heracles' head r.
rev.: ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ to r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in ex., Zeus seated l.; in l. field ; beneath throne,
16.30 gr. ↙ *ESM*, p. 129, 354

Antiochus II

TARSUS — 261–246 B.C.

*71 *obv.*: Head of Antiochus II, r., diad.
rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Apollo seated l. on omphalos; in ex.,
16.05 gr. ↑ *WSM*, p. 220, 1307

ECBATANA — 261–246 B.C.

*72 *obv.*: Similar.
rev.: Similar, in upper l. field, ; in lower l., over forepart of horse feeding l.
16.10 gr. ↓ *ESM*, p. 193, 542

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Seleucus II

obv.: Head of Seleucus II r., diad.
rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ Apollo stg. l. leans on tripod; various monograms as noted.

SARDES ca. 246–242 B.C.

*73 In inner l. field ⊙Ξ over AI
16.45 gr. ↑ *WSM*, p. 260, 1417

TARSUS ca. 240–230 B.C.

*74 In inner l. field ΛA
16.55 gr. ↑ cf. *WSM*, p. 225, 1318 and p. 363, 1646

An examination of pls. L and LXXX in *WSM* where Nos. 1318 and 1646 are illustrated shows that both have similar ill-drawn monograms. The Gordion coin and *WSM* 1646 share an identical obverse. The style of our reverse is unquestionably the same as that of No. 1318. The three coins must therefore come from one mint.

ANTIOCH ca. 244–240 B.C.

*75 In outer l. field, ⚲
16.30 gr. ↑ *WSM*, p. 120, 988

ca. 240–232 B.C.

*76 In outer l. field ΚΕ; uncertain letters at r.
16.30 gr. ↑ cf. *WSM*, p. 123, 1002

This coin is countermarked on the obverse by the city of Calchedon; head of Apollo r. and Κ (see No. 57 above).

*77 In outer l. field ΑΕ over ⊕
16.30 gr. ↑ *WSM*, p. 124, 1004 (identical dies)

APAMEA 244–226 B.C.

*78 In outer l. field, ⊕Λ; in outer r., Ι above Ο
16.15 gr. ↑ *WSM*, p. 166, 1153

NISIBIS ca. 240–230 B.C.

*79 Type same as on Nos. 72–78.
In outer l. field, ⊕; in outer r., ♣
16.35 gr. ↓ *WSM*, p. 60, 814

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*80 Monogram in l. field uncertain, in outer r., ⅄
16.00 gr. ↓ cf. *WSM*, pp. 60f., 812ff.

SELEUCIA ca. 240–230 B.C.

81, *82, *83 In inner l. field, ⋔, in outer r., ⋔
16.35 gr. ↖ 16.10 gr. →, 16.55 gr. ←
ESM, p. 78, 204

UNCERTAIN MINT

*84 In outer l. field, ⋔ at top, ⋔ below; in inner l. field, ⋔
16.25 gr. ↑

Antiochus Hierax

SARDES ca. 241–228 B.C.

*85 *obv.*: Head of Hierax r., diad.
rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Apollo seated l. on omphalos; in outer l. field, ⊙ above ⋔
16.60 gr. ↑ *WSM*, p. 263, 1429

TARSUS ca. 229–228 B.C.

*86 *obv.*: Draped bust of Hierax r., diad.
rev.: Similar; in inner l. field, wreath
16.30 gr. ↑ cf. *WSM*, pp. 225f., 1319f.

Although struck from an unpublished obverse die this tetradrachm can be attributed to Tarsus, the only Seleucid mint at which the draped bust of Hierax appears. The coin, without magistrate's signature, but with a wreath in l. field, probably antedates *WSM* 1319 and 1320 and represents a special issue commemorating Hierax' victory over Seleucus II which Newell suggests (*WSM*, p. 229) was after 230 B.C.

UNCERTAIN MINT

*87 *obv.*: Head of Hierax (?) r., diad.
rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Apollo seated l. on omphalos.
16.75 gr. ↑

This coin may be an imitation, the product of no official mint.

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Seleucus III (?)

LAODICEA ca. 226–22? B.C.

*88 *obv.*: Heracles' head r.
rev.: ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in ex. Zeus seated l.; in l. field, dolphin above ⚓; under throne, ΔΑ
16.30 gr. cf. *WSM*, pp. 182ff., Series IV and V

This obverse die, not illustrated in *WSM*, finds a fairly close parallel on pl. XLI, 4, a coin from Newell's Series V. Neither of our monograms is there listed for this type at Laodicea, but on the evidence of the obverse alone our coin should probably be dated late in the reign of Seleucus III.

Seleucus III

NISIBIS 226–223 B.C.

*89 *obv.*: Head of Seleucus III r., diad.
rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ Apollo seated l. on omphalos; in outer l. field, ⚓; in outer r., ⋊
15.90 gr. ↑ cf. *WSM*, 828

Antiochus III

obv.: Head of Antiochus III r., diad.
rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Apollo seated l. on omphalos; with or without distinguishing monograms or symbols.

SARDES ca. 222–220 B.C.

*90 No distinguishing marks.
15.90 gr. ↑ *WSM*, p. 369, 1669
*91 In outer l. field, horse's head l.
16.30 gr. ↑

No. 90 is listed in *WSM* as a coin of Hierax from an unidentified mint. No. 91 of similar style was apparently unknown to Newell. These two heads of a slightly bearded young man seem to me to be portraits of the youthful Antiochus III rather than likenesses of Hierax.

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It is possible that both are coins of Antiochus III struck at the Sardes mint in the years 222–220 B.C., "a period of over a year, at the very least, when Achaeus must have been governing Sardes in the name of Antiochus III" (*WSM*, p. 269) and before Achaeus proclaimed himself king in 220 B.C. After the capture of Sardes from Attalus of Pergamum, one would have expected Achaeus early to decide to revive the Seleucid coinage at Sardes, striking coins for Antiochus III in whose name the conquest had been made. A logical model to choose for such coins would be the tetradrachms then current at Antioch, the capital. The large issue, *WSM* 1044, here Nos. 92–94, seems to have served this purpose both here at Sardes and at Laodicea (see *WSM*, p. 189). The first Sardes issue for Antiochus III may have been without distinguishing mark, No. 90; the next, coins with the symbol, horse's head, No. 91. The horse's head Newell (*WSM*, p. 270) identified as the personal badge of Achaeus for it also appears as a countermark on his bronze. The sequence of issues here proposed implies a mounting ambition and the rapid corruption of that prince. After taking Sardes Achaeus struck coins for Antiochus III showing no personal involvement (No. 90), next he chose to add his own symbol as authority for the issue, then quickly abdicated his stewardship. Confident that Antiochus III was too far away and too occupied with the usurper Molon in the East to oppose him, Achaeus proclaimed himself king and minted in his own name. The rather brittle style of his tetradrachm (*WSM*, pl. LX, 2) is similar to that of the silver here attributed to Antiochus III.

ANTIOCH — ca. 223–213 B.C.

*92, *93, *94 In outer l. field, 𐡠
16.65 gr. ↑, 16.55 gr. ↑, 16.20 gr. ↑ — *WSM*, p. 134, 1044

*95 In outer l. field, 𐡠; in outer r., ♠
16.35 gr. ↑ — *WSM*, p. 136, 1053

APAMEA — ca. 223–208 B.C.

*96 In outer l. field, 𐡣
16.30 gr. ↑ — cf. *WSM*, p. 176, 1186

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The obverse is double struck and the reverse is very crude. The coin appears to be an ancient forgery. The monogram recalls one used on coins of Apamea from ca. 246–208 B.C., but the portrait of Antiochus is unlike the other heads associated with this issue.

SELEUCIA-ON-THE-TIGRIS

*97 In outer l. field, ; in outer r.,  ; in ex. 
16.55 gr. → cf. *ESM*, p. 87, 230, 234

ECBATANA ca. 220–215 B.C.

*98 In outer l. field, above horse's head l.; in outer r., (?)
16.50 gr. ↓ cf. *ESM*, p. 206, 579

This combination of monograms is not recorded by Newell, but the variation is slight.

PERGA ca. 255–241 B.C.

obv.: Head of Artemis r., quiver at her shoulder.
rev.: ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ ΓΕΡΓΑΙΑΣ Artemis standing l., stag at her side.

*99 No distinguishing marks.
16.55 gr. ↑ *BMCLycia*, p. 119, 1

*100 In outer r. field, herm.
16.10 gr. ↑ *Weber Coll.* III² 7335

The autonomous coins of Perga, formerly dated to after 218 B.C. were re-examined recently by M. Henri Seyrig.[10] The two examples above belong to the first two groups in his classification and are dated by him to ca. 255–241 B.C. This, as he points out accords with their style. The worn condition of the coins and their numerous test gashes confirm the fact that they were long in circulation before the burial of the hoard. No. 100 adds a new obverse die to the series.

The composition of this hoard and Hoard I from Gordion are extraordinarily similar although found at widely separated points in the excavations. They provide a sort of numismatic record of the history of Gordion reflecting its prosperity as a trading center between East

[10] *RN* 1963, pp. 43ff.

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and West from the late fourth to the late third century B.C. In both hoards the earliest coins are from the lifetime of Alexander the Great when Gordion already seems to have had a settled economy. The sigloi, Hoard II, and more recently Hoard VI (1963) of Lydian electrum are further evidence of this. Posthumous coins of Alexander from the fourth century, Nos. 2–6, characterized by Λ over torch in the field, are generally attributed to the Amphipolis mint in the years ca. 308–300 B.C. These may have been brought to the district by the troops of Lysimachus when they lay long entrenched at nearby Dorylaeum (see p. 27). The large number of coins of Lysimachus himself from the following years shows the firm hold gained by him on the interior of Asia Minor.

In 278 B.C. Nicomedes of Bythinia brought the Galatians, 20,000 of them, into Asia. By 275 Mithradates I of the Pontus, employing the Galatians against Antiochus I, encroached on Seleucid territory and settled the Galatians in northern Phrygia, the Tectosages tribe around Gordion. The Galatians, unused to urban life, left the cities to the former inhabitants at the price of regular tribute, but they overran the countryside. The natives were forced to cede one third of their land to their new masters and in addition to pay rent in kind. Under these oppressive conditions there could have been little normal trade. This is reflected in the fact that few coins from the next thirty-five years, i.e., down to ca. 240 B.C., are found in the hoards. Of the few, some may have been brought in by Galatian mercenaries, others like the coin of Nicomedes, No. 57, as its countermark shows, probably did not reach Gordion until after the middle of the century, when more normal trade was restored. For many years, hemmed in by other Galatian tribes to east and west, the only trade route left open to Gordion seems to have been to the south. It is notable that the only certainly identifiable coins of Antiochus I and II (280–246 B.C.) in this hoard come from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Susa, Ecbatana and Tarsus.

In 240 B.C. Attalus gained a decisive victory over the Galatians. Although he did not conquer them, they were thereafter confined behind their borders and became reconciled to a life within their own territory. It is possible, but not certain, that in 228 B.C. Attalus held sway over all Asia Minor. In any case a hellenizing influence spread among the Galatians and by 223 B.C. many had even adopted Greek

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names. The hellenizing meant more than a change of language, it meant abandoning the countryside and lonely citadels for the towns and a settled way of life. Trade revived and coins from widely scattered mints, both Seleucid and city tetradrachms of the Alexander type again found their way to Gordion. Since these coins enjoyed a universal currency throughout the vast area of Alexander's former empire it is idle in most cases to speculate by what routes individual coins reached the city. The Amphissa coins from the last decade of the fourth century (found in all three of our tetradrachm hoards) are an exception. In addition to the official coins there are a few forgeries, among them No. 35 above and Nos. 49 and 50 from Hoard I. These, from their unworn and unmutilated condition seem to have been struck locally not long before the burial of the hoard. Are these perhaps evidence that the Galatians embraced commerce with almost too much zeal and had even established a mint somewhere in the district?

The latest datable coins in this hoard and in Hoard I from Gordion are much the same. In both we have tetradrachms of Aradus for the year 217 B.C. and Pamphilian "Alexanders" dated in the years 13 and 14 of the local era. These were interpreted by the author as the years 217/16 and 216/15 B.C., but more recently as 209/8 and 208/7 B.C. (see No. 16 above). Among the Seleucid coins in this hoard nothing later than the early issues (i.e., coins struck before 213 B.C.) of Antiochus III was identified.

The reason for burial may have been merely a normal precaution, hiding savings under a floor or in a wall for safe keeping. No foreknowledge of the coming of the Romans is necessarily implied.

Gordion Hoard VII

Hoard VII, another pot hoard, was unearthed in 1963. The pot, a squat red jar with hole mouth is about 10 cm. in diameter. It contained five gold coins, three staters and two Seleucid octodrachms.[11]

[11] It has now come to light that there were originally three Seleucid octodrachms in this hoard. One was removed by a workman and sold. It is well attested that such a coin was offered on the market in Istanbul, but has now disappeared into some private collection.

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Philip II (Posthumous)

PELLA ca. 290 B.C.

*1 *obv.*: Youthful male head r., laureate; in l. field, beaded fillet.
rev.: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Biga galloping r.; fulmen under horses.
8.55 gr. cf. *SNGC* 530

Alexander III (Posthumous)

LAMPSACUS ca. 320 B.C.

*2 *obv.*: Head of Athena r.
rev.: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Nike stg. l.; in outer l. field, double protome of horse; in inner l. field, ⚘
8.60 gr. *SNGC* 630

BABYLONIA ca. 320 B.C.

*3 *obv.*: Similar.
rev.: Similar; inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ[Υ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in outer l. field, wheel over 𐤊𐤋 (?)
8.52 gr. *Demanhur* 4606

Seleucus III

ANTIOCH 226–223 B.C.

*4 *obv.*: Head of Seleucus r., diademed.
rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ to r. and l. of Apollo seated l. on omphalos; 𐤔 in l. field, 𐤑 in r. field.
34.35 gr. cf. *WSM*, p. 130, 1029

APAMEA

*5 *obv.*: Head of the elderly Antiochus I r., filleted.
rev.: ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Apollo seated l. on omphalos.
34.35 gr. cf. *WSM*, p. 163, 1144

A coin from the same dies as No. 1 for Philip in this hoard is in the ANS collection and there dated tentatively to ca. 290 B.C.

In the *SNGC* a stater of the same description as No. 2 above is ascribed to the region of the Propontis following Newell's discussion

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of the symbol in *Demanhur*, pp. 86f. where he suggested that the double horse is merely a magistrate's mark, not the emblem of a mint city, e.g., Perinthus. Although the symbol and monogram on our stater and on the example cited correspond, the style of the two coins is quite different, the coin from Gordion very crude in comparison to the beautiful Copenhagen specimen.

The monogram below the wheel on the Babylonian stater, No. 3, is badly worn, barely legible, and may be ⋔ as on the tetradrachm, *Demanhur* 4606.

The octodrachm No. 4 is unpublished, but no doubt was struck at Antioch. The monograms on its reverse appear repeatedly on coins of Seleucus III and Antiochus III at that mint. The largest recorded issue of tetradrachms ever struck at Antioch (*WSM* 1029) was signed by these two magistrates in the reign of Seleucus III. The obverse die of the octodrachm was the same one used for striking tetradrachms Nos. 1029, ρ–φ. When employed for striking the silver the die was already much worn. The floating fillet of the diadem is not visible on the tetradrachm and the strong neck muscle so pronounced on the gold is much reduced. The identity of the dies, however, is established by a die flaw extending from the foremost lock of hair up to the beaded border. This is clearly visible both on the gold and on the silver (see *WSM*, pl. XXV, 11).

Octodrachm No. 5 is also unpublished, but as in the case of No. 4 similar tetradrachms (*WSM* 1144) are well known. The latter Newell ascribed to the Apamea mint in the interregnum, 246–244 B.C. He noted a similarity of style between these coins and certain tetradrachms of Antiochus II from that mint. He reinforced his argument for Apamea by pointing out that the monogram ⌘ occured on a bronze unit (*WSM* 1145) associated with the tetradrachms. A similar head of Antiochus I serves as the obverse for the bronze which is also inscribed ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on the reverse. The magistrate ⌘ signed coins at Apamea throughout the reign of Seleucus II as well as some of the bronze for Seleucus III.

As at Antioch the octodrachms and tetradrachms at Apamea are related by an identical obverse die. The obverse die of No. 5 was reused on tetradrachms *WSM* 1144, ϝ–θ. Pl. XXXIV, 9 shows the worn die of the gold inexpertly recut, the bridge of the nose thickened,

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the heavy neck muscle farther exaggerated and two tufts of hair at the top of the head recut to look more like part of a wreath than like hair.

There can be little question that the obverse dies for both octodrachms were the nearly contemporary work of one die-cutter. Although it is tempting therefore to attribute them to the same mint, this seems to me unlikely. More probably when the unusual decision was made to strike large gold (presumably as part of the provision for defraying the cost of Seleucus' impending campaign against Attalus) the best available diecutter was sought out to do the work. As was usual and correct the head of the king was chosen as the obverse type for the issue at Antioch, the capital. On the other hand, for an issue at Apamea, the military headquarters of the empire, this was a less obvious choice. Seleucus III was a weakling, a poor leader and unpopular with the army. There an impersonal, purely Seleucid type such as the head of Antiochus I, a great general and a diefied hero of the house of Seleucus, would have been more acceptable to the military. In assigning octodrachm No. 5 to Apamea the monogram on the corresponding bronze is the most telling argument. In addition it is improbable that the facilities of the Antioch mint could have coped with striking two such large series of tetradrachms as Newell's 1029 and 1144 simultaneously.

It should be no great surprise that octodrachms such as ours existed. It seems more remarkable that so little Seleucid gold of any sort has been recovered. The earliest Seleucids continued the practice of Alexander, Antigonus and Demetrius and issued staters, but in smaller numbers than their predecessors. Octodrachms are very rare indeed. Only two issues, both for Antiochus III and struck at the Antioch mint, are recorded (*WSM* 1074 and 1097). Newell suggested (*WSM*, p. 144) that these were "commemorative presentation pieces ... not intended for general circulation." That his No. 1074 is known from four reverse dies nevertheless implies rather extensive presentation. In his summary, however, Newell gives a more convincing reason for the rarity of Seleucid gold in modern collections. He thought a large portion of the enormous indemnity demanded by the Romans after the defeat at Magnesia was paid by Antiochus III in gold, thus funneling off great quantities of it for all time. Although reckoned in

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silver the levy was no doubt largely delivered in gold as less cumbersome to transport.[12]

Reasons of transport also persuaded Seleucus III to provide himself with gold in preparation for his campaign against Attalus in Asia Minor. By taking gold one horse could carry the equivalent of fifteen horses loaded with silver. It is probable that a quantity of staters from earlier reigns was in the treasury. To augment that sum, Seleucus chose (so far as we know) to strike octodrachms rather than more staters. This flamboyant gesture may have been inspired by a desire to emulate his rich neighbors the Egyptians. Also, perhaps, as has been suggested, Seleucus considered the octodrachms dazzling presents for his generals and for prospective allies. That he proceeded on his campaign equipped both with staters of earlier kings and his own octodrachms seems evident from this little hoard. The hoard can be most readily explained as loot from the Seleucid camp after the murder of Seleucus III in Phrygia. One of the known conspirators against the king's life was Apaturius, a chieftain of the mercenary Gauls. It was perhaps he who gave this handful of gold to an accomplice, a fellow Gaul, who took it back to Gordion and hid it safely in a pit in the floor of a dwelling. Apaturius' share of the spoil was no doubt incomparably greater.

[12] *WSM*, p. 398, nn. 9, 10.

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A HOARD FROM NORTHERN GREECE

(PLATES XXII–XXVI) MARGARET THOMPSON

Late in the spring of 1965 a hoard of 36 second-century tetradrachms came into the hands of a New York dealer. It contained the following issues:[1]

ATHENS

Obv.: Head of Athena Parthenos r.
Rev.: AΘE Owl on amphora within wreath of olive.

*1. Ar M with kerchnos and bakchos. 16.71 gm. ↑ T. 6 (new reverse)	195/4 B.C.
*2. Same. 16.71 gm. ↑ T. 6 (new reverse)	
3. E N with cornucopiae. Cf. T. 13–14 (new obverse and reverse)	193/2
*4. Ar Π with club. 16.56 gm. ↑ T. 20 (new reverse)	191/0
*5. Same. 16.70 gm. ↑ T. 23 (new reverse)	
6. M Є with trophy. 16.42 gm. ↑ T. 37c	188/7
7. Same. T. 41 (new reverse)	
*8. Same. 16.37 gm. ↑ T. 46 (new reverse)	
9. Same. T. 48c	
*10. Ar Φ with caps of Dioscuri. 16.45 gm. ↑ T. 61 (new reverse)	186/5
*11. E M with cicada; amphora letter uncertain. 16.51 gm. ↑ T. 66e	185/4

[1] References in the listing are to M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens* (*NS* 10) New York, 1961; A. Mamroth, "Die Silbermünzen des Königs Perseus," *ZfN* 1928; H. Gaebler, *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*, III[1], Berlin, 1906.

Coins reproduced on the plates are indicated by asterisks. Twenty-nine tetradrachms were acquired by the ANS and all except No. 6 are illustrated. Seven other pieces had been sold before the hoard came to the Society; photographs of these are on file but only two (of Nos. 2 and 23) became available in time for inclusion in the plates.

I am indebted to Theodore V. Buttrey, Jr. for information about the hoard and preliminary negotiations leading to its acquisition.

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*12. Same; M (?) on amphora. 16.19 gm. ↑ T. 70b
*13. ΑΝ ΜΙ with serpents; B on amphora. 15.72 gm. ↑ T. 77e 184/3
*14. ΑΡ ΝΙ with herm; amphora letter uncertain. 16.84 gm. ↑ T. 86 (new reverse) 183/2
*15. Same; amphora letter uncertain. 16.76 gm. ↑ T. 87 (new reverse)
*16. Same; amphora letter uncertain. 16.57 gm. ↑ T. 88 (new reverse)
*17. Same; amphora letter uncertain. 16.82 gm. ↑ T. 92 (new reverse)
*18. AMMΩ–ΔIO with kerchnos; A below amphora. 16.29 gm. ↑ T. 99 (new reverse) 182/1

BYZANTIUM

Obv.: Head of deified Alexander r.
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ Athena seated l. with spear and shield, holding Nike; BY on throne; trident in exergue.
*19. Κ inner l. field. 16.81 gm. ↑ ca. 180–160 B.C.
*20. Ξ inner l. field. 16.43 gm. ↖ ca. 180–160

THASOS

Obv.: Head of young Dionysus r.
Rev.: ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΘΑΣΙΩΝ Heracles standing with lion's skin and club.
*21. Δ inner l. field. 16.57 gm. ↑ ca. 180 B.C.

PHILIP V

Obv.: Head of hero Perseus l. on Macedonian shield.
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Club within wreath of oak.
*22. Ε outer l. field. 16.46 gm. ↙ ca. 210–190 B.C.

PERSEUS

Obv.: Head of Perseus r.
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΕΡΣΕΩΣ Eagle on fulmen within wreath of oak; in exergue, plough.

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*23. Ⱦ above, MI r., Φ between legs. 17.10 gm. ↑ M. 8 178–174 B.C.
*24. Same and from the same obverse die as No. 23. 16.82 gm. ↖ (11 a. m.)
*25. Ⱪ above, Ⱥ r., Ⱥ between legs. 15.48 gm. ↑ M. 22 170–168
*26. ⱾⱣ above, Ⱥ r., Ⱥ between legs. 15.44 gm. ↑ M. 25 170–168
*27. Same and from the same obverse and reverse dies as No. 26. 15.38 gm. ↑
28. Ⱶ above, Ⱥ r., Ⱥ between legs; same obverse die as Nos. 26–27. M. 19b 170–168
*29. Ⱬ above, Ⱥ r., Ⱥ between legs. 15.39 gm. ↑ Cf. M. 23 with Ⱥ between legs 170–168

MACEDONIA UNDER THE ROMANS

Obv.: Head of Artemis r. on Macedonian shield.
Rev.: MAKEΔONΩN ΠPΩTHΣ Club within wreath of oak; to l., fulmen.
*30. ⱭⰁ above. 16.76 gm. → G. 163 158–149 B.C.
*31. Same and from the same obverse die as No. 30. 16.16 gm. →
*32. Same and from the same obverse and reverse dies as No. 31. 16.95 gm. →
*33. ⱣⱣ above. 17.02 gm. ↑ G. 162 158–149
34. ⱣⱣ above, Ⱨ below. G. 167 158–149
*35. ⱣⱢ above, ⰒⰁ and ⰅⰟ below. 16.33 gm. ← G. 171 158–149
*36. Ⱥ above, ⰟⰟ and Ⱋ below. 16.73 gm. ← G. 168 158–149

No information as to the provenance and date of discovery of the hoard is available beyond the owner's statement that the coins were found recently in Northern Greece.[2] Identical patination makes it clear that the pieces listed above belong together but there is, of course, no certainty that the record of the deposit is complete. Several

[2] Northern Greece is almost certainly Macedonia. Tetradrachms of Athens, Perseus and Thasos are found in Thessaly but issues of Macedonia under the Romans have never been reported from that region. Furthermore, Tony Hackens, who has been in Greece for several years, writes that he is confident he would have heard of the present hoard or seen fragments of it if it had had a Thessalian provenance.

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small finds from Macedonia have been reported during the past few years and our lot may well be another section of a published hoard.

Three possibilities are worth mentioning:

1. A pot hoard from Kilkis (*BCH* 1962, 422) with 1 Macedonian tetrobol of the time of Philip V and 3 Athenian tetradrachms of 192/1, 181/0 and 180/79.
2. A tetradrachm hoard from Beroea in Macedonia (*Arch. Deltion* 1963, 4) with 1 Thasos of the M issue and 4 Athens of 194/3, 179/8 and 172/1 (2).
3. A tetradrachm hoard from Macedonia (*Arch. Deltion* 1963, 4) with 1 Thasos of the Δ issue and 11 Athens of 196/5, 181/0, 179/8, 178/7 (2), 177/6, 176/5 (2), 175/4, 172/1 and 171/0.

In the *Deltion* article Mme. Varoucha suggests that these three lots may come from a single deposit but she emphasizes that the tetradrachms from Beroea were in good to FDC condition, which ostensibly sets them apart from the other hoard coins under consideration. The Kilkis Hoard is said to have been a pot burial containing a tetrobol as well as tetradrachms; there is no mention of a vase or of fractional silver in connection with the other hoards. This is by no means conclusive but it does point to a separate deposit.

On the other hand our hoard and the third Macedonian hoard above are possibly two parts of a single lot. Both contain Thasian tetradrachms of the Δ issue in closely comparable condition, and both have early Athenian material, again markedly similar in preservation. The uncertainty as to the exact findspot in both cases is suggestive, and the interval between the appearance of one lot of coins in Athens and the arrival of another lot in New York is not excessive. Even if these two lots are combined, however, there is still no assurance that the record is complete. On the contrary, the more extensive the peregrinations of the hoard, the greater the possibility that choice items were abstracted along the way.

The three coinages which comprise the bulk of the hoard as we know it are those of Athens, Perseus, and Macedonia under the Romans. These present no particular problems of attribution or chronology. The Athenian issues cover the period 195/4–182/1, or 196/5–171/0 if the third Macedonian hoard of the Athens Museum is part of our

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deposit. All specimens on record here show considerable wear. The Perseus coins are in better condition, and the regional strikings of Macedonia are in very good to FDC state of preservation.

Nos. 19–21 are of greater interest in that they represent issues of uncertain date and their appearance in the hoard has chronological implications. The Lysimachi of Byzantium belong to a long series for which we have as yet few fixed points. In the Babylon Hoard,[3] buried ca. 155, there were three specimens in fair to good condition. The one reverse illustrated by Regling shows about the same wear as our coins and the issues of the two hoards are fairly close in style. A general date of 180–160 would seem reasonable for Nos. 19–20. They are in rather better condition than the Perseus series, but this may be fortuitous.

The third Thracian coin, No. 21 of Thasos, shows about the same amount of wear as the earlier issues of Perseus and definitely more wear than the regional tetradrachms. It must have been struck before 146 B.C., the traditional date for the beginning of the spread-flan coinage of Thasos. Within recent years several hoards have cast doubt on the validity of the customary Thasian chronology[4] and the present deposit provides additional evidence for revision. After Cynoscephalae Thasos regained its independence but by 188/7 Philip V had reoccupied the Thracian cities and it was not until ca. 183 that he was forced to comply with Rome's demand for a withdrawal of the Macedonian garrisons.[5] In all probability Thasos began its new coinage soon after Philip's troops had evacuated the area.

Of all the hoard coins the most significant is the tetradrachm with Perseus head and club types (No. 22). This is an issue which is generally assigned to Andriscus on the basis of an article by Gaebler in the *Zeitschrift* of 1902.[6] There Gaebler called attention to a series of tetradrachms that differed from the usual emissions of Philip V in the rendering of the club and oak wreath, the absence of monograms and

[3] K. Regling, "Hellenistischer Münzschatz aus Babylon," *ZfN* 1928, 104.

[4] M. Thompson, "A Hoard from Thessaly," *MN* XI, 79f. and the two hoards published by Mme. Varoucha in the *Deltion* of 1963 (see p. 60). Mme. Varoucha comments that the Athens hoards may substantiate the view that this Thasian series goes back to 168 B.C. It seems to me that the emissions began even earlier, ca. 180 B.C., which is the date given a Δ coin in List 220 of Münzen und Medaillen (March, 1962).

[5] Polybius XXII.6 and XXIII.8.

[6] H. Gaebler, "Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens," *ZfN* 1902, 152ff.

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symbols on the reverse, and the appearance of a beardless instead of a bearded head on the Macedonian shield of the obverse. One of the dies used for this coinage, according to Gaebler, was a retooled die of the ΛΕΓ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ issue of 149 B.C. Gaebler concluded that the atypical tetradrachms were struck not by Philip V but by the pretender Andriscus, who defeated the Romans in 149, adopted the name and title of his supposed grandfather Philip, and controlled Macedonia until he was overthrown by Rome in 148.

Our coin belongs to the "Andriscus" series. The head on the obverse is beardless and the only marking on the reverse is the monogram Φ, which is inscribed to the left of the wreath ties. This combination is new to the "Andriscus" coinage, but other tetradrachms of the series have a single letter or monogram in the outer left field.[7] The noteworthy feature of our coin, however, is that it is among the most worn of the hoard pieces. It cannot possibly be later than the splendidly-preserved examples of the Macedonian regional coinage and hence it cannot be an issue of Andriscus. It must have been struck by Philip V and probably struck during the earlier part of his reign.

A survey of material readily available at the American Numismatic Society throws further doubt on Gaebler's attribution.[8] The long reign of Philip V (220–179) is represented by 16 Athena tetradrachms from 4 obverse dies and 22 club tetradrachms from 13 obverse dies; the single year of Andriscus by 29 club tetradrachms from 15 obverse dies. Clearly something is wrong here.

One also finds that the stylistic difference in the treatment of the reverse type is not as clear-cut as Gaebler implies. Some of the "Andriscus" coins have clubs and wreaths very similar to those of the regular Philip issues; the clumsy rendering on other reverses may simply be the output of inept diecutters, perhaps working under pres-

[7] Gaebler described the "Andriscus" money as having neither monograms nor symbols. While it is true that much of the coinage is unmarked, there are a number of dies with Μ outside the wreath. A coin in the Berry Collection (*SNG* 388) proves upon closer examination to have the monogram ΦΣ in the outer left field and the same combination is probable on a Naville tetradrachm (XV, 1930, 542). Another piece, in Copenhagen (*SNG* 1308), has ΜΕ and the Perseus head facing right.

[8] The analysis is limited to coins in the collection and illustrations from sales catalogues.

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sure to supply a war coinage. As for the retooling, which is Gaebler's strongest argument, one would have to examine the coin itself to see how firm the evidence is for letters under the King Philip legend.[9] Judging from the line drawing in the *Zeitschrift* article, the marking in the outer left field, described as remains of the central part of the stylized fulmen of the LEG MAKEΔONΩN die, may be nothing more than a worn monogram on an "Andriscus" issue.

A comprehensive reappraisal of the club coinage in the light of new evidence should determine whether or not any part of it can be attributed to Andriscus. If, as seems highly probable, it all belongs to Philip V, the evolutionary pattern is logical and consistent: first the head of Perseus on the obverse and no control marks on the reverse, then the head of Perseus and a single letter or monogram, and finally the head of Philip in the guise of Perseus and a complex system of monograms and symbols.

The constitution of the hoard is of some interest but since there is no certainty that we are dealing with an intact find, it would be unwise to put any stress on composition as indicative of economic conditions within the region of interment. For what the evidence is worth, there seems to have been a substantial importation of Athenian coinage down to the time of Perseus and possibly through his reign. After 170 the new currency circulating in the area was almost exclusively Macedonian: first the pre-Pydna issues of Perseus and then, after an interval of ten years during which little or no new money was available, the regional tetradrachms of the Roman period. Four issues of this last series are represented. Of these, only the ⌂ coins have any appreciable wear and even they cannot have circulated for many years, which points to a burial date around 150 B.C. or shortly thereafter. Perhaps Andriscus did have some connection with our hoard after all.

[9] In this connection it might be noted that Gaebler was almost certainly wrong about another supposedly retooled die in the late Macedonian series. The evidence was presented by Pierre MacKay in a paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in December, 1962 (abstract in the *AJA* 1963, 214). MacKay's study of the Macedonian coinage of 158–149, begun during the ANS Summer Seminar of 1962, has not yet been published.

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TRINUMMUS

J. PETER STEIN

The main evidence for Mattingly and Robinson's theory of the late date of the Roman denarius[1] is taken from Plautus' play *Trinummus*[2] and from a passage in Livy.[3] The two scholars attempt to show that the word trinummus is a rendering of "tetradrachm" in terms understandable in Rome ca. 190 B.C., the supposed production date of the *Trinummus*.[4] They conclude from the passage in Livy and from metrological observations on the Attic tetradrachm that only this coin, which is equivalent in weight to three quadrigati (a didrachm of reduced weight and always referred to as nummus in Plautus) can be meant. Having thus established the circulation of the didrachm in ca. 190 B.C., the authors then postulate a revival date for Plautus' *Casina* soon after his death in 184 B.C.[5] They claim that in 184, or shortly before, the denarius was introduced and is, in fact, alluded to in the expression nummi noui[6] that was inserted into the original

[1] H. Mattingly and E. S. G. Robinson, "The Date of the Roman Denarius and Other Landmarks in Early Roman Coinage," *ProcBritAc* 18 (1932), 211–268; "The Prologue to the Casina of Plautus," *CR* 47 (1933), 52–54; "Nummus," *AJP* 56 (1935), 225–231; and the most recent reassertion of this view by the late H. Mattingly, "Trinummus," *NC* 1963, 47–50.

[2] *Trin.* 19–20: Philemo scripsit, Plautus uortit barbare,/nomen Trinummo fecit, and *Trin.* 843–850. See p. 68 below.

[3] Livy 34.52.6: Signati argenti octoginta quattuor milia fuere Atticorum; tetradrachma uocant; trium fere denariorum in singulis argenti est pondus.

[4] The authors are here not in agreement with the generally accepted dating of the *Trinummus* in 187 B.C. see C. H. Buck, Jr., *A Chronology of the Plays of Plautus* (Baltimore, 1940), 98–102. If this later date is correct, the production of the *Trinummus* and the issue of the denarius, as dated by Mattingly and Robinson, occurred in the same year, and possibly the denarius had already been issued when the play was staged. The silver for the new issue of coins was provided by L. Manlius Vulso already in 188 B.C.; see T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (New York, 1951), I, 367. Thus the terminus post quem for the introduction of the denarius proposed by Mattingly and Robinson is certainly dubious, if not incorrect.

[5] For the traditional view on the date of the *Casina*, see C. H. Buck, Jr., *Chronology*, 54–61.

[6] *Cas.* 10.

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prologue of the *Casina* in the *retractatio*. Terence's use of the word nummus for denarius is taken to substantiate this view.[7] The specific date of 187 B.C. is assigned by Mattingly and Robinson to the introduction of the denarius on the basis of the Senate's settlement of war debts in that year.

This paper is concerned only with the word trinummus; consequently it will be unnecessary to discuss all arguments advanced against the theory of Mattingly and Robinson. The late date of the denarius and the validity of their assumptions concerning the word trinummus have been opposed on grounds of historical fact, numismatic evidence, and literary tradition.[8] No effort has been made, however, to examine the evidence inherent in the word trinummus itself.

It was noted almost half a century ago that compound adjectives occur quite frequently in early Latin poetry.[9] One of the types described by Coulter is the adjective formed from the prefix tri- (sometimes also ter-) and the stem of a noun, adjective, or verb.[10] Examples of this particular formation can be found in Plautus, Pacuvius, Accius and Lucilius, but occur conspicuously seldom in Terence. A comparison at large of all tri- compounds employed by Plautus and Terence shows that Terence adopts only a few in good usage. All of his compounds in tri- are proper and time-honored:[11] triduum,[12] triennium,[13] triginta.[14] Plautus uses these words and several more of

[7] *Heauton Timoroumenos* 606.

[8] For a review of all arguments, see R. Thomsen, "Untenable Arguments for the Late Dating of the Denarius," *Early Roman Coinage* (Copenhagen, 1957), II, ch. 4.

[9] C. C. Coulter, "Compound Adjectives in Early Latin Poetry," *TAPA* 47 (1916), 153–172.

[10] Coulter's classification of trifurcifer and triueneficus under the heading "Second Element Verbal" is incorrect. The author has not recognized that the constituent parts of these words are tri- and the nominal elements furcifer and ueneficus. To the classification of triparcus with compounds using numerical tri- exception is taken, too; see p. 67 below.

[11] E. B. Jenkins, *Index Verborum Terentianus* (Chapel Hill, 1932).

[12] Triduum is used in Plautus as well. The Indo-European background of the word, which can be seen in the ablaut grade of dies, diu-, is proof of its age; see A. Walde, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1956), I, 350.

[13] Triennium is used in Plautus, too. The weakening of a to e in annus suggests a pre-Plautine date of formation.

[14] Triginta is an Indo-European word and of ancient date; see C. D. Buck, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin* (Chicago, 1933), 231.

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a similarly unostentatious kind: triarius, tribunus, triones, and probably also trimodium, which are technical terms of long standing;[15] trigeminus, which is used as a proper name long before Plautus' time;[16] trimus, an old word to judge from the thorough fusion of tri- and hiems;[17] trini and triplex, which are common at all ages;[18] tritauus, a pre-Plautine word invention;[19] and finally triobolus, borrowed and translated from the Greek word τριώβολον.[20]

There remains, however, a group of five Plautine words that occur nowhere else in Latin literature and form a class of their own: trifur, trifurcifer, trinummus, triparcus, triueneficus. Each is created by the composition of tri- with a familiar noun or adjective that remains unaltered in orthography and pronunciation. The force of the prefix tri-, which can be either "thrice" or "superlatively," is clearly augmentative in the cases of trifur, trifurcifer, triparcus, and triueneficus, words modeled by Plautus on such Greek forms as τρισκατάρατε, τρίγέρων, τρίδουλος and τρίπορνος.[21] The term trinummus, on the other hand, presents the use of the prefix tri- in its numerical sense as Plautus himself explains:

[15] Triarius and tribunus refer to Roman institutions before Plautus' time; "Triarii," *RE* 12A (1937), 2384–2391, and "Tribunus (n. 13)," *RE* 12A, 2454–2490. Triones was a proper name which is understandable only with a tradition. The word trimodium designated a unit of measurement, perhaps one of popular size. Plautus' use of the word gives no indication that the expression was new or in any way abnormal. The sense and impact of *Men.* 14–15: nunc argumentum uobis demensum dabo,/non modio neque trimodio, uerum ipso horreo, depends entirely on the comic exaggeration of a sensibly introduced metaphor. Contrasted with non modio neque trimodio, the word horreo closes the sentence with an extravagant phrase that came to Plautus' mind when all other names of Roman corn measure had been exhausted.

[16] "P. Curatius Fistus Trigeminus," *RE* 4 (1901), 1832; and "Porta Trigemina," S. B. Plattner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London, 1929), 418.

[17] A. Walde, *Wörterbuch* I, 645.

[18] Both formations show Indo-European ancestry; see C. D. Buck, *Comparative Grammar*, 233–235.

[19] P. Kretschmer, "Mythische Namen," *Glotta* 10 (1919), 43–45.

[20] For a complete listing of all Plautine words beginning with tri-, see G. Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum* (Leipzig, 1933), II.

[21] A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionaire étymologique de la langue Latine* (Paris, 1939), 1055–1056; and A. Walde, *Wörterbuch* II, 668–669. Also see H. Usener, *Dreiheit: Ein Versuch Mythologischer Zahlenlehre* (Bonn, 1903), 356–358 concerning the meaning of tri- in compounds like τρίδουλος and τριφάλης.

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> Huic ego die nomen Trinummo facio: nam ego operam meam / tribu' nummis hodie locaui ad artis nugatorias. / aduenio ex Seleucia, Macedonia, Asia atque Arabia, / quas ego neque oculis nec pedibus umquam usurpaui meis. / uiden egestas quid negoti dat homini misero mali, / quin ego nunc subigor trium nummum caussa ut hasce epistulas / dicam ab eo homine me accepisse quem ego qui sit homo nescio / neque noui, neque natus necne is fuerit id solide scio. (*Trin.* 843–850)

The necessity for this explanation is important. For it appears that due to the ambiguous quality of tri- the audience was not expected to understand the value of the term trinummus immediately. The interpretation of tri- in trinummus as augmentative was plausible because new Plautine expressions of this class were in evidence, but it resulted in an absurdity, since the superlative of a coin (an oddity like "supercoin") could not be imagined.[22] At the second mention of the term in the play,[23] it was made intelligible through the interpretation of tri- as numerical rather than augmentative. The derivation of trinummus from *tres nummi* is therewith made apparent, and the title of Plautus' play turns out to be a word play. Its development suggests that the audience was not acquainted with the word trinummus and needed an explanation of this Plautine neologism.[24] That Plautus originated the term is confirmed by this examination of the word play and furthermore by the fact that it unravels in the known Plautine sequence of enigmatic statement and subsequent explanation.[25]

A study of the expression tres nummi and its possible implications also proves rewarding. If situations arising from the plot are excluded, Plautus' use of the numeral tres and its derivatives ter, trini, etc.,

[22] No particular meaning is assigned to nummus. It is in most instances a generic term; see A. Stazzio, "Nummus in Plauto," *Numismatica* 14 (1948), 19–23.
[23] *Trin.* 843.
[24] Likewise the audience could not have known a coin called trinummus. In fact, no such coin is ever mentioned in the play. *Trinummus* is the name of the play (*Trin.* 19–20) and, in the mouth of the parasite, of a day (*Trin.* 843).
[25] E. Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus* (Berlin, 1922), ch. 2.

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seems almost exclusively reserved for colloquial statements or catch phrases. The following examples illustrate this:[26]

comesse panem tris pedes latum potes (*Bacch.* 580)
tris unos passus (*Bacch.* 832)
arripuit gladium, praetruncauit tribu' tegoribus glandia (*Capt.* 915)
omnibus male factis testes tres aderant acerrumi (*Men.* 595)[27]
Pa. breuin an longinquo sermoni? Mi. tribu' uerbis (*Mil. Gl.* 1020)
tris minas pro istis duobus praeter uecturam dedi (*Most.* 823)
tris facile corios contriuisti bubulos (*Poen.* 139)
quaero quoi ter trina triplicia, tribu' modis tria gaudia, / artibus tribu' tris demeritas dem laetitias, de tribus / fraude partas per malitiam, per dolum et fallacias (*Pseud.* 704–705a)
adgrediundust hic homo mi astu.—heus, Pax, te tribu' uerbis uolo (*Trin.* 963)[28]
primumdum merces annua, is primus bolust, / ob eam—tres noctes dantur (*Truc.* 31–32)

The casual use of tres in these passages indicates its vagueness of value and with its general imprecision of expression adds to the conviction that neither tres nummi, nor trinummus is a term of precisely defined meaning.

In conclusion one may say that both trinummus and its source tres nummi follow set patterns of expression. The phrase tres nummi is an example of the frequent use of the number three in Plautus. Trinummus conforms to the word coinage pattern of compound adjectives with augmentative tri-, but actually is a compound with numerical tri-. The combination of these for a word play has no numismatic implications and finds its innocent and equally non-definitive parallel in Brecht's *Dreigroschenoper*.

[26] For a complete listing of tres, tria in Plautus, see G. Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum* II.

[27] Roman law required the presence of two or seven witnesses in most cases, not of three; "Testis," A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (Philadelphia, 1953), 735–736.

[28] A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig, 1890), 366–367.

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ON A HOARD OF PLATED ROMAN COINS[1]

MANDO CARAMESSINI-OECONOMIDES

During the excavations of the Greek Archaeological Service on the south slope of the Acropolis in 1957, a small hoard of plated Roman coins was found near the bottom of the central room of the eastern Roman cistern.[2] Due to oxidation no traces of the silver plating on the coins have survived. The remaining copper cores were found in lumps, the normal incrustation of the surface of copper due to moisture in the soil having been aggravated by the fact that the entire area was riddled with drains.

Of the fifty-nine pieces in the hoard, thirty-five were cleaned and identified. The rest were in such poor condition that they could not stand electrolysis, but they appear to resemble the other coins.

The hoard contains sixteen cistophoric tetradrachms: fifteen of Claudius minted at Ephesus,[3] and one from Nerva's mint in Asia Minor; nineteen denarii: six are to be attributed to Trajan, four to Hadrian, one to Antoninus Pius, one to Faustina II or Lucilla, one to Commodus and six denarii to the second century A.D. The remaining twenty-four coins, as mentioned, were so poorly preserved that they could not be precisely identified.

[1] I wish to express my deep gratitude to Mr. J. Miliadis, former Director of the Acropolis, for permission to publish this hoard and the other coins found in the excavations on the south slope of the Acropolis. I also want to thank Dr. P. R. Franke who was kind enough to discuss this hoard with me. I must particularly express my thanks to Mr. R. Stroud for reading the paper and correcting my English.

The poor state of preservation of the coins precludes their reproduction on the plates; however, photographs of the material may be obtained from the author.

[2] I want to thank Miss M. Tsoni, who worked in this excavation and was kind enough to give me information about the other finds.

[3] A. M. Woodward, "The Cistophoric Series and its Place in the Roman Coinage," *Essays in Roman Coinage, Presented to H. Mattingly*, pp. 154f., 158f.

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Claudius (41–54 A.D.)

1. *Obv.*: [TI CLAVD CAES AVG] Head of Claudius, bare, l.
Rev.: Cult figure of Diana within a tetrastyle temple. DIAN EPHE across the field.

Æ ↓ 10.54 gr. Undated, (41–42 A.D. ?),[4] mint of Asia Minor (Ephesus). *RIC* I, p. 127, 53; pl. VI, 97; *BMC* I, p. 197, 229.

2–12. Similar

Æ ↓ 9.55 gr.–10.75 gr.

13. *Obv.*: TI C L [AVD CAES AVG AG] RIPP [A] V [GVSTA] Heads of Claudius, laureate, and Agrippina, bare, jugate, l.
Rev.: [DIANA] [EP] H [ESIA] Cult statue of Diana Ephesia, standing, facing.

Æ ↓ 10.62 gr. Undated, (50–51 A.D. ?), mint of Ephesus. *BMC* I, p. 197, 231; pl. 34, 2; *RIC* I, p. 127, 54.

14–15. Two cistophoric tetradrachms, very poorly preserved (Claudius?).

Nerva (96–98 A.D.)

16. *Obv.*: Inscription illegible. Head laur. r.
Rev.: Inscription illegible. Six wheat ears tied together.

Æ ↓ 9.40 gr. 98 A.D., mint of Asia Minor. *RIC* II, p. 231, 120; pl. VIII, 131.

Trajan (98–117 A.D.)

17. *Obv.*: Inscription illegible. Head laur. r.
Rev.: Inscription illegible. Eagle between standard and vexilum.

Æ ↓ 3.57 gr. 112–114 A.D., *RIC* II, p. 264, 294.

18. *Obv.*: ... TRAIAN ... Head laur. r.
Rev.: Obliterated.

Æ 3.55 gr.

19. *Obv.*: Inscription illegible. Head laur. r.
Rev.: ... IMOPR ... Obliterated.

Æ 2.94 gr.

20–22. *Obv.*: Inscription illegible. Head laur. r.
Rev.: Obliterated.

[4] Ibid., pp. 154f.

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Hadrian (117–138 A.D.)

23–26. *Obv.*: Inscription illegible. Head laur. r.
Rev.: Obliterated.
Æ 2.90–3.20 gr.

Antoninus Pius (138–161 A.D.)

27. *Obv.*: [ANTONINVS] AVG PIVS ... Bust laur. r.
Rev.: Obliterated.
Æ 2.85 gr.

Faustina II or *Lucilla*

28. *Obv.*: Inscription illegible. Bust r.
Rev.: Obliterated.
Æ 2.85 gr.

Commodus (176–192 A.D.)

29. *Obv.*: COMMOD ... Head laur. r.
Rev.: Obliterated.

30–35. Six plated denarii of the second century A.D.

36–59. Twenty-four denarii in very bad condition.

Plated coins go back to the early days of coinage in the sixth century B.C. and continue down into the Roman period.[5] A hoard of plated Republican coins mixed with Imperial issues down to the time of Claudius was found in London and sent to the British Museum in 1856.[6] They are all plated on copper as in the Acropolis hoard, but the state of preservation is much better. In 1940 L. Lawrence, at the end of his paper on plated Roman coins, asked why plated cistophori had not yet been found.[7] The answer to this question is given many years

[5] W. Campbell, *Greek and Roman Plated Coins*, *NNM* 57 (1933) where selected coins (Ancient through Roman Imperial) have been subjected to microscopic analysis; see also pp. 151ff. for a critique of the literature on the subject of plated coins.

[6] L. A. Lawrence, "Hoard of Roman Plated Denarii," *NC* 1940, pp. 185ff.

[7] L. A. Lawrence, "On Roman Plated Coins," ibid., p. 194: "Plated Roman coins are almost entirely confined to denarii. A few, very few, victoriati and quinarii are known. From the forger's point of view they were not worth the trouble of making. But why, then, did he confine his efforts to denarii when he could have profitably made cistophori?"

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later with the discovery of this hoard, found on the south slope of the Acropolis, which contains sixteen plated cistophoric pieces.

The poor state of preservation of the coins does not permit close examination for similarities in the dies or for any unique characteristics. Perhaps they were simply plated coins issued by the regular mint or forgeries made outside the mint.[8] This problem cannot be solved here.

It remains to discuss the manner in which these coins came to be deposited together at the bottom of the eastern Roman cistern. The other finds were lamps from the second half of the first century A.D. and from the third century A.D. The Roman pottery was of the second and third centuries A.D. and from the beginning of the fourth century A.D. In general, all the fill of the cistern seems to have come as a result of the destruction due to the invasion of the Herulians in A.D. 267. The finds must belong to the houses which were near the cistern. It is very difficult to imagine to whom all these plated Roman coins, on which so many emperors are represented, could have belonged. Perhaps before A.D. 267 and the destruction wrought by the Herulians, a selection of the accumulated numismatic offerings in the sanctuary on the Acropolis was made and the coins that were not genuine were given to someone who was working at the sanctuary and living nearby. Since the finds in general all came from surrounding houses, this hoard too ought to have belonged to someone who lived nearby. Hopefully, the discovery of other similar hoards in the future will help us to reach more precise conclusions.

[8] In addition to Lawrence (p. 194), see also the remarks of E. A. Sydenham, *NC* 1940, pp. 195ff.; H. Mattingly, *BMC* III, p. xix; *BMC* IV, p. xix.

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AN UNPUBLISHED CONSULAR SOLIDUS OF JUSTINIAN I[1]

(PLATE XXVII) MANDO CARAMESSINI-OECONOMIDES

In the remarkable private collection of Byzantine coins of Mr. El. Cantas, Athens, there is a unique consular solidus of Justinian I, struck at the mint of Constantinople.[2] The description of the coin is as follows:

Obv.: DNIVSTINI ANVSPPAVG Emperor seated facing, wearing consular robes, holding in r. mappa and in l. cross; in ex. CONOB.

Rev.: VICTORI AAVCCC Two Victories standing on either side of a long cross, each holding in the left hand a sceptre and both holding with the right hand the long cross; above two stars; in ex. CONOB.

4.38 gr. ↓ AI PLATE XXVII, 1

Justinian I assumed the consulship four times: A.D. 521 (when he was not yet crowned Emperor), 528, 533 and 534.[3] Yet the fact that this piece is a unique specimen of his consular coinage indicates that such coins did not circulate widely.[4]

The obverse representation of the enthroned Emperor appears in numismatic art as early as the fourth century A.D.; at first occuring with subordinate figures,[5] but later the Emperor's image alone.[6]

[1] I want to express my deep gratitude to Mr. El. Cantas for permission to publish this coin. I must express my thanks also to Mr. R. Stroud for reading the article and correcting my English.

[2] P. Grierson, "The Kyrenia Girdle of Byzantine Medallions and Solidi," *NC* 1955, p. 67, n. 41, mentions that he has seen the above coin.

[3] V. Grümel, *La Chronologie*, pp. 353–4.

[4] P. Grierson, op.cit., p. 68, n. 43: "... such a degree of rarity would show that they were not used for public largesses."

[5] *RIC* IX, p. 278, nos. 23(a), 23(b); pl. XIII, 4, solidi of Valentinian I and Valens.

[6] J. Sabatier, *Monnaies byzantines* I, p. 116, 15, gold coin of Theodosius II, two Emperors enthroned; Cohen, *Médailles impériales* VIII, p. 196, 9, gold coin of Galla Placidia, seated on throne facing; ibid., p. 211, 9, solidus of Valentinian III, two Emperors enthroned, Theodosius II and Valentinian III; R. Ratto *Monnaies byzantines*, no. 252, consular solidus of Leo I, Emperor enthroned.

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The type which is chronologically closest to the consular coin of Justinian I is the solidus of the period during which Justin I and Justinian I reigned together (April–August 527).[7] On this solidus both Emperors are represented seated on thrones and facing, an iconographic device which reaches its artistic culmination, as it were, during the reign of Justin II.[8] Rare specimens of this type are to be found during the reigns of Maurice Tiberius and Heraclius[9] and then the type disappears for about one hundred and fifty years, reappearing, slightly changed, at about the middle of the eighth century during the reigns of the iconoclast Emperors Constantine V and Leo IV.[10] The last specimens of the type are to be found during the reigns of Basil and Leo VI, the Wise.[11] In the ninth century the type is finally replaced by pieces with the representation of Christ enthroned.

The reverse of our coin is particularly interesting because it represents, instead of only one Victory holding a long cross, which is the usual reverse type of the gold pieces of Justinian I and the previous emperors, two Victories with one large cross between them.

The type of the Emperor or Victory holding a long cross first appears in numismatic art during the period of Theodosius II.[12] During the Roman period there are frequent representations of two Victories on coins, but they usually hold a shield, or a wreath, or they stand with clasped hands and they seem to be used mainly for purpose of symmetry.[13] It seems rather improbable that the two Victories on the reverse of the consular solidus of Justinian I are intended to form

[7] *BMCByz* I, nos. 1–6; pl. IV, 5, 6.
[8] *BMCByz* I, p. 77, 26, 27 (*R*), 28ff. (Æ), Justin II and Sophie seated on throne.
[9] *BMCByz* I, p. 127, 1, consular solidus of Maurice Tiberius, Emperor enthroned; p. 195, 96ff. (*R*), Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine seated on double throne facing.
[10] *BMCByz* II, p. 382, 26 (Æ), Constantine V and Leo enthroned; p. 394, 3–6, (solidi), Leo IV and Constantine VI enthroned.
[11] *BMCByz* II, p. 438, 8–10, (Æ), Basil enthroned; p. 446, 7 (Æ), Leo VI enthroned.
[12] André Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin*, p. 32, n. 3; J. P. C. Kent, "Auream Monetam ... Cum Signo Crucis," *NC* 1960, p. 129ff.; A. R. Bellinger and M. A. Berlincourt, *Victory as a Coin Type*, *NNM* 149, p. 63.
[13] Bellinger and Berlincourt, op.cit., p. 61: "The two Victories were simply available to create a symmetrical pattern, the easiest design to produce and to understand."

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merely a symmetrical pattern; rather their purpose here is to emphasize some important events. As we know, on January 1st of the year 528 Justinian celebrated his contemporaneous election to the consulship and to the throne with greater magnificence than any previous emperor.[14] It is very probable that our coin was struck in that consulship of 528 and that the engraving of the two Victories holding the long cross between them symbolizes two important events; the coronation in August 527 and the assumption of the consulship on January 1st, 528.

The obverse presents no difficulties of interpretation. During the co-reign of Justin I and Justinian I the solidi have representations of the two Emperors enthroned. Now, since Justinian I reigned alone, the obverse depicts one Emperor enthroned, wearing the consular robes appropriate to his new office. The engraving of the inscription on the obverse is very similar to that on a solidus of Justinian I struck during the first years of his reign.[15]

Another interesting element is the appearance of the mint mark on both sides on the coin, as on the solidus of the co-reign. The purpose is not clear; perhaps it is merely due to a peculiarity on the part of the engraver. It is possible, however, that he wanted to emphasize that such an important piece was struck at the mint of Constantinople.

It is hoped that the discovery of similar rare pieces in the future will help to solve some of the challenging problems which this fine coin presents.

[14] E. Stein, *Histoire du bas-empire*, II, p. 422.

[15] *BMCByz* I, no. 7, pl. IV, 10. Dr. Kent was kind enough to show me this coin during my short visit to the British Museum. As confirmation of the early date of our coin, Dr. Kent pointed to the absence of officinae letters.

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'ROMA INVICTA' — A NEW FOLLIS OF JUSTINIAN I[1]

(PLATE XXVII) JOAN M. FAGERLIE

A lot of Roman coins acquired by the American Numismatic Society in 1964 included an apparently unique 40 nummi piece of Justinian I from the mint of Rome. A description of the coin is as follows:

Obv.: DNIVSTINI ANVSPP Bust of Justinian facing, helmeted, diademed and cuirassed; holding a globus cruciger in r. hand and shield in l.

Rev.: M above, cross; below, separated by a line of dots, INVIC; to l. and r. R and M; border of dots.

O A

11.44 gr. ↓ PLATE XXVII, 2

The coin is closest in type to a specimen in the British Museum[2] which differs mainly in two details. The British Museum coin lacks the legend INVIC below the M and in its place is a star. Also, the British Museum specimen has a wreath border, not a border of dots (PLATE XXVII, 3).

These two elements, the legend and the border of dots, are new to the imperial issues of Rome. Both are found on the copper folles issued at Rome during the period of Odovacar and the Ostrogoths. The earliest of these has the name and portrait of Zeno on the obverse and Victory on the reverse accompanied by the legend *Invicta Roma*.[3] S C appears in the field and the denomination X L, in the exergue; the whole encircled by a border of dots. This issue was followed by a

[1] I am indebted to Professor A. R. Bellinger at Dumbarton Oaks and Dr. J. P. C. Kent at the British Museum for providing casts from their respective collections. PLATE XXVII, figs. 3 and 5—British Museum, figs. 4 and 6—Dumbarton Oaks.

[2] W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards in the British Museum* (London, 1911), p. 112, 30. Another specimen is found in J. Tolstoi, *Monnaies byzantines* (St. Petersburg, 1912–14), no. 313.

[3] Wroth, *Vandals*, p. 100, 1 ff.

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quasi-autonomous series on which the head of Roma and the legend *Invicta Roma* appear on the obverse and various types are used on the reverse: Victory, Eagle (PLATE XXVII, 4), and Wolf and Twins.[4] All have a border of dots.

The quasi-autonomous series belongs to the period of Ostrogothic rule before Theodahad. Theodahad (A.D. 534–536) issued folles with his own name and portrait on the obverse and Victory on the reverse.[5] The reverse legend is *Victoria Principum* but the border of dots is retained (PLATE XXVII, 5).

After the capture of Rome by Belisarius in 536, the imperial series began. To the first period of the imperial occupation of Rome (A.D. 536–546) belong the folles with a profile portrait of Justinian on the obverse and the M device on the reverse with ROMA in the exergue.[6] The reverse type is encircled by a wreath (PLATE XXVII, 6). This profile series may not have been struck during the entire period but it is apparent that it continued to be struck at Rome after 538 when the full-face type was introduced at Constantinople and elsewhere.[7]

The British Museum specimen discussed above, with a full face portrait, probably belongs to the second imperial occupation of Rome (A.D. 547–549). It retains the wreath border of the profile issues but ROMA is left and right of the M rather than in the exergue. Our coin must succeed this type; it replaces the wreath border with a border of dots and adds INVIC to the reverse legend, both elements breaking with the imperial tradition and both evidently inspired by the non-imperial copper of Rome.

The addition of INVIC to the reverse type greatly increases its significance.[8] The propaganda value of the coin is obvious and provides a clue in dating the coin. The use of *Roma Invicta* as an imperial legend is understandable and possible only during the third and final occupation of Rome between 552–565. When Narses entered Rome in

[4] Ibid., pp. 101–105.
[5] Ibid., p. 75, 19ff.
[6] Ibid., p. 108, 1ff.
[7] A Justinian profile type of 20 nummi was struck over a dated Carthaginian decanummia of year 14 (A.D. 540–41), P. D. Whitting, "An Overstriking of Justinian I at Rome," *NC* 1955, 238–40.
[8] The substitution of a border of dots for the wreath border, however, is inexplicable.

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552, the city was almost totally deserted and in ruins. But he began the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Rome and, with his other victories over the Goths following in rapid succession, it was recognized that the victory was a permanent one. The restoration of liberty to the city of Rome and all of Italy was proclaimed in inscriptions and the victory hailed with joyous celebrations.[9] It was in such an atmosphere of triumph and celebration that this coin must have been minted.

[9] Charles Diehl, *Justinien et la civilisation byzantine au VI^e siècle*, Reprint ed. (Burt Franklin, New York), vol. 2, p. 621 [originally published in Paris, 1901].

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BYZANTINE NOTES

(PLATES XXVIII–XXXVI)

ALFRED R. BELLINGER

In preparing a Catalogue of Harvard's Byzantine coins at Dumbarton Oaks and the Fogg Museum I have encountered occasional pieces inviting the kind of comment which would hardly be in place in the Catalogue itself. The American Numismatic Society has generously allowed me to use the pages of *Museum Notes* to deal with some of these.

The Notes are organized under the following headings:

1. The Copper of Anastasius I
2. Barbarous Folles of Justin I
3. The Gold of Justin I and Justinian I
4. The Antiochene Copper of Justinian
5. Silver with the Name of Justin
6. Anomalous Coins of Justinian's Year 26 (552/3)
7. A Mint of Constantine in Numidia
8. The Helmet of Maurice
9. Dodecanummia of Alexandria of the Seventh Century
10. Solidi of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine
11. A Group of Byzantine Coins from Sicily
12. The First Gold of Constantine IV
13. The Copper Issues of Constantine IV
14. The Copper of the Second Reign of Justinian II

The following abbreviations are employed:

D. O. Collection of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D. C.

NC — *Numismatic Chronicle.*

NZ — *Numismatische Zeitschrift.*

Ratto — *Monnaies byzantines.* Sale Catalogue, Rodolfo Ratto (Lugano, 1930).

Sabatier — J. Sabatier, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines* (Paris, 1862).

Tolstoi — J. Tolstoi, *Monnaies byzantines* (St. Petersburg, 1912–1914).

Wh. — Collection of Thomas Whittemore, Fogg Museum, Cambridge.

Wroth — W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1908).

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1. The Copper of Anastasius I

In *The Numismatist* of February 1963 Mr. Alan B. Shaw published an article on "Byzantine Folles of Anastasius I" in which he set out the reasons against Wroth's arrangement of the folles with the large module (Wroth 17–29) first and the small module (Wroth 36–41) second. He was, however, misled as Wroth had been by Sabatier's publication of a small-module M (his pl. X, 5) attributed to Justin I which would show that the similar small folles of Anastasius came at the end of his reign. It is clear, however, that Sabatier's coin must have been a misread specimen of one of Justinian's minor issues not from the mint of Constantinople; among the very large number of coins now known and recorded there is no sign of an instance of a small flan series issued by Justin. So Mr. Shaw's instinct was right and, in spite of Wroth, Anastasius' small coppers do come earlier than his large ones. Since Mr. Shaw deals with folles only it will be well to put all the denominations in order.

Count Marcellinus, under the year 498[1] says "Nummis quos Romani Terentianos vocant, Graeci follares, Anastasius princeps suo nomine figuratis placibilem plebi commutationem distraxit." The text has been variously emended[2] and there is a discussion of its readings and its economic significance by Robert P. Blake[3] but all agree that the reference must be to the innovation of putting marks of value on the copper: M, K, I, Є, for 40, 20, 10, 5, identified as follis, half-follis, decanummium, and pentanummium.

It seems certain that these are values in terms of the nummi which had been the ordinary form of small change through the preceding reign of Zeno (Tolstoi pp. 150f. Nos. 35–37) and of which a few were issued by Anastasius himself, bearing his monogram ꟿ (Wroth p. 7, Nos. 59f.) whose identity is confirmed by its appearance on a silver stamp together with one showing the emperor's name and portrait.[4] There would hardly seem to be enough of them to represent the total

[1] *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Chronica Minora II, p. 95.
[2] Wroth pp. xiiif., n. 3.
[3] "The Monetary Reform of Anastasius I and its Economic Implications," *Studies in the History of Culture. The Disciplines of the Humanities* (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1942), pp. 84–95.
[4] Erica Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps. Dumbarton Oaks Studies* VII, (Washington, 1961), p. 54, No. 2.

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output of Anastasius' first six or seven years, but Marcellinus is too explicit to be set aside without evidence and we must therefore suppose that the nummi were the only copper coinage of Anastasius from 491 to 497.

The first coins with marks of value had simple reverse types on small flans: M of about 24 mm., with a cross above and CON below the exergual line (PLATE XXVIII, 1); K of 20 mm. with a cross to the left (PLATE XXVIII, 2); I of 16 mm. with CON and CORD to the right and left (PLATE XXVIII, 3). There are minor modifications: the M sometimes with stars to left and right (PLATE XXVIII, 4); the I sometimes with dots to left and right (PLATE XXVIII, 5); or the reading ICON instead of CON, presumably intended to be read CON CORD I(A) (Wroth p. 6, Nos. 52 f.). The weight of the folles is extremely variable, from 3.29 gr. to 11.599!

The average of 23 coins in the Dumbarton Oaks and Whittemore Collections, Wroth and Tolstoi is a little below 8.40 gr. This would be about 38 to the pound of 327 gr. but the numbers are not enough to show a standard.

The next step was the indication of different officinae A to Є (PLATE XXVIII, 6–8). Apparently only Δ and Є were used for the decanummia of this size.

Finally the copper was issued on much larger flans (PLATES XXVIII, 9, 10; XXIX, 1), the average diameter of the reel border on the follis being 31–32 mm. The diameter of the flans varies from 30 to 39 mm. and Ratto's Catalogue of 1930, p. 19 distinguishes three types of follis, of which his C is the 24 mm. flan described above. For his A he gives an average diameter of 36 mm., for his B, 32 mm. Examination of a very large body of material might allow for different groups but what is now available shows so gradual a change that no safe distinction can be made between the diameters of 36 mm. and those of 32. Nor does it seem possible to arrive at any grouping of the weights such as D. M. Metcalf has given in the case of Justinian.[5] The frequency table gives a peak at 16.5–9 gr. and another at 17.5–9 but neither of these has any relation to the pound of 327 gr. and while we may feel that the heaviest coins are early we have no way to prove it. The one variety that might be thought to be a later introduction—

[5] "The Metrology of Justinian's Folles," *NC* 1960, pp. 209–219.

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that with the star on the emperor's shoulder—gives 18.08, 17.83, 17.50, 17.32, 16.63, 16.53, 16.30, 16.30, 15.80, 14.55, 14.55, which is somewhat below the figures for all folles but hardly enough to show a change of standard.

There are some variations of the follis. In some cases the emperor has an eight-pointed star on his right shoulder (PLATE XXIX, 2). Sometimes there is a pellet above each star to right and left of the M; sometimes there are pellets above and below each star; sometimes the star to the right is replaced by a crescent with pellets above and below both crescent and star.

The half follis now has a die diameter of 24 mm. with the officina letter to the right of the K (PLATE XXVIII, 10). There are specimens which show an eight-pointed star on the emperor's shoulder.

The decanummia are rare. They are of about 21 mm. diameter. CON and CORD or CORDI are to left and right of the I which is now surmounted by a little cross, and CON is in the exergue. The officina letter is to the left; Sabatier publishes B (pl. IX, 12), Wroth, Δ and Є (p. 5, Nos. 34f.; PLATE XXIX, 1).

To compensate for the scarcity of decanummia, the pentanummia now appear. They bear a large Є with a little officina letter to the right (PLATE XXIX, 3). Generally there are two pellets within the Є (Wroth p. 7, Nos. 54–58). Officina Є does not seem to have been used for this issue.

We have not the means of dating these changes accurately, but their general sequence is clear, though it has been obscured by the habit of the catalogues of listing the large flan issues first and the monograms at the end. Since the monograms continued the practice of the preceding reign they must come first, and if they did not Anastasius would have no copper at all from 491 to 497. Since the large flan is the fabric taken over by Justin I it must come last. The order of issues therefore is:

1. Nummi with monogram
2. (498) Coins on small flans without officina letters: M, K, I
3. Coins on small flans with officina letters: M, K, I
4. Coins on large flans: M, K, I, Є

Neither variations within classes nor the classes themselves can be dated with any exactness.

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The mints of Nicomedia and Antioch parallel that of Constantinople except that no monogram has been attributed to Antioch. There are folles of Nicomedia like the first folles of the capital: M with a cross above and NIC in the exergue. There are similar coins with stars to left and right and beneath the M (Tolstoi p. 186, No. 34). There are small flan folles with stars to left and right and an officina letter beneath the M; and there are large flan folles with stars to left and right and beneath the M (Wroth p. 7, No. 61). Both large and small folles have their appropriate half folles (D.O., Wroth p. 8, Nos. 63–65) and there are decanummia (Wroth p. 8, No. 66) and pentanummia as well (Ratto, No. 377).

The coins of Antioch seem to be rarer. There appear to be none of the small flans but large flan folles occur (Ratto No. 378) and half folles (Ratto No. 379).[6] There is one decanummium at Dumbarton Oaks and there are a number of pentanummia (Wroth p. 9, Nos. 69–72).

2. Barbarous Folles of Justin I

Much of the bronze of Justin I is very crude. There are good portraits, such as one from Antioch (Plate XXIX, 4) which is surprising for its period, while the same mint may produce a clumsy and careless piece (Plate XXIX, 5. Part of the unsatisfactory appearance is the effect of wear). There is a follis from Nicomedia whose details are correct enough but thoroughly unprepossessing (Plate XXIX, 7), while Thessalonica uses a grotesque obverse with three different reverse dies whose genuineness there is no reason to suspect (Plate XXIX, 6). Under the circumstances it may seem reckless to single out any coins as barbarous. Nevertheless, there are some pieces which seem excessive even for a careless period and which may be reasonably regarded as forgeries of the time, whether issued by private coiners or by barbarians outside the empire. The following are found in the Dumbarton Oaks and Whittemore Collections.

[6] Also David G. Briggs, "New Byzantine Mint Issue Discovered," *The Numismatist* (May, 1962), p. 617.

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1. IIVST NVSPPAC/ A mark at the beginning might have been intended as a D. The legend on the left is in almost a straight line, that on the right somewhat irregularly curved. Bust right draped; the details invisible. The shoulders are almost rectangular.
   D. O. 8.824 gr., 29/32 mm. ↑
   M Above, star (very obscure); to l. and r., stars formed of central pellets with obscure and uneven rays. Beneath, B In ex., COH (PLATE XXX, 1).

2.]YSTI NYSPPΛYC Bust r. draped diademed. Peculiar portrait with heavy jaw and angular shoulders.
   Wh. 12.90 gr., 32/34 mm. ↓
   M Above, cross; to l. and r., stars (the one to l. obscure) formed of central pellets and thin rays. Beneath, Γ In ex., CON (PLATE XXX, 2).

3. DNANVSTA SIVSPPA The legend is a combination of Anastasius and Justin. Bust r. diademed. Badly battered but apparently less obviously barbarous style than the preceding.
   D. O. 15.582 gr., 28/31 mm. ↓
   M Above, cross; to l. and r., crosses. In ex., CON Beneath, Δ The M is wide and awkward; the cross above larger than normal (PLATE XXX, 3).

4. DИIVST HV[ ]P Bust r. draped diademed. Very large nose and jaw; shoulders make a straight line at the neck.
   D. O. 16.750 gr., 29 mm. ↓
   M Above cross; to l. and r., crosses. Beneath Є In ex., CON The style of the reverse is as good as that of the regular issues (PLATE XXX, 4).

5. D]NIVSTI HV2PPAV Bust r. Much worn and corroded.
   D. O. 11.653 gr., 30/33 mm. ↓
   M Above, cross; to l. and r., stars. Beneath, B In ex., NIKM (PLATE XXX, 5).

The blunders of the obverse inscription are suspicious, still more so the form of the B on the reverse with the upper loop larger than the lower, and the N and K in the exergue. The weight is very low.

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6. ꝺ NI[ ] 2IV2H Bust r. draped and diademed. M Above, cross; to l. and r., stars. Beneath, B No mintmark can be seen (PLATE XXX, 6).

D. O. 8.67 gr., 27 mm. ↓

The flan is cracked and the portrait is extremely clumsy. This might be intended for Anastasius I.

What criteria can be considered reliable in distinguishing between these and prototypes which are regarded as official no matter how homely? Obviously not the skill and taste of the die-sinker alone. If so dismal a performance as the one from Nicomedia (PLATE XXIX, 7) was to be accepted as good money the citizen ought to be shocked by no violence done to the imperial visage. Nor can we rely on accidents such as an N or S backwards; such lapses occur on a great many perfectly genuine coins.

But there is a distinction between the merely clumsy man or the merely careless one who knows what he is supposed to do but does not do it and the workman so ignorant that he does not understand what is expected of him. To the latter class clearly belong the die-sinkers of Nos. 3 and 6. They did not know the emperor's name, and no more elementary knowledge, we may suppose, could be demanded of the men who struck the imperial money. To be sure we must remember that from the reign of Justin II into that of Maurice the mint of Antioch could rarely produce a tolerable version of the emperor's name, but that must have been because in the condition of the city from earthquake and war no artisans could be found who could understand a Latin inscription. It was a situation quite different from that of an incompetent intruding nonsense into the operations of an orthodox mint.

The makers of Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 5 might plead that they did know the emperor's name, though they did not manage to get it quite right, but when their vagaries are combined with other evidences of abnormality: H for N on No. 1, Y for V on No. 2, the subhuman portrait of No. 4, the clumsy reverse of No. 5, it is evident that none of them is up to the lowest standard of respectability. No. 4 is probably the highest in order of respectability for its reverse looks entirely genuine (and it is hardly an objection that the only three

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cross follis recorded for Justin from Constantinople is from officina B), but if the portrait be compared even with that from Nicomedia it is evident that this too must be included among those that the imperial mints could not tolerate.

3. The Gold of Justin I and Justinian I

There is a notable variety in the gold issues of the joint reign which lasted only from 1 April to 1 August 527. Evidently it was felt necessary to emphasize the collegiality of uncle and nephew and a number of dies were promptly cut to strike gold pieces for the important people who would get a chance to use that metal and whose support was worth attracting in this fashion. The obverse always shows the two emperors enthroned side by side and the mint-mark CONOB now appears upon the obverse as well as the reverse. But a number of minor differences produce an interesting complexity. Thirty-four specimens have been examined in the hand or from photographs in an attempt to reduce this to a system. All are of Type 2 (Wroth, p. 23) unless otherwise noted.

1. D.O., from Seaby S Lyre back
2. D.O., Peirce Collection I
3. D.O., Swiss Collection I
4. D.O., from Leu 31.x.60 Δ
5. Wh. Γ
6. Wh. I
7. Wh. Z Type 1
8. Wroth No. 1 B Type 1
9. Wroth No. 2 Δ Type 1
10. Wroth No. 3 I Type 1
11. Wroth No. 4 Γ
12. Wroth No. 5 S
13. Wroth No. 6 Θ
14. Tolstoi No. 132 B Type 1
15. Tolstoi No. 135 Θ Type 1
16. Tolstoi No. 138 Δ
17. Tolstoi No. 140 S
18. Tolstoi No. 141 H Lyre back

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19. Tolstoi No. 143 I Lyre back
20. Sabatier No. 1 I
21. Ratto 1930 No. 436 I
22. Ratto 1930 No. 437 I
23. Ratto 1930 No. 438 Θ
24. Ratto 1955 No. 1207 Θ = Glendining 1953 No. 184
25. Photiades Cat. No. 113 S
26. Moustier Cat. No. 3959 I
27. Montagu Cat. Rollin et Feuardent 1896 No. 1095 H Lyre back
28. Montagu Cat. Rollin et Feuardent 1896 No. 1096 Δ
29. Ponton d'Amécourt Cat. Rollin et Feuardent 1887 No. 873 Є
30. Glendining 1941 No. 883 Z = Glendining 1922 No. 40
31. Glendining 1950 No. 2212 S = Evans Sale 1922 No. 297
32. Hirsch 1909 Consul Weber No. 3012 Γ
33. Hess 1917 Horskey No. 4692 I
34. Stacks 1938 Faelton No. 1712 I

I believe Wroth is right (p. 23) in recognizing two primary distinctions which he calls Types 1 and 2. On the former the emperors' hands are clasped on their breasts; on the latter the right hand is on the breast but the left hand holds a globe. One hesitates to speak of a sequence of issues in a period of only four months but it may be suggested that the superior majesty of Type 2 was felt to be more appropriate to the situation than the superior piety of Type 1. Type 1 seems to be distinctly rarer (7 specimens against 27 of Type 2) and this may have been a case of official revision with Type 2 the approved version. The possibility is somewhat strengthened by the fact that three officinae (Δ, Θ, I) struck both types. A cross potent between the heads is a feature which is regular but not invariable on Type 2 (D. O. has one without) and generally though not always absent on Type 1 (Tolstoi 132 has a cross). Even though the rule is not invariable it is likely that it will generally apply. There are also differences in the representation of the throne. The seat itself is never shown and on most of the coins the emperors are pictured rather absurdly sitting on nothing (PLATE XXX, 7). There are 16 pieces of this variety, coming from officinae B, Γ, Δ, Є, S, Z, Θ, I (D. O. Swiss

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Collection, D. O. Leu, Tolstoi 132, 138, Wroth 2, 6, Ratto 1930, 436, 437, Ponton d'Amécourt 873, Montagu 1096, Glendining 1950, 2212, Ratto 1955,1207, Hirsch 3012, Hess 4692, Stacks 1712, Glendining 1922, 40). There are, however, cases where a straight-backed throne is indicated: Whittemore Γ and Ratto 1930, 438 (Θ) show both the uprights and the cross bar. The uprights are left attached to nothing on Whittemore and Dumbarton Oaks pieces (I), Finally a lyre-backed throne showing both uprights and cross bar, the most ambitious design, appears on D. O. S (PLATE XXX, 8), Tolstoi 141, 143, Montagu H. It is obvious that the throne ought to be represented but the number of specimens of all varieties prove that the type with no throne is the norm, with exceptional virtuosity shown by the two groups of die sinkers of Whittemore Γ (PLATE XXXI, 1) and Ratto 1930, 438; D. O. S, Tolstoi 141, 143 and Montagu 1095, and ambitious ineptitude of two different degrees displayed by those of Whittemore I (PLATE XXXI, 2), Whittemore Z (PLATE XXXI, 3) and D. O. Peirce.

On the great majority of pieces (20) the emperors are shown with their left knees advanced but on one (Tolstoi 132) it is the right knees whereas twice (Tolstoi 141, Montagu 1095), Justin's right knee is forward, Justinian's left, and three times (Whittemore Z, Wroth 2, Tolstoi 135) it is the left knee of Justin and the right of Justinian that are advanced. (PLATE XXXI, 2).

Added to these complications is variation in the obverse legend. The most usual form is DNIVSTINЄTIVSTINIANPPAVC, occurring on 16 pieces from officinae B, Γ, Δ, S, Z, Θ, I. There is one expanded form: DNIVSTINVЄTIVSTINIANVS PPAVC (PLATE XXX, 8) which occurs three times from officinae S and H; and one abbreviated form: DNIVSTINЄTIVSTINIPPAVC which occurs four times from Є, Θ, and I. There is also one erroneous form: DNIVSTINЄTIVSTINANPPAVC (PLATE XXXI, 2) with the third I in Justinian's name omitted. There are 9 specimens of this from Δ, S, Θ, I. Small as the numbers are they prove that this is not a matter of the idiosyncracies of different officinae. Nor can it be shown that the different divergencies are connected. We can only conclude that a number of engravers, working in a hurry, produced dies which conformed in general, to be sure, but which were not strictly controlled as to details.

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4. The Antiochene Copper of Justinian

In the reign of Justinian I the mint of Antioch is remarkable for the variations in its copper issues. In Constantinople there is the primary distinction between the folles and half folles with the imperial portrait to the right and those with the facing portrait from 538 on and dated. The mint mark on the follis is invariably CON; on the half follis there is none. But at Antioch the folles have four different mint marks before the dated issues and five thereafter, and there are similar changes in the lesser denominations. While the phenomena are not of the first importance they do shed some light on the details of the mint procedure and illustrate one stage in the confusion of alphabets.

Grierson has determined the sequence of follis types before the introduction of the facing portrait as follows:

Class I	Bust r./Mint mark ANTIX	527/8
Class II	Seated figure/+THЄЧP	ca. 529–533
Class III	Bust r./+THЄЧβ+	ca. 533–537
Class IV	Bust r./ΘYΠOΛS	ca. 537–539

With Class I goes the half follis with A N / T X or A N / TI X to l. and r. of a long cross. The half follis of Class II has T H / Є Ц / P in the same position. To this succeeds T H / Є Ч / P in Class III and Class IV has Θ V / Π O. / Λ S. A decanummium of Class II has THЄЧP in the exergue. I know of no decanummia of the other Classes.

The legend ANTIX for ANTIOXIA had been taken over from the ANTX of Anastasius modified to ANTIX by Justin I and shows a tolerance of anomalous abbreviation which persists.

After the great earthquake of 528, which accounts for the lack of coinage in 528/9, the city was renamed Theoupolis, as expressed by the mint marks thereafter. The forms of Classes II and III, THЄЧP and THЄЧβ show, like ANTIX, a willingness to drop out letters, for the strict abbreviation should be THЄOЧ, not THЄЧ: Ч is a Greek

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version of V. A palaeographical detail is the use of Ц on half folles of Class II which gives place to Ч in Class III. Class IV is predominantly Greek with $\overline{\Theta Y}$ standing for ΘЄOY; here the I of Polis is omitted; S, regularly used for digamma as the number 6 in officina marks, is now merely a Latin S taking the place of stigma; the half follis uses V for Y. No exact dates are available, but the half folles and decanummium are consistent with the folles and we may believe that the designs were changed from one Class to another simultaneously for all denominations.

With the introduction of the facing portrait there is a new series of classes, the mint marks of whose folles may be summarized as follows:

Folles

Class A $\overline{\Theta Y}$ПO	539/40
Class B ƧHЄЧPO	542/3
Class C ЧHЧ[illegible]	546/7–548/9
Class D ƧHЧ[illegible]	549/50–555/6
Class E ƧHЧP (or Ƥ)	556/7–560/1
Class F ƧHЄЧP	559/60–562/3

But there is not strict correspondence with the minor issues whose varieties had better be listed separately, with the caveat that there are years from which no half folles and decanummia have as yet been identified. The discovery of specimens might modify the pattern.

Half Folles

Class A $\overline{\Theta V}$	539/40
Class B $\overline{CH}$	542/3
Class C [illegible]	546/7–552/3
Class D missing	
Class E [illegible]	556/7
Class F Ƥ	562/3

Decanummia

Class A missing	
Class B ƧHЄЧP	542/3
Class C ЧHЧ[illegible] (or [illegible])	546/7–549/50
Class D ƧHЧ[illegible]	550/1–555/6
Class E ƧHЄЧP (once ƧHЧP)	559/60–564/5

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The correct and simple abbreviations of Class A may have been intended as the beginning of a reform of the Antiochene copper. Unhappily the capture and sack of the city by the Persians in 540 intervened and no coins were struck in the years 540/1 and 541/2. There must have been elements in Chosroes' campaign not preserved in our sources, for the time of the city's capture is given most specifically as June by Malalas and since Justinian's years are reckoned from April 1 when he became the colleague of Justin I as emperor, the period from April to June should have been available for the striking of coins of his 14th year unless the Persian campaign was a closer menace to Antioch than Procopius reveals. In any case there are no immediate successors to the fine first dated issue and when the next coins were issued the mint mark reverted to an earlier model. The use of $\bar{\Theta}\bar{V}$ for the half follis is entirely appropriate to the form of the follis.

The follis mark of Class B, ƧHЄЧPO abandons the Greek of Class A to return to the Latin letters. The T now appears as Ƨ, a cursive form whose first appearance on coins is on the marriage solidus of Anastasius. It was continued at Antioch as long as the mint continued to operate. On the half follis it has become $\overline{CH}$, apparently because of confusion with the mark of abbreviation on the preceding class. The decanummium repeats the follis.

The second gap in the copper issues comes from 543 to 546/7 and is to be explained by the great plague which reached Antioch in 542 with devastating effects. In its first year the mint continued to operate with the production of Class II, but thereafter all normal civic activity must have been paralyzed. When it is resumed it is apparent that untrained personnel are being employed for the first letter of the new mint mark, ЧHЧ⛧ is not a late form of T but an entire misunderstanding of the letter. The designer's (or the workman's) weakness was ignorance of Latin: evidently ƧHЄЧ meant nothing to him whereas ⛧ is a perfectly reasonable symbol for Polis. In the space available beneath the K of the half follis ⛧ alone is used which does not, I think, imply that "Polis" was a term in general use for "Antiochia." The decanummium again repeats the legend of the follis. It is to be noted that both the half folles and the decanummia continue the mint mark of Class C longer than do the folles

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and that thereafter the classes of the three denominations do not quite synchronize, suggesting that they were designed by or for different die-sinkers.

Class D of the follis gets rid of the barbaric Ч of Class C, and is followed by the decanummia. This preserves, however, the incongruity between the Latin beginning and the Greek ending: Latin is the language of officialdom but it never quite manages to exclude the language of common speech. The final modifications hardly call for comment except for the appearance of Ꝑ. The half folles show that it is certainly intended to stand for Polis. The change from Greek ΠΟ to Latin Ꝑ is clear enough but I can suggest no better explanation of the form Ꝑ than that it may have been intended to be resolved into POL. The official preference for Latin might explain, if it does not excuse, this transliteration at Antioch. At any rate, it is not the temporary lapse of an ignorant die-sinker for it is continued through the reign of Maurice.

One more detail is made clear from this sorry material: the two sides of the coin were struck from dies prepared by different people. Through all the vagaries of the mint mark the obverse inscription preserved its orthodox consistency with only such deviations as ending AV instead of AVC, but in 562/3, when the mint mark had settled down to a reasonable ƧHЄЧP, the obverse legend suddenly collapsed and appears in such astonishing forms as VNIVATLN INASD CTV! Since the half folles are generally struck from obverse dies prepared for folles, the inscriptions are mostly off the flans and give us no satisfactory parallels, but one half follis of the same year shows]ƧΓS[which is clearly no part of a normal legend. A decanummium of 564/5 has VNLO[ ]LLPSƧ. We have no idea what caused the illiteracy of the die-sinkers but it is clear that illiteracy is the trouble, for the imperial portrait though never very handsome, continues to be presentable, and the reverse legend is quite unaffected by the wildness of the obverse, showing that the designers were not the same.

5. Silver with the Name of Justin

Little silver pieces were issued by Justinian I, the obverse bearing a bust of the emperor to the right; the reverse, the emperor stand-

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ing nimbate holding spear and globus cruciger accompanied by the legend GLORIA ROMANORVM. The mint mark is COB (PLATE XXXI, 4, 5). They are in two denominations generally called double siliqua and siliqua—how correctly who can say? I am not here concerned with their value nor with the proper interpretation of the mint mark but solely with their relation to coins with the same types bearing the name of Justin (PLATE XXXI, 6, 7). The siliquae are attributed by Wroth to Justin I (p. 13, 15–19), but Grierson has recognized a division. The double siliqua with the bust to l. (Wroth, pl. III, 1) is like the coin of Anastasius (Tolstoi 14) and is therefore probably a coin of the elder Justin. With this should also go Tolstoi 22 which is like it in its comparatively high relief and competent modelling. To Justin I would also belong Tolstoi 26 which has a garbled VOT MVLT type like that of Anastasius (Wroth, pl. I, 6). On the other hand, many specimens of siliquae with linear design and a minimum of modelling are struck from a single obverse die which has one strange feature: the back of the head is not shown at all; there is nothing behind the diadem, while above appear remains of a plume now entirely dissociated from the head (PLATE XXXI, 6). It is incredible that this misunderstanding of the type could be the model for the correct rendering of Justinian (PLATE XXXI, 5); the wrong one must have degenerated from the right one. The wrong must, in consequence, belong to Justin II. With the siliqua should go the double siliqua with the same type and extremely linear design, though with the head less absurdly rendered. On grounds of style these also may be assigned to the later Justin, and there is also an iconographic point to be noted. They show the emperor holding globus cruciger, whereas on the similar types of Anastasius and Justin I he holds a plain globe. The globus cruciger held by the emperor is a prominent feature on the facing type of Justinian and it seems likely that it was he who re-introduced this symbol in the hand of the sovereign where it had last appeared under Leo I (Tolstoi 1). If this is true (it must be acknowledged to be an argument of not much weight since there is plenty of precedent for earlier emperors holding globus cruciger) the emperors with globus cruciger will be later than Justinian and theirs are the specimens conspicuous for linear treatment and low relief. If this stylistic criterion is sound,

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we should probably assign to the second Justin not only these siliquae and double siliquae but also the medallion-like pieces[7] which are *sui generis* and not clearly attached to either group.

6. Anomalous Coins of Justinian's Year 26 (552/3)

A group of coins of the year 26 (inscribed XXVI) is anomalous in having P as a mint mark (Plate XXXI, 8–11). These consist of half folles with facing bust which Wroth (p. 59, No. 322) attributed to Antioch, supposing that P was a variant of ℙ, and of decanummia with profile bust which he gave to Constantinople (p. 38, No. 133). Tolstoi believed that the decanummia were Italian. There is no good reason for separating the two denominations, but if all come from the same source, where is it? Antioch may be dismissed: style and fabric are quite different, the Antiochene half folles are larger and there is no other instance of the use of P as an abbreviation for that city. Constantinople and Ravenna seem equally unsatisfactory. Against Constantinople is the fact that at that city the year 26 is already represented by folles and half folles of just as different appearance which use ϒI and ϙ instead of VI. It has been suggested that P stands for ΠΟΛΙC, that is, the city par excellence. But it is hardly conceivable that a Latin initial should stand for the Greek word. It is as difficult to believe that P should be the initial of PABENNA when the mint normally uses the Latin form of RAVENNA. Moreover, the year 26 is already represented there by a decanummium with facing bust and no mint mark. Yet the occurrence of the form V, which is normal for the west, ought not to be overlooked. This is emphasized by the use of A instead of Λ in ANNO. On the reasonable assumption that a mint mark is intended to be intelligible there is a city to suggest as a plausible source of issue. The defeat of the Goths by Narses and the death of Totila occurred in 552/3. Immediately thereafter Narses marched against Rome which was in Gothic hands. One episode of his progress was the betrayal to him of the important city of Perusia.[8] This would have been a suitable place for a temporary mint while he was operating against the capital, and it is my convic-

[7] *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 12 (1958), pp. 152f., there attributed to Justin I.
[8] Procopius, *Wars* VIII.33, 8–12.

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tion that P stands for PERVSIA. There are two other places which fell into Roman hands in 552/3 which should be mentioned since they have the same initial: Petra Pertusa and Portus.[9] Neither of these, however, is at all likely. The former was a stronghold of great military importance, but it is never spoken of as a town of any consequence; the latter, the port of Rome, would indeed be a suitable base of operations against Rome but, as it happens, Rome was captured before Portus and no subsidiary mint was needed.

7. A Mint at Constantine in Numidia

There are copper coins struck in the reigns of Justinian I, Justin II and Maurice which bear the mint mark CON but which stand apart from the normal issues of Constantinople. It is my belief that they were issued from the city of Constantine in Numidia.

The coins of Justinian consist of a single follis of the year XIIII (540/1),[10] (Plate XXXII, 1) half folles of the years XIIII, (Plate XXXII, 2), XV and XVI (540/1–542/3) (Wroth Nos. 113f.) and undated decanummia (Wroth Nos. 121–125) (Plate XXXII, 3). The divergence from the norm is most clearly seen in the case of the half folles. In the first place there is the evidence of the weights. The average of 10 specimens in the British Museum and Dumbarton Oaks is 7.7 grams with a high of 9.87 and a low of 4.30; 23 normal specimens average 9.73, with a high of 11.66 and a low of 8.45. The difference of diameter is unmistakable. There is clearly a difference of standard here and the light coins cannot have been intended to circulate in the same area with heavy coins of the same dates. There is also the evidence of design. The obverse with the facing portrait is the same except that the heavy coins have, and the light coins lack, a cross in the right field. The reverse, however, is very different. On normal coins (Plate XXXII, 4) the K is large, with the upright to the left of center but with the arms extending to the reel border. The cross above is between the upright and the upper arm; there is an officina letter beneath but no exergue line and no mint mark; the A of ANNO always has the form A. It is supposed that the K

[9] Ibid., 314, 16.
[10] Ratto Catalogue 9 December 1930, No. 502.

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is intended to stand for the mint as well as for the denomination, which is a kind of play on inscriptions very characteristic of Byzantine numismatics. It must be remarked, nonetheless, that there are half folles of Maurice assigned on good grounds to Nicomedia where there is no mint mark and where, of course, the K cannot perform that function. On the abnormal coins the K is small with very short arms that scarcely go beyond the center of the flan; the cross above is proportionately larger and is independent of the K; there is an exergue line with CON beneath but no officina letter; the A of ANNO has the form A, A, A or A. In the dates V is used instead of Y. This combination of details cannot be accidental since it appears on the issues of three years. Altogether there can be no doubt that the half folles with CON are the product of a mint other than Constantinople.

The follis is closely related to the half folles, as Ratto recognized in commenting on his No. 502. "C'est une pièce peut-être unique, qui forme une série spécial avec les demi-follis à flan réduit portant la date ANNO XIV–ANNO XV, publiés par Wroth, Nos. 113 et 114." He did not, however, suggest the possibility of another mint. The differences are less notable here: the obverse has a cross in the right field, the M is much the same as normal ones and of course the exergue line with mint mark beneath is regular for folles. Only the use of A for A in ANNO and Ratto's date written XIIII instead of the usual $\frac{X}{II}$ are irregular. Nevertheless Ratto is clearly right in believing that the follis and half folles belong together.

In the case of the decanummia the distinction is also clear. There is the evidence of weight: 12 specimens of the abnormal type have an average of 4.83 grams with a high of 7.45, a low of 3.87; 7 normal specimens through the year XIIII have an average of 5.30 with a high of 5.39, a low of 4.33. The difference of diameter is again noticeable, though the later dated coins grow smaller. As to the design, the normal type (PLATE XXXII, 5) of Constantinople has a cross above the I, ANNO and the date to left and right of it; the abnormal type has no cross above, but crosses to left and right. Sometimes the mint mark reads COR (PLATE XXXII, 6). There is no date, and

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since the obverse of both types is a bust to the right Wroth concluded that the undated coins came before 538 when dates were introduced with the facing portrait. His No. 120 with cross above and stars to left and right of the I undoubtedly belongs to that period, but it is not to be connected with the coins with no cross above and crosses to left and right.

There is nothing to connect these decanummia with the half folles except the hypothesis that coins marked CON not from the mint of Constantinople should be considered as coming from a single source instead of various ones on the grounds that mint marks were intended to be understood and that the simplest explanation is to be preferred. This assumption, of course, might at any time be counteracted by further evidence, but until evidence is available I believe that the hypothesis is sound.

One important piece of information is furnished by the decanummia. They have been found in North Africa and one is certainly overstruck on a decanummium of Justinian from Carthage (Wroth Nos. 382–387) (PLATE XXXII, 7). This gives us an area within which to look for a suitable mint city. If the mint mark is to show the city's name which is the regular rule with very few exceptions, the only candidate is Constantine (Cirta)[11] the seat of the duke of Numidia. The dated follis and half folles then would have been issued at the time when the victories of Solomon the Pretorian Prefect had brought temporary peace to Africa which he and the emperor optimistically regarded as the end of the Moorish Wars. It would have been an appropriate moment to supplement the issues of Carthage with another source of money farther to the west. If this was intended as the beginning of an important operation the hope was disappointed. Half folles of the years XV and XVI are rare and there are none thereafter. Perhaps the great plague was felt even in far-away Constantine; in any event the period of calm was ended with a new Moorish outbreak and the defeat and death of Solomon.

[11] Though there are other cities named Constantina or Constantia only two can be considered as important enough to have a mint at this time; one is Constantina in upper Mesopotamia between Edessa and Dara, the seat of the duke until Dara was made the capital; the other is Constantia, the capital of Cyrus. Neither of these will fit our circumstances.

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For the dating of the common decanummia we have only the evidence of the overstrike on a Carthaginian coin, one which bears no date and no mint mark but has a notable type. The reverse shows Victory holding wreath and globus cruciger with the inscription VICTORIA A(Y)G (Wroth 382–387) (PLATE XXXII, 7). This is sufficiently remarkable to imply a particular reference. Wroth quotes, without endorsing, the opinion of Pinder and Friedländer that it is the initial success of Belisarius that is celebrated. But these decanummia are evidently quite unrelated to the first folles and half folles of Carthage though the evidence of provenance proves that they were issued there, and it is much more likely that they are in honor of the battle in 548 when John Troglita put an end to the Moorish war. A half follis dated XXII[12] shows that the mint of Carthage was striking in 548/9 and this makes it attractive to suppose that the Victory types, decanummia and pentanummia, also belong to the same time. If this be accepted the series of decanummia with CON must have extended to 548/9 at least. There is no proof that it did not begin with the half folles, in 540/1, but it is unlikely that they were issued through the wars of 543–548. It is better to hold that they are a new issue begun when the war was over, issued in some quantity and making no effort to relate themselves to the earlier higher denominations.

In some cases the mint mark reads COR instead of CON, though the last letter is never very clear (PLATE XXXII, 6). Grierson suggests a conflation of CON and CAR which would lend color to a theory that the mint concerned was Carthage. DeSaulcey conjectures a mint at Corinth, which is obviously impossible. Sabatier believes that it is a case of the carelessness of the die-sinker; I agree.

In the reign of Justin II, half folles were struck in the years 7 and 8 (571/2 and 572/3) with CON beneath the K (PLATE XXXII, 8). These are not so clearly differentiated from the normal half folles of Constantinople (PLATE XXXII, 9) as is the case with the coins of Justinian just discussed. The evidence of weight has not so broad a base for there are only four specimens available to me. They give an average of 4.83 grams with a high of 5.96 and a low of 3.33. This

[12] C. Davies Sherborn, *Numismatic Circular* 1925, p. 117. The coin is now in the British Museum.

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is a badly corroded coin; if it be eliminated the average is 5.34. The average of 34 specimens from Constantinople of all dates is 6.17, with a high of 8.04 and a low of 4.59. This is not much to rely on but, so far as it goes, it shows a lighter standard for the abnormal coins. The obverses are the same except that the flans of the normal coins tend to be irregular and a little larger than the border so that metal shows outside the circle, whereas on the abnormal one the border shows just at the edge. As to the reverse, as in the case of Justinian, the K is somewhat to the left of the center instead of almost in the middle, ANNO uses A instead of A. The form of 9 in the date is much more squat and round than that found at Constantinople and, on the few specimens we have, the date is always 9II and never $\frac{9}{II}$; there is no officina letter and, of course, the chief distinguishing mark is the CON. These last two considerations alone would make us take the abnormal coins out of the series of Constantinople, for the differences cannot be accidental and no individual die-sinker would be allowed such an innovation even if it occurred to him. There are normal coins of the same dates which fit perfectly into the whole series.

If the coins do not come from Constantinople, where are we to put them? It must be said at once that there is no evidence other than the mint mark to connect them with Africa. What little the historical sources tell us touches neither on Numidia nor on these particular years. Except that the flans are similarly well rounded and thick they do not resemble the half folles of Justinian. A, to be sure, shows a western origin, but it does not locate more closely than that. The whole design is different, particularly in the absence of an exergue line. How much weight is to be given to this unlikeness of style? The issues are separated by 30 years and we are dealing with a mint whose output is intermittent. On the other hand it is the regular rule that the same mint mark on copper means the same mint and it is obvious why this should be so if the mint mark is supposed to convey information. If it is not, then what is its function? The supposition that CON stands for neither city whose name begins with these letters but for some other which had a special, unknown relation to the capital allowing the issue of coins which were not

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imitations but only concealed the place of origin seems to me mere fantasy. Until there is positive evidence to the contrary I must conclude that the mark CON, when it cannot stand for Constantinople, must stand for another mint whose name would use those letters, and of such there is none available except Constantine in Numidia. It is quite true that in the fourth century Arelate signed her coins CON or CONST but that was because the city's official name was Constanina,[13] There is no parallel in the sixth century.

The phenomenon of half folles with a mint mark is repeated in the tenth year of Maurice, 591/2 (Wroth Nos. 86–88) (PLATE XXXII, 10). In this case it is the more conspicuous since Nicomedia and Cyzicus now abandon the practice of marking their half folles and follow the custom of the capital. The weights are again somewhat reduced: 8 abnormal specimens give an average of 4.92 grams with a high of 6.72, a low of 3.91. The average of 43 Constantinopolitan specimens (PLATE XXXII, 11) is 5.67 with a high of 7.57, a low of 3.85. The flans of the normal pieces are so much broader that the two groups can be instantly separated by eye. The workmanship of the abnormal obverses is so poor that it is hard to be sure of any objective differences but the reverses are quite as different as those in the cases already discussed. The K is farther to the left on the abnormal coins, though not as much as on the earlier series, and the exergue line, so high as to cut off the bottom third of the coin, is only under the K instead of going almost from one edge to the other. In the two cases where it can be seen there is A instead of A. The X is large and all the letters are thick. Once more our historical sources fail us. There is no notice of any connection of Maurice with Numidia; indeed it may be that the headquarters of the duke were removed from Constantine.[14] But convenient as it would be to have record of a suitable juncture for a minor mint to strike coins, the lack of it cannot be used as evidence. But there is one aberration to notice and one unsolved problem to present. The aberration is that CON is sometimes replaced by KΩN, that is a Latin mint mark by a Greek. This is like the alternation of CAR and KAR at Carthage under Justinian and Justin II and causes no serious difficulty. The unsolved

[13] Leo the Great, Epistle 65, Migne, *Patrologia Latina* vol. 54, p. 882.
[14] Charles Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, p. 494.

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problem is produced by the fact that one of the abnormal coins at Dumbarton Oaks, marked CON uses the same obverse die as Wroth No. 163, pl. XVIII, 5, whose reverse reads KYZ! The reverse, moreover, is of a fabric inappropriate to Cyzicus but closely resembles the CON half folles in fabric and in the pattern. I do not know how to explain this. Obviously both coins must have been struck in one place or the obverse die must have been sent from one place to another. It is in the highest degree unlikely—indeed, it may be said to be incredible, that the obverse die of a copper coin should be sent from Africa to Cyzicus to strike coins for which special reverses must be cut producing coins which would be anomalous intrusions into the Cyzicene series. On the other hand, if one supposes the die to have been sent from Cyzicus to Africa how did it come to be cut so like the African coins in the first place? Since there are no grounds for separating these coins from the rest we must apparently transfer the manufacture of them all to Cyzicus. Then why is only one marked KYZ and all the rest CON? I have no other explanation to offer than the feeble one that the die-sinker made a mistake but why he should put KYZ for CON I cannot imagine. At any rate there is no advantage in moving the guilty mint from Constantine to any other place unless it be Cyzicus.

Associated with the half folles are decanummia (Wroth Nos. 99–101) (PLATE XXXIII, 1). For the first time the minor mint has the advantage in weight. The average of 7 specimens is 4.22 grams with a high of 5.21 and a low of 3.16; the average of 29 specimens from Constantinople is 2.75 with a high of 4.05, a low of 1.81. Grierson's remark is "Carthaginian in fabric and certainly North African in origin." The style of the portrait with its broad face is certainly in sharp contrast to that of the capital (PLATE XXXIII, 2). The reverse from Constantinople has an officina letter to the right of the I, the other has only stars to left and right of the I. Finally there are pentanummia, (Wroth No. 107f.) (PLATE XXXIII, 3), this time without mint mark, so like the decanummia in style that they must belong together. The obverse has a facing portrait, the reverse ☧ over the mark of denomination Є, all in a wreath. On the pentanummia from Constantinople (PLATE XXXIII, 4), the portrait is to the right, the reverse has Є with an officina letter before it. Again the major mint

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puts out lower weights; 12 specimens have an average of 1.61 with a high of 2.48, a low of 0.81 while the African series gives an average of 2.27 for 6 specimens with a high of 2.85, a low of 1.47. The wreath is a characteristically western device and Grierson's notes repeat "Carthaginian in fabric and certainly North African in origin."

I must not appeal to the authority of Grierson for the support of my thesis as a whole; though at one time tempted by the possibility of assigning some of these coins to Constantine, he now comes to quite different conclusions from his study of the material and his forthcoming work will make plain his reasons, but for the present I am convinced that the copper marked CON not issued at Constantinople was all the product of a single mint, the mint of Constantine in Numidia.

8. The Helmet of Maurice

The commonest type of solidus of Maurice shows the emperor in a helmet bound with a diadem from which hang pendelia, and with a plume. An attempt to analyze this large issue was made by Ratto in his very valuable Sale Catalogue of 1930. He distinguished three groups: the first, A: "un portrait jeune, d'un style ordinaire;" the second, B: "le portrait plus petit et le style plus élégant;" the third, C: "plus grand portrait, flan plus large." In each group there are some pieces with a star in the field. The coins in the catalogue are arranged and fully illustrated according to this system. The first step that needs to be taken is to separate the pieces with a star in the field for they are light-weight solidi of 23 carats.[15] Ratto's first two groups are hard to distinguish since the criteria are bound to be subjective; C, however, has been recognized as a unit by Grierson, in his arrangement of the Dumbarton Oaks Coins, and by P. D. Whitting who has been good enough to write me of his tentative classifications. Whitting is impressed by the large size of the angel on the reverse and takes the group to be the earliest of this type issued from Constantinople. Grierson, on the other hand, notices chiefly

[15] P. Grierson, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire*, p. 419, n. 17; Kent, *NC* 1959, p. 237 in a review of Adelson's book, *Light Weight Solidi and Byzantine Trade during the Sixth and Seventh Centuries.*

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the "spread bust," associates the normal solidi with similar light-weight solidi whose reverse inscription ends with ΘS and attributes them all to Antioch. Without going into the argument here as to the interpretation of ΘS which finds Grierson and Adelson on the side of Antioch, Kent and Whitting on that of Constantinople, I may call attention to a detail easier to recognize than comparative size and therefore, perhaps, a safer guide. On the large bust, large angel coins, the emperor wears a helmet which is high with a plume showing a vertical upright in the center with a second slanting to the right (PLATE XXXIII, 5) while on the small bust coins the helmet is lower and the plume has slanting uprights to left and right of the center, with a third one farther to the left (PLATE XXXIII, 6). This distinction appears to be consistent and since the first form is seen on the ΘS solidi (PLATE XXXIII, 7) it marks those out as belonging to the same group whether a different mint is involved or not.

9. DODECANUMMIA OF ALEXANDRIA OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY

Barbarous looking twelve nummia pieces are among the common issues attributed to Alexandria in the seventh century. The obverse is a bust r., diademed, in cuirass and paludamentum; the reverse, the familiar IB with a cross between and the mint-mark AΛЄΞ (PLATE XXXIII, 8, 9). They are continuations of the Alexandrian type of Justinian (PLATE XXXIII, 10) and what can be made out of the fragments of obverse legend seem to be attempts at Justinian's name. The two pieces illustrated read OИISV TPP[and ƆNIS[. (Those are distinguished for their comparative clarity. Few are so good.) Nevertheless, Wroth (p. 177f.) attributes them to Phocas on the grounds that Phocas ought to have Alexandrian issues and these cannot be earlier because of stylistic differences, nor later because of the introduction of new types. But numismatists have been troubled by the fact that no elements of the name of Phocas can be found in the inscription. J. G. Milne[16] says "there is nothing to suggest the name of Phocas, but rather unintelligent copies of the names of Justin, Tiberius, and Maurice." He concludes "on the whole it seems better to regard these coins as struck elsewhere than at an Imperial mint, possibly by officials in the country when they could not get

[16] "Report on the Coins Found at Antinoe in 1914," *NC* 1947, pp. 108–114.

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supplies of coin from Alexandria, with dies copied from any coins that were to hand, whether of the reigning emperor or of his predecessor." But this hardly accounts for the large numbers preserved. One useful piece of evidence, however, is provided by the hoard that Milne is describing: Heraclius is represented by eight specimens of a single type (two busts facing, *BMC* 289–296) which appears to be his earliest.[17] The ten specimens of the type under discussion should belong, therefore, to the beginning of his reign at the latest.

When we consider the occasion of such an issue the question at once arises "Why should any emperor strike money in the names of his predecessors rather than in his own?" There is one period when that question may be evaded: the period of the interregnum of 608–610. The major issues of this time have been discussed in an article of Grierson.[18] The gold coins are listed and it is suggested that folles of the years 609 and 610 with the mint-mark AΛЄΞAN or AΛEΞANΔ may have been struck at Alexandretta. The possibility of this would be increased if Alexandria was provided with its own minor coinage of familiar fabric and in large quantity. Uncertainty as to the constitutional position between the beginning of the revolt against Phocas and the coronation of Heraclius was shown by the unprecedented issue of gold coins on the authority of the Consul Heraclius, father of the future emperor. An alternative way of avoiding the question of sovereignty would be to use the traditional types with legends which would suggest one or another of the deceased, and therefore safe, rulers but neither of the current rivals, Phocas and Heraclius. The composition of Milne's hoard is then perfectly logical: the first type of Heraclius is the latest included and is immediately preceded by copper of the Interregnum.

Sabatier I p. 257, No. 43 with obverse legend DNF OCAS, attributed to Alexandria might seem to compromise the above reasoning, but if the drawing of pl. XXVII, 20 is accurate the coin is certainly not an official product of the mint of Alexandria. The reverse has HB; the exergue ITΛΓ.

[17] J. R. Phillips, "The Byzantine Bronze Coins of Alexandria in the Seventh Century," *NC* 1962, p. 238, No. 3.

[18] "The Consular Coinage of 'Heraclius' and the Revolt Against Phocas of 608–610," *NC* 1950, pp. 71–93.

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10. Solidi of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine

Grierson, in a very useful article,[19] puts the coins with the busts of Heraclius with a short beard and Heraclius Constantine in Class II which he dates Jan. 613–late 629. With his terminal dates I entirely agree, but his arrangement within the Class raises some questions.

He puts them in two main groups, that in which Heraclius has a flat crown with cross (Plates XXXIII, 13; XXXIV, 1), and that in which he has a convex crown with globus cruciger (Plate XXXIV, 2, 3). On the coins which he uses to illustrate the first group (pl. XIII, 8–14) the bust of Heraclius Constantine is much smaller than that of his father, whereas on those illustrating the second group (pl. XIV, 1–8) the first have a bust of the son much more nearly the size of his father, while the last four preserve the greater difference in scale. Grierson says "In coins of the first group the figure of Heraclius Constantine is usually very much smaller than that of Heraclius; in the second group it is slightly larger, though always smaller than that of the senior emperor." This obscures the fact that the primary distinction is between the type where Heraclius Constantine is represented as a child (he was born in 612 and crowned in 613) which are much commoner, and that in which he is portrayed as a young man (Plate XXXIV, 4). There can be no doubt as to the chronological significance of the change. Andreas Dikigoropoulos in working over the Dumbarton Oaks coins divided the earlier group in two: the first period, 613–618 when the son was legally "infans" (one year to six); the second, 619–625 while he was "pupillus" (seven years to thirteen) but I can see no sign of greater maturity in the coins of his second period, while their number (5 against 27 of the first period in this collection) does not give a likely proportion. I prefer to class them all together as struck 613–625 while Heraclius Constantine was still a minor.

What of the alternative division according to the shape of the crown, of which he says the difference is chronological rather than geographical? The first thing to do is to get rid of the globus cruciger which besets the literature. There is no globe involved. The point

[19] "Solidi of Phocas and Heraclius: the Chronological Framework," *NC* 1959, pp. 131–154.

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may be made quite clear by a solidus of Tiberius (PLATE XXXIII, 11). In his right hand the emperor holds a globus cruciger and the die-sinker has had no difficulty in producing the effect of a sphere by a slight convexity. Above the emperor's crown is a cross and immediately beneath it a circle on the front of the crown. There is no convexity; the circle is indicated by little dots exactly like those along the upper and lower edges of the crown; that is, it is a circle of jewels. It is not always so large and clear, and there are variations. Sometimes, as on this solidus of Phocas (PLATE XXXIII, 12) it is shown rising above the crown and supporting the cross, but it is obviously a hollow circle unless it has been distorted to a triangle (PLATE XXXIV, 2). Sometimes it is the central one of three annulets, such as Grierson recognizes on his flat crown (PLATE XXXIV, 1). But at no time does it take the shape of a sphere, and the term globus cruciger cannot be properly used to describe it.

Now there are flat crowns on which the central circle is so very minute that it might easily be overlooked (PLATE XXXIII, 13). It would certainly not show on an illustration, but close scrutiny has convinced me that it is always intended and that there is one form of crown and not two. Nervertheless, I agree that the crown is sometimes shown as more curved and sometimes as less, and since the type with the larger head of Heraclius Constantine regularly has a curved crown, I should put that form later. But the distinction is not as simple as Grierson suggests and his tentative date for the beginning of the second group (ca. 616) would put too high a proportion of the gold with two portraits into the first three years. I should prefer a division ca. 624.

The arrangement suggested for Grierson's Class II would be:

1. Little Heraclius Constantine—Flat crown 613–623
2. Little Heraclius Constantine—Convex crown 624–625
3. Larger Heraclius Constantine 626–629

11. A GROUP OF BYZANTINE COINS FROM SICILY

In the summer of 1961 Professor T. V. Buttrey purchased for Yale University in Catania, Sicily, a group of copper coins so thoroughly corroded that it was impossible to identify them until they

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had been drastically cleaned. They then proved to be for the most part Byzantine coins from Sicily. Although they were all together and eight of them were in a single mass, there were apparent intrusions that make it unsafe to accord them the evidential value of a hoard. Nevertheless, since the types are uncommon they deserve the courtesy of a note if not of complete recording. The weights are unreliable because of the cleaning. Many coins are impossible to illustrate.

Four coins seem to have no connection with the group. They are:

1. 23 mm. After cleaning it revealed only pits and craters among which it is possible that there remain remnants of the Hellenistic type of Syracuse: head of Zeus/free horse galoping. The fabric is appropriate to the 4th century B.C. but sure identification is impossible.
2. 14 mm. Bust r.
   Rev.: [ ] KOΣ ĮΩN Galerus with apex. (Daremberg-Saglio art. "Flamen," p. 1168, Fig. 3098) *Collection Lucien de Hirsch* 766, Syracuse.
3. 21 mm. Roman As. Probably Augustus but only the letters S C can be read.
4. 16 mm. Bust r. of Constantine I or his sons.

There are three little coins of Justinian.

5. Decanummium. 3.61 gr., 15 mm.
   DNIVS [ ] VC Bust facing.
   Rev.: Cross with six-pointed stars in the angles. (PLATE XXXIV, 5) *BMC*, p. 69, Nos. 400f., attributed tentatively to Sicily from similarity to another type assigned there by de Salis. It is comforting to have this confirmation from provenance.
6. Pentanummium. 1.33 gr., 13 mm.
   ]ANVS (obscure and doubtful) Bust r.
   Rev.: Є ANNO above middle line, XXX below.
   Another specimen at Dumbarton Oaks has been doubtfully attributed to Carthage.
7. Pentanummium. 1.16 gr., 11 mm.
   Bust r.
   Rev.: V Above, star.
   BMC, V p. 53, Nos. 52–60 attributed to Theodoric at Ravenna.

Twelve coins of Heraclius come from the mint of Constantinople.

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Follis

Obv.: To l. Heraclius bearded wearing military dress and crown with cross holding in r. long cross. To r. Heraclius Constantine wearing long robes and crown with cross holding in r. globus cruciger. In field l. ☧, r. K, Between heads, cross.

Rev.: M Above + over C. To l. A N N O, in ex. CON

8. 8.41 gr. 27 mm. Beneath M, A; to r., X X 629/30.
BMC, p. 202, No. 145.

9. 12.05 gr. 32 mm. Beneath M, Γ; to r. X X I 630/1.
BMC, p. 204, No. 156.

Half Follis

Same obverse type without the monogram and letter in field.

Rev.: K Above, cross. To l., A N N O

10. 4.46 gr., 24 mm. Beneath, A; to r., XX 629/30.
BMC, p. 211, No. 206, pl. XXV, 2.
11. 5.09 gr., 23 mm. Beneath, B; to r., XX 629/30 (PLATE XXXIV, 6).
12. 6.17 gr., 25 mm. Beneath, Δ; to r., XX 629/30.
13. 5.39 gr., 26 mm. Officina letter illegible; to r., XX 629/30.
14. 4.67 gr., 23 mm. Officina letter illegible; to r., XX 629/30.
15. 6.40 gr., 25 mm. Beneath, B; date illegible.
16. 5.80 gr., 24 mm. Beneath, Δ; date illegible.
17. 4.75 gr., 26 mm. Beneath, Δ; date illegible.
18. 5.076 gr., 24 mm. Beneath, Δ; date illegible.
19. 5.042 gr., 25 mm. Officina letter illegible; to r., XXX 639/40 (PLATE XXXIV, 7).

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Most if not all the half folles have been overstruck on earlier pieces and sometimes remains of the underlying types cause a good deal of confusion. We may be sure that there are no lower dates than XX for the folles of this type and also the remarkable three quarter folles begin in that year. Wroth records no other date than XX for the half folles though the folles go to XXX and there would be no difficulty in accepting. No. 19 of the year 639/40 were it not that folles of XXI in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection are noticeably smaller (PLATE XXXIV, 8 rev.) and those of XXIII still more so (PLATE XXXIV, 9 rev.). We must hold either that the date of 19 has been misread, that the small folles must be attributed to another ruler, or that Heraclius struck simultaneous half folles of different sizes.

The only other ruler possible for this obverse type is Constans II and his folles with two standing figures are dated from XϟI to XϟII, whereas in the years XIX to XXIII he was issuing folles with one standing figure on the obverse, three on the reverse, a type not recorded for half folles. A priori it would be expected that simultaneous issues of folles and half folles should have similar obverse types. Wroth gives to Constans three small half folles of the year XXII (*BMC*, p. 287, 261–264), but he does not mention the difficulty of the obverse type.

There are folles of Heraclius of reduced size which may be contemporary with the small half folles but unfortunately I know of no specimen on which the date can be read.

From this point on the coins are all of Sicilian manufacture and their types are treated by Diego Ricotti Prina.[20]

There are two coins overstruck by Heraclius at the mint of Catania for use in Sicily.

20. 14.65 gr., 32. mm.
On a follis of Justin I showing]SPPAVC Bust r. Countermarked bust of Heraclius with short beard and flat crown and ☧ (obscure) On M. To l. and r. stars Beneath, Γ Countermarked SCℰ Ricotti 20 (PLATE XXXIV, 10).

21. 5.57 gr., 24 mm.
On an unidentifiable obverse, countermark bust of Heraclius with long beard and Heraclius Constantine, beardless. On an

[20] "La Monetazione siciliana nell'epoca bizantina," *Numismatica*, 1950, pp. 26–60.

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unidentifiable reverse, countermark to l. ℞, to r. Sᶜ Ricotti 37 (PLATE XXXIV, 11).

Thirteen folles of Constans II are from the mint of Catania, 641–ca. 644.

Obv.: IhPER COhSZ Bust facing beardless, wearing cuirass, paludamentum and crown with cross; in r. globus cruciger.

Rev.: M To l., A / N / A; to r., N / Є / O / Ч. Beneath, SCᴸ

22. 6.11 gr., 25 mm. To l. of SCᴸ, A
Ricotti 40 (PLATE XXXIV, 12).
23. 5.94 gr., 25 mm. To l. of SCᴸ, A (PLATE XXXIV, 13).
24. 3.26 gr., 24 mm. To l. of SCᴸ, A
25. 5.29 gr., 25 mm. To l. of SCᴸ, Є
Ricotti 41 (PLATE XXXV, 1).
26. 4.55 gr., 27 mm. To l. of SCᴸ, Є (PLATE XXXV, 2).
27. 5.55 gr., 25 mm. To l. of SCᴸ, +
Ricotti 42
28. 4.46 gr., 24 mm. To l. of SCᴸ, + (PLATE XXXV, 3).
29. 4.20 gr., 22 mm. To l. of SCᴸ, +
30. 5.17 gr., 25 mm. Officina mark illegible.
Ricotti 40–42.
31. 5.16 gr., 23 mm. Officina mark illegible.
32. 4.91 gr., 22 mm. Officina mark illegible.
33. 4.62 gr., 25 mm. Officina mark illegible.
34. 4.20 gr., 23 mm. Officina mark illegible.

It is interesting to watch the struggles of a new mint, without traditions and evidently without competent workmen, to produce a coinage tolerable even by the easy standards of the day. This is the last attempt of Catania, and I assume that it ceased operation at the time of the opening of the mint of Syracuse, ca. 644.[21]

From ca. 644 to 654, the year when Constantine IV became Augustus, the new mint issued folles, half folles and decanummia; all denominations are represented in this group.

[21] Ricotti, p. 28.

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Follis

Obv.: No inscription. Bust beardless wearing cuirass, paludamentum and crown with cross, holding in r. globus cruciger.
Rev.: M Above, K

35. 5.11 gr., 25 mm. Overstruck on Constans II of Catania
Ricotti 77 (PLATE XXXV, 4).
36. 4.65 gr., 23 mm. (PLATE XXXV, 5).
37. 4.35 gr., 25 mm.

Same, but bust with short beard.
38. 4.88 gr., 22 mm. Overstruck and very badly corroded (PLATE XXXV, 6).

Half Follis

Obv.: Bust with short beard wearing cuirass, paludamentum and crown with cross, holding in r. globus cruciger. In field r. six pointed star.

Rev.: K To l. $\frac{A}{N}$, to r. Z 647/8

39. 3.39 gr., 22 mm. The K of the monogram of Constans serves also as the mark of denomination
Ricotti 78 (PLATE XXXV, 7).

Obv.: Bust with long beard holding in r., globus cruciger.

Rev.: K To l. $\frac{A}{N}$, to r. I 650/1

40. 2.91 gr., 20 mm.
Ricotti 79 (PLATE XXXV, 8).

Obv.: Bust with long beard. Globus cruciger in field, l.
41. 2.55 gr., 16 mm.
Ricotti 80 (PLATE XXXV, 9).

It cannot be said that the performance of Syracuse is much of an artistic improvement on that of Catania but the style is distinctly different, particularly the substitution of M for M. There are four folles of Constans II and Constantine IV struck 654–9 and all overstruck on an earlier type.

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Obv.: To l. Heraclius with long beard wearing military dress and crown with cross holding in r. long cross. To r. Heraclius Constantine wearing long robes and crown with cross.

Rev.: M Above ✠; beneath SCL

The underlying type is Ricotti 82; Constans with long beard. To l. N; to r. I / A (The 11th Indiction is the year 652/3).

42. 5.69 gr., 29 mm.
Ricotti 98

43. 4.03 gr., 29 mm. (PLATE XXXV, 10).

44. 4.01 gr., 27 mm.

45. 3.53 gr., 26 mm. (PLATE XXXV, 11).

One coin is of Constans with Constantine IV, Heraclius and Tiberius, 659–668.

Same obverse.

Rev.. M Above, ✠ To l. and r., Heraclius and Tiberius with long robes and crowns with cross. Beneath, SCL.

46. 3.54 gr., 23 mm. Overstruck apparently also on Ricotti 82.
Ricotti 108 (PLATE XXXV, 12).

g There is one coin of Constantine IV alone, 668–685, of 5 types iven by Ricotti.

Obv.: Constantine wearing helmet and military dress holding in r. hand spear, in l. globus cruciger.

Rev.: M Above ✠; beneath, SCL.

47. 2.37 gr., 25 mm. Very badly worn but certainly recognizable by the obverse.

Although Ricotti lists 16 varieties of copper for Justinian II we have only two folles.

Obv.: Bust facing holding in l. globus cruciger.

Rev.: M Above, A; beneath SCL

48. 4.05 gr., 23 mm.
Ricotti 137 (PLATE XXXV, 13).
Obv : Bust facing holding in r. globus cruciger.
Rev.: M Above, monogram; beneath ϵ in ex., 2CL

49. 1.82 gr., 20 mm.

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Of the immediate successors of Justinian II we have only one specimen (Theodosius III).

Obv.: Bust facing wearing crown with cross and consular robes, holding in r. hand spear over shoulder, in l. globus cruciger.

Rev.: M Above ✠ To l. and r. palms; beneath SCL

50. 4.32 gr., 25 mm. Monogram very obscure (PLATE XXXVI, 1).

One coin of Leo III and Constantine V 720–740 spans the period from 717 to 813.

Obv.: Bust of Leo bearded wearing crown, cuirass and paludamentum, holding in r. hand globus cruciger, in l. mappa?

Rev.: DNOCO[Bust beardless wearing crown, cuirass and paludamentum holding in r. hand globus cruciger in l. mappa. Beneath high exergue line M. To l. SC, to r. L.

51. 5.82 gr., 23 mm. SC off flan
Ricotti 189 (PLATE XXXVI, 2).

From the reign of Leo V and Constantine, 813–820, the group furnishes 7 coins, no longer to be called folles, of extremely simple type.

Obv.: To l. bust of Leo bearded, wearing robes and crown with cross; to r. bust of Constantine beardless, wearing robes and crown with cross.

Rev.: To l. Λ, to r. K. Above, cross.

52. 3.90 gr., 20 mm.
Ricotti 210.

53. 3.98 gr., 21 mm.

54. 3.16 gr., 22 mm. (PLATE XXXVI, 3).

55. 2.64 gr., 20 mm. (PLATE XXXVI, 4).

56. 2.64 gr., 20 mm.

Obv.: Bust of Leo bearded, wearing consular robe and crown. In field r., eight pointed star.

Rev.: K]ONCT Bust of Constantine bearded wearing paludamentum and crown. In field r., l.

57. 2.25 gr,. 19 mm.
Ricotti 212 (PLATE XXXVI, 5).

Obv.: Bust of Leo bearded wearing consular robes and crown. In field r. Λ.

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Rev.: Bust of Constantine bearded wearing paludamentum and crown, holding in r. globus cruciger. In field r., cross.

58. 3.26 gr., 20 mm.
Ricotti 213 (PLATE XXXVI, 6).

The latest coin is one of Michael II and Theophilus, 821–829.

Obv.: MIXA HΛ SΘEO To l. bust of Michael wearing robes and crown with cross. To r. Theophilus wearing consular robes and crown with cross.

Rev.: M Beneath, Θ.

59. 3.51 gr., 20 mm.
Ricotti 221 (PLATE XXXVI, 7).

We have here a sparse but fairly representative series of Sicilian copper for the 200 years plus from Heraclius to Michael II. The bulk comes from the reigns of Heraclius and Constans II with a later small concentration for Leo V and Constantine. In many cases where we have no specimens for a reign there are none known or they are so scarce that their absence occasions no surprise. In some cases, however, particularly the period from Constantine IV to Tiberius III, the difference between what we have and what is known is great enough to suggest that we are not dealing with a steady year-by-year accumulation. It is even clearer that this is not a hoard gathered at the time of its latest coin. Indeed, it is hard to believe that the group is a real unit at all or can give us information about circulation or comparative amounts of money issued. It is a reminder, if any were needed, that the Sicilian moneyers seldom mastered the elementary problems of making a respectable flan and striking it adequately and that their artistic talents went not farther than a very simple schematic pattern. A happy exception is No. 38 which shows really attractive types and is by a fortunate accident in so good a state of preservation as almost to restore one's confidence in the mint of Syracuse.

12. THE FIRST GOLD OF CONSTANTINE IV

The gold of Constantine IV from Constantinople is misleadingly presented by Wroth but may be made clear by reference to Ricotti's publication of the coins of Syracuse. There the types are: 1a) a beard-

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less bust with globus cruciger (PLATE XXXVI, 8–Wh.); 1b) the same type with bearded portrait (Ricotti 11–14); 2b) bearded bust with spear (Ricotti 118). The first and third have parallels from Constantinople: 1a) the beardless bust with globus is found on *BMC* 49, 50 (PLATE XXXVI, 9–D.O.; wrongly classified as "flat fabric" from Carthage); 2b) the bearded bust with spear is *BMC* 7–12. Constantinople has no parallel to 1b) of Syracuse. On the other hand, *BMC* 1–6 has a beardless bust with spear (2a—PLATE XXXVI, 10–D.O.), which is intermediary between 1) and 2b).

There are interesting points about the inscriptions. PLATE XXXVI, 8 shows a reverse whose inscription ends C, while there are three dots after CONOB. These are items in an elaborate but obscure system of marks on the reverses of Sicilian coins which go back to Constans II[22] but which have no counterpart at Constantinople.

The curious ending CCOI of the obverse inscription on PLATE XXXVI, 9 is found also on *BMC* 49, 50. Ratto Catalogue 1930, No. 1643 reads CCOSA and PLATE XXXVI, 10 has CONI. At first sight this looks like some form of CONSUL, though the portrait of neither type is consular, but I am inclined to think that the origin is an ignorant copying of an earlier obverse inscription: that accompanying the busts of Constans II and Constantine IV, ꝺNCONS ƵANƵINVSCCONSƵAN (*BMC* 38–52). Of course there is no second emperor here but the double C is very hard to explain except on the ground that the first one is for ЄT.

A reasonable guess at the dates would be:

Constantinople	Type 1a, beardless	668–670
	Type 2a, beardless	670–674
	Type 2b, bearded	674–681
Syracuse	Type 1a, beardless	668–674
	Type 1b, bearded	674–676
	Type 2b, bearded	676–681

The terminus of 681 is furnished by the disappearance of Heraclius and Tiberius from the reverse type. Constantine got rid of them in that year. The dates between 668 and 681 have no evidence to support them.

[22] Ricotti, pp. 36–40.

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13. The Copper Issues of Constantine IV

The relation of these is not obvious nor is any arrangement of them certain though it may be reasonable. To begin with the follis. A beardless bust holding globus cruciger belongs at the beginning of the reign, ca. 668–672 on the analogy of the gold. There is no specimen recorded from ca. 672–674 with beardless bust and spear held behind the head, but there are some coins with bearded bust which come between 674 and 681, when Heraclius and Tiberius disappear from the reverse type. There are then folles dated in the years 30 and 31 (counting from 654 when Constantine became Augustus.) The proportions among preserved pieces are not quite what one would except. I know of eighteen specimens of the first group (beardless bust), six of group two (bearded bust with Heraclius and Tiberius), five dated year 30, two dated year 31. This looks like a large issue in the beginning and a sizable one in the dated years with reduced output between, though it would be dangerous to draw conclusions from so little material.

Half folles also were struck with the beardless bust and globus cruciger. They have the anomalous word ANNO but there is no date; they certainly belong to the beginning of the reign. Five are known to me. There are then one in Tolstoi (T. 133) and two at Dumbarton Oaks with bearded bust, again with ANNO but no date, which may be put anywhere between 674 and 685 (for Heraclius and Tiberius do not occur on the reverse type of the half follis, so that their nonappearance is useless for dating). This is not inconsistent with the pattern of the folles, though its testimony is still slighter.

Before continuing to the problematical half folles let us deal with the other denomination with beardless bust and globus cruciger. This is a decanummium with the remarkable reverse type of an I between a cross to the left and a K to the right. There seems to be no explanation for this except that it signifies that the size of coin previously used for twenty nummi (K) is now to be worth ten (I).[23] This would be an appropriate measure in the attempt to halt the decline of copper coinage of which the most eminent feature is the

[23] Leo Schindler, "Die Reform des Kupfergeldes unter Konstantinos IV," *NZ* 1955, pp. 33–35.

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follis struck to the old generous size of the first Justinian. This series of double-marked decanummia is not uncommon (there are nine at Dumbarton Oaks) and continues without diminution into the period of the bearded bust (fourteen at Dumbarton Oaks). In this later period pentanummia also appear whose reverse is a simple Є with no remarkable features at all.

Evidently related to the decanummia is a series of half folles whose reverse type is K between M to left and a cross to right; there is also an M in the right field of the obverse. If the explanation of the decanummium is correct this should mean that the follis of the preceding reign (M) has now been reduced to a half follis (K), though the M on the obverse is a puzzling feature which seems to have no purpose. What is the relation of these to the folles with ANNO? Apparently one type succeeded the other. The ANNO coins are mostly from the beginning of the reign with a few only with the bearded bust. The K M coins on the other hand are all with bearded bust and the series seems to have been a long one judging by the decrease in size, the weights declining from 9 grams to 4. They may well have lasted longer than any other minor denomination for neither the decanummia nor the pentanummia show any comparable decrease.

There is still the contrary evidence of the dated folles. In 683/4 and 684/5 folles were struck on the same standard as the earliest ones. Either we must suppose that no attempt was made at the same time to reform the standard of the half folles or we must reverse the usual order and put the heavier K M half folles at the end contemporary with the dated folles leaving the lighter ones to the years between 674 and 683. The difficulty with this solution is that it would allow half folles and decanummia of nearly the same size and weight to circulate together. Perhaps we can compromise by assuming that half folles, decanummia and pentanummia were in circulation together in 674, that the output of the two lesser came to an end, leaving the field to the half folles which continued on with decreasing weight and diameter to about 682 when they too came to an end. In 683/4 folles were struck which were to have been the first step in a new reform to reintroduce the standard of 668, but the emperor's death in September 685 came too soon for it to be followed up.

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14. The Copper of the Second Reign of Justinian II

Breckenridge has made a clear case for putting the gold of Justinian II on which he holds a globe inscribed PAX in his second reign, against the arrangement followed by Wroth and Tolstoi.[24] His arguments based on other considerations are confirmed by copper coins with this type bearing dates which can only be of the second reign. While they settle his major question, however, they raise problems of their own.

There is a follis which bears an unmistakable $\frac{X}{X}$ with an insignificant stroke at the bottom (Plate XXXVI, 11) and another where the stroke is replaced by a pellet. The only one that is published (Breckenridge pl. II, 14) is read as XXI, i.e., 705/6. Though the marks are dubious as numerals they appear to be beyond question here since the year 705/6 is given as the year of Justinian's recapture of the empire. But there is a decanummium whose inscription is certainly XX and not XXI (Plate XXXVI, 13). Moreover, a follis of the type with Justinian and his son is clearly dated XXI (Plate XXXVI, 12). The combination invites a re-examination of the chronology.

If the date XX is to be accepted the coins so marked should be dated July 10, 704–July 9, 705.[25] Now the date of his recovery of the empire is given by Theophanes under two years, A.M. 6197 and 6198. The former would be September 1, 704—August 31, 705, the latter, September 1, 705—August 31, 706.[26] The date generally given is the

[24] *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II*, *NNM* 144, pp. 23f., 88–90.

[25] The accession of Justinian is given by Wroth as September 685. But a date for the death of Constantine IV on July 10, 685 has recently been proposed by Philip Grierson, "Tombs and Obits of Byzantine Emperors," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 16, 1962, pp. 18, 50.

[26] Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, p. 360, n. 2, explains this double entry by saying "Here Theophanes rectifies the discrepancy between the A.M. and the indictions by spreading the event of one year over two." The discrepancy referred to was an error of Theophanes in equating A.M. 6133 (640/1) with two indictions, 14 and 15. The fallibility of Theophanes' chronology has given rise to a great deal of scholarly discussion (cf. Georg Ostrogorsky, "Die Chronologie des Theophanes im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 1930, pp. 1–56) which need not concern us. To allow the primary testimony of the coins to be affected by one or another reconstruction of an erroneous chronicle would certainly be hysteron-proteron.

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autumn of 705.[27] This results from Bury's hypothesis that both the years given by Theophanes are involved in the recovery. "The actual capture of the city" he says "seems not to have taken place until after 1st September as Theophanes places his sojourn in Blachernae in 6197, but the recovery of the throne in 6198." But in fact Theophanes reports not merely the assault on the city but its capture with the help of his Bulgarian ally Terbel. Obviously if the later year is the true date of the city's capture there can have been no coins of the XX issued from Constantinople for that year ended in July 705. Whereas if the true date is the earlier one and the entry for A.M. 6198 is an inadvertent repetition, the time from September 1, 704 to July 9, 705 is available for the coins of the year XX. These undoubtedly included not only the dated copper but some of the undated gold also: the gold with the single bust and the globe inscribed PAX. Since this seems to have been a large issue (part of it no doubt was necessary for the paying of Terbel) one would be inclined to devote to it not only the latter part of the year XX but the first part of XXI as well, before the crowning of Tiberius and the type of father and son.

There is one more question to be considered. The first issue of the second reign is conspicuous in having the emperor clad in the loros which was the most important feature of the consular regalia. By the tenth century this had come to have complicated religious associations, but historically it was republican.[28] Is its significance here the same as it was on the gold issued for Heraclius in the interregnum of the revolt against Phocas?[29] Or is this the point at which the republican features become absorbed in the imperial sovereignty? One indication that the latter is true is that there are not here the customary consular features of mappa—anexikakia and eagle-tipped scepter. Another is the fact that the assumption of the consulship by the emperor should occur on January 1,[30] and it seems highly unlikely that Justinian should have waited so long to proclaim his resumption

[27] E. G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 1956, p. 125.
[28] Breckenridge, pp. 41–45.
[29] Grierson, *NC* 1950, pp. 71–93.
[30] But Maurice and Phocas waited until Christmas. Ernst Stein, "Post-Consulat et AYTOKPATOPIA," *Mélanges Bidez* II, 1934, pp. 869–912.

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of power with the conciliatory PAX. Indeed we may assume that coinage began as soon as possible after September 1, 704 and that the gold is to be so dated as well as the copper.[31]

[31] On the basis of the documents Stein says (p. 896) "Il est donc au moins probable que Constan II, le dernier empereur romain qui entra dans la ville de Rome, fut aussi le dernier à prendre le consulat en tant que magistrature éponyme de l'année civile."

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THE MONOGRAM OF CHARLEMAGNE IN GREEK[1]

MARGARET THOMPSON



Fig. a



Fig. b

The typical denier of the middle years of Charlemagne's reign, to which allusion is made in an article of the Council of Frankfurt of 794, has on one face a monogram of the type used on the king's diplomata from the date of his accession (fig. a) and on the other a cross, one of these types being surrounded by Charles' name and title as king of the Franks (+CARLVSREXFR) and the other by the name of the mint where the coin was struck. There exists, however, one rather rare denier which departs from this pattern. Instead of the mint-name the inscriptions, reading continuously from one side of the coin to the other, give Charlemagne's full title as it was from 774 to 800 (+ CARLVSREXFR — ETLANGACPATROM, i.e. Carlus rex Francorum et Langobardorum ac patricius Romanorum), and instead of the cross there is a second monogram of the type shown in fig. b.

Use of the Lombard and Roman titles leaves little doubt that the coin was struck in Italy, probably in the papal states at either Ravenna or Rome, but the monogram has been a complete puzzle to scholars. In his recent article on the coinage of Charlemagne[2] Grierson remarks that "no satisfactory explanation has yet been found," a retreat from his earlier interpretation of it as the mint-name of

[1] This note, based on my suggestion for the interpretation of the monogram, is almost wholly the work of Philip Grierson, who firmly refuses to have his name appear as author or co-author on the ground that the credit for the explanation is entirely mine. Since I cannot move him on this point, I can only acknowledge my debt to an admirable ghost writer.

[2] P. Grierson, "Money and Coinage under Charlemagne," in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. W. Braunfels, i (Düsseldorf, 1965), 517.

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Ravenna.[3] The monogram does not in fact include the letter N, and those specimens on which the ω has the appearance of a capital E must be dismissed as modern forgeries.[4] None of the other suggestions that have been put forward—PωMA, APAω (standing for *Adrianus Papa, Alpha Omega*!), even S MARCVS[5]—carries the slightest conviction.

The most puzzling feature of the monogram, the presence of an ω which can scarcely be read as an ϵ, is actually the clue to the reading. It proves that the letters are Greek, a fact confirmed by the cross-stroke of the A, which is diagonal rather than horizontal, and by the space between the loop and the upper transverse stroke, which indicates that P and K are separate letters and not an R. The monogram in fact is simply a repetition of the Latin monogram on the obverse of the coin with Greek characters (ΚΑΡωΛΟC or ΚΑΡΟVΛωC) used for Charlemagne's name. This was not the normal spelling at Constantinople, where Κάρουλος or Κάρουλλος was preferred,[6] but *omega* and *omicron* were by this time employed quite indifferently in transliterations—Khorasan is Χωρασάν as often as Χορασάν, Pannonia is as likely to be Πανωνίαν as Πανονίαν—and the monogram on the coin would in any case represent the version of a Greek-speaking Italian who would be concerned only to put the letters of Charlemagne's name directly into Greek.[7]

The appearance of a Greek monogram on the coin confirms the view of Grierson and other scholars that this issue should be assigned to Ravenna, the old capital of the Exarchate and a city where Greek

[3] "The Coronation of Charlemagne and the Coinage of Pope Leo III," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, XXX (1952), 830–1.

[4] *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, X (1927), pl. XLIII, 17, where the coin is ascribed to Ravenna, and XV (1934), pl. IV, 4, where a line drawing of the same piece is ascribed to Rome. According to Grierson, the style of the coin is very like that favored by Tardani for his forgeries of deniers of this period. Specimens from accredited provenances (the Ilanz and Biebrich Hoards and stray finds in the Low Countries) always have the monogram with ω.

[5] Cf. A. Engel and R. Serrure, *Traité de numismatique du moyen âge*, I, 213–4.

[6] E.g., Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A.M. 6216, 6281. Ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1833) I, 403, 463.

[7] This explanation is more likely than the use of the dative case Καρούλῳ. Though Byzantine coin inscriptions are sometimes in the dative, the persons referred to being considered as the subjects of an acclamation such as *Vita et victoria*, monograms are always in either the nominative or genitive.

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must still have been widely known and Greek traditions respected. Western influence is shown, however, in the precise form of the rendering, for Byzantine monograms were normally arranged around a cross or built up on the basis of a square letter such as H or N, not arranged around an angular letter like K.[8]

[8] In arrangement the Charlemagne monogram is also close to the Hellenistic tradition which usually emphasized the initial letter of the name and often achieved an orderly sequence of component parts. If KAPOVΛωC is the form the engraver had in mind the reading would be up from the A to the P and O and then down and around with V, Λ, ω and C.

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THE FERREIRA COLLECTION OF VISIGOTHIC COINS

(PLATES XXXVII–XL)

GEORGE C. MILES

The bulk of the collection of coins formed by the late Archer M. Huntington and presented by him to the Hispanic Society of America was transferred on permanent loan to the Museum of the American Numismatic Society between the years 1946 and 1948.[1] It was thought at that time that, except for a few miscellaneous duplicates not included in the transfer, these 30,000-odd coins represented the total collection. In the summer of 1957, however, several cartons and packages containing coins came to light in one of the vaults of the Hispanic Society and these were in due course transferred to the Numismatic Society for examination and incorporation into the body of the collection. These packages were found to contain nearly 9,000 coins, ranging in date from Celtiberian to modern European.

Among this additional lot of coins were 87 trientes of the Visigoths of Spain. All but nine of these were accompanied by circular tickets of identical color and fabric bearing attributions and numbers preceded by the letters "Ferr." It immediately became apparent that these references were to the brochure, *Catalogo da colleção de monedas visigodas pertencentes a Luiz José Ferreira*, 2.ª Edição, Porto, 1899,[2] and that these coins constituted the long "lost" Ferreira collection of Visigothic coins. As recently as 1952, Wilhelm Reinhart, speaking of a triens of Cepis in this collection, wrote, "Dicha coleción, desaportunadamente, se dispersó, desconociendose hoy su paradero."[3] In compiling my *Coinage of the Visigoths of Spain*,[4] I had made use of a copy of this inventory of Ferreira's collection and had included the coins in the corpus, but the lack of any illustrations and the limitations of the typography used in printing the inventory made

[1] See G. C. Miles, *The Coinage of the Umayyads of Spain* (*Hispanic Numismatic Series*, No. 1, N. Y., 1950), p. vii.

[2] The first edition, which I have not seen, evidently was published in 1890.

[3] "La ceca visigoda de 'Cepis', poblacion del distrito de Oporto," in *Nummus*, I, 1952, p. 41. Reinhart added: "Tal vez sirve este articulo para descubrirlo."

[4] *Hispanic Numismatic Series*, No. 2, N. Y., 1952.

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it impossible in a number of instances to assign specimens to the exact type to which they belonged. Now, with the coins themselves in my hands, I have been able to correct many of the readings given in the Ferreira list and to reassign all the specimens to their proper places in the corpus. The results of this collation are set forth in the accompanying tables and notes.[5]

THE FERREIRA COLLECTION

	Ferreira No.	Corpus No.	Revised Corpus No.	Weight & Die Pos.
Leovigild:				
* 1. Tarracona	F. 1	21		1.48↘
* 2. Emerita	F. 4	38(d)2	38(c)bis	1.17↘
* 3. Emerita	F. 5	39:2		1.33↓
Reccared:				
* 4. Barcinona	F. 9	50(c)3		1.40↓
* 5. Tarracona	F. 8	69(c)1		1.50↓
6. Toleto	F. 17	81(c)37		1.51↘
7. Eliberri	F. 10	83(d)2		1.41↓
8. Ispali	F. 11	85(b)1	85(a)6	1.46↙
9. Emerita	F. 13	93(c)1	93(a)35	1.50↓
10. Emerita	F. 14	93(c)2	93(a)36	1.49↓
*11. Emerita	F. 16	93(c)3	93(a)37	1.46↓
*12. Emerita	F. 15	93(e)1		1.51↙
13. Emerita	F. 12	93(f)18		1.52↓
*14. Salmantica	F. 7	99(c)1		1.43↘
*15. Cepis	F. 6	105(a)1		1.43↓
Liuva II:				
16. Ispali	F. 18	120(b)6		1.48↓

[5] The first column of figures after the mint name contains the original Ferreira inventory numbers; the second column, the number under which the specimen is to be found listed in *The Coinage of the Visigoths of Spain*; the third column, the corrected corpus number; the fourth column, the corrected weights and the die positions. Where no figures appear in the third column, the corpus number remains the same. Forgeries are listed separately at the end of the table. Specimens marked with an asterisk are illustrated in the plates.

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	Ferreira No.	Corpus No.	Revised Corpus No.	Weight & Die Pos.
Witteric:				
*17. Cesaragusta	F. 20	129(f)2	129(f)bis	1.50↓
18. Toleto	F. 23	137(b)1	137(a)10	1.46↓
*19. Toleto	F. 24	137(b)2	137(a)11	1.52↓
20. Ispali	F. 22	140(b)8		1.48↓
*21. Emerita	F. 21	143(f)1	143(k)1	1.46↓
*22. Bracara	F. 19	148:1		1.46↓
Sisebut:				
*23. Tarracona	F. 29	177(e)2	177(b)2	1.43↓
24. Tarracona	F. 30	177(c)2		1.44↓
*25. Tarracona	F. 28	178(d)2		1.32↓
26. Toleto	F. 31	183(b)1	183(a)16	1.51↓
27. Eliberri	F. 26	186(e)1	186(b)3	1.32↓ (broken, frg. lacking)
*28. Eliberri	F. 27	186(d)1	186(f)1	1.33↙
Suinthila:				
29. Barbi	F. 35	224(a)4	224(c)17	1.38↓
30. Eliberri	F. 32	250(b)1	227(o)4	1.39↓
31. Emerita	F. 33	235(a)40		1.46↓
32. Emerita	F. 34	235(a)41		1.41↓
Sisenand:				
*33. Mentesa	F. 36	263(a)1	262(e)1	0.97↓ (mended, frg. lacking)
34. Ispali	F. 38	269(d)1		1.46↓
35. Ispali	F. 39	269(a)1	269(q)7	1.41↓
*36. Egitania	F. 41	272(a)1	272(f)1	1.29↓
37. Emerita	F. 37	273(i)57	273(g)2	1.41↙

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	Ferreira No.	Corpus No.	Revised Corpus No.	Weight & Die Pos.
Chintila:				
*38. Toleto	F. 42	285(b)1	285(a)6	1.47↓ (pierced & plugged)
*39. Cordoba	F. 43	288:1	286(c)1	1.48↓
Reccesvinth:				
*40. Tarracona	F. 45	Lacking	357(e)bis	1.36↑
41. Toleto	F. 50	360(a)24		1.44↓
42. Toleto	F. 51	360(a)25		1.43↓
43. Toleto	F. 48	360(a)26		1.44↓
44. Toleto	F. 49	360(a)23	360(b)5	1.51↙
45. Toleto	F. 47	360(f)4		1.57↖
*46. Ispali	F. 46	368(e)1	368(d)4	1.51↗
47. Emerita	F. 44	375(a)7		1.38↓
Wamba:				
48. Toleto	F. 55	386(b)17		1.36↖ (thrice pierced)
*49. Ispali	F. 52	Lacking	392(a)6	1.36↗
50. Emerita	F. 53	393(h)1	394(a)12	1.37↓
51. Emerita	F. 54	393(i)1	394(b)2	1.31↓ (part of edge lacking)
Ervig:				
52. Toleto	F. 62	399(d)1		1.53↗
*53. Toleto	F. 61	399(c)1	399(h)1	1.36↓
*54. Ispali	F. 56	409(d)1	410(d)1	1.51↘
*55. Emerita	F. 57	415(c)1		1.39↓
*56. Emerita	F. 60	415(f)1	415(c)2	1.40↓
*57. Emerita	F. 58	415(d)1		1.38↑ (part of edge lacking)
*58. Emerita	F. 59	415(e)1		1.50↓

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	Ferreira No.	Corpus No.	Revised Corpus No.	Weight & Die Pos.
Egica:				
*59. Tarracona	F. 67	427(b)1		1.47↑
*60. Toleto	F. 66	437(c)1		1.14↗ (pierced)
61. Toleto	F. 64	437(e)1		1.51↑
*62. Toleto	F. 65	437(l)1		1.53↑
*63. Emerita	F. 63	449(a)5	449(b)3	1.32↑
Egica & Wittiza:				
*64. Narbona	F. 70	456(b)1		1.15← (frg. lacking)
*65. Mentesa	F. 69	467(f)1		1.35↑
*66. Toleto	F. 73	470:4	468(l)1	1.58↗
*67. Toleto	F. 72	470:3	468(m)1	1.51↙
*68. Emerita	F. 71	486(b)2		1.31↗
*69. Emerita	F. 74	486(f)1		1.24↗
Wittiza:				
*70. Toleto	F. 75	500(c)2		1.51↑
*71. Toleto	F. 76	500(d)1		1.46↑
Roderic:				
*72. Egitania	F. 77	512(c)2	512(b)4	1.48↑

FORGERIES (FERREIRA COLLECTION)

Leovigild:				
1. Cordoba	F. 3	30(c)1	Forgery 11(b)18	1.05↑
* 2. Cordoba	F. 2	30(c)2	Forgery 11(c)1	1.03↑
Gundemar:				
3. Ispali	F. 25	169(e)2	Forgery 37:16	1.24↑

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	Sisendand:				
*	4. Cordoba	F. 40	267(c)1	Forgery 52(b)1	1.70↑ (pierced)
	Tulga:				
	5. Toleto	F. 78	304(b)4	Forgery 61:7	1.40↑
	Egica:				
	6. Cordoba	F. 68	439(b)2	Forgery 91(b)13	1.35↑

Comment on individual specimens:

1. ✠LEOVIGILDVSREX
   ✠T·R·AC·NAIVSTVS
2. Similar to 38(c), but obverse legend:
   ✠DNLIVVIGILPV2PE✠
3. Note the obverse bust variant.
5. ✠RECCAREbV2RE
   ⌒TARR:COИ:API
   Bust types 4c, 4c.
8. This eliminates 85(b) from the corpus.
9–11. These eliminate 93(c) from the corpus. No. 9 has a small X, nos. 10 and11, large X.
12. Reverse bust type 8f.
14. ✠RECCAREbVSRE
    S^L^MANTECAIR (Begins at 7 o'clock.)
    Bust types 5d, 5d.
15. Bust types 5 var., 5 var. Add to the references W. Reinhart, "La ceca visigoda de'Cepis'," *Nummus*, I, 1952, p. 42.
17. Reverse legend begins ·CE:.
18–19. These eliminate 137(b) from the corpus.
21. ✠VVITTERICV2RE✠
    ✠EMERE|T|APIVS
    This eliminates 143(f) from the corpus.
22. Bust types 5l, 5l.
26. This eliminates 183(b) from the corpus.

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27. This eliminates 186(e) from the corpus.
28. ✝SISEBVTVSRI
    ✝PPVSELIBERR·⁘
30. Not Semure. This eliminates 250(b) from the corpus.
33. ✝SISENΛꝺVSR
34. ✝SISEN·ΛИD.VSRE
36. ✝SISENΛNDVSRE✻
    ✝E6 ITΛI|N|IΛPIVS
38. This eliminates 285(b) from the corpus.
39. ✝CHINTILΛRE
    ✝C°RΔ°BΛPIVS
    This eliminates 288 from the corpus.
40. As 357(e), but ꝑIV: Pellet each side of cross below arm.
46. This eliminates 368(e) from the corpus.
50. This eliminates 393(h) from the corpus.
53. ✝I·ꝑ·N·M·ERVI6IVSR✝
    Reverse as (a). This eliminates 399(c) from the corpus.
54. Bust type 11n, var.
    ✝I·Δ·INM·ERVI6IVSP✝
    ✝✡ISPΛLIPIVS
    This eliminates 409(d) from the corpus.
55–58. Bust variations. See the illustrations. No. 56 eliminates 415(f) from the corpus.
59. ✝I·N·N·N·|E|6ICΛP✝
60. ✝NXPINMNE6ICΛP✝VCR
    Reverse as (b).
61. ✝IN✝ꝑINM·E6ICΛP✝VTR
62. ✝IN✝RINM·E6ICΛP✝VR·
    Reverse as (a).
64. ✝I·D·N·MNE6ICΛP✝R
65. Obverse type 13k, var.
    ✝IDINME6CΛP✝R2
    Monogram as (d). Substitute X for ✝ in the reverse legend.
66. Obverse type 13f, var.
    ✝IDINMNE6ICΛP✝RCS
    Monogram as (g), but left-hand T upside down below the arm.
    ✝VVITIZΛP✝RE6S

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67. Obverse type 13f, var.
✠INDINME6ICAR
Monogram as (k), which should be turned to place the pellets in the upper right and lower right quarters.
68. Obverse type 13j.
69. Obverse type 13l, var.
✠ID·NMVVITTIZ✠
71. Ornament between stars at the end of the reverse margin is ⧗.
72. Bust type 11i, var.

Forgeries

1. This and no. 2 eliminate 30(c) from the corpus.
2. Previously unrecorded. The obverse and reverse busts resemble type 9b. Legends as forgery 11(a).
4. Obverse and reverse bust type 5e.
✠SISENANDVSREX
✠CORDOBAPIVS
Possibly a contemporary forgery. This eliminates 267(c) from the corpus.

ADDITIONAL HSA COINS (NOT EX-FERREIRA COLLECTION)

The following Visigothic trientes, not forming part of the former Ferreira collection, were transferred to the American Numismatic Society at the same time as the Ferreira collection. Their provenance is unknown.

	Corpus No.	Weight & Die Pos.
Reccared:		
*1. Cesaragusta	55(i)2	1.47↓
Sisebut:		
2. Toleto	183(a)17	1.46↘
Suinthila:		
3. Ispali	228(a)18	1.42↓
4. Emerita	235(a)60	1.48↓

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	Corpus No.	Weight & Die Pos.
Sisendand:		
5. Ispali	269(c)3	1.18↙
Chintila:		
*6. Cordoba	286(c)2	1.42↓
Wamba:		
7. Toleto	386(b)24	1.54←
Ervig:		
*8. Toleto	399(a)23	1.45↓
*9. Ispali	410(b)2	1.48↓

Comment on individual specimens:

No. 6: Similar to no. 39 of the Ferreira collection (above), but different dies.

No. 8: Bust type 2j, var.

No. 9: Bust type 11n, var.

✣I·Δ·INM·ERVI6IVSP✣

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COINS OF THE BARONIAL PERIOD OF CILICIAN ARMENIA (1080–1198)

(PLATE XLI)

PAUL Z. BEDOUKIAN

The purpose of this paper is to report on a study made of the coinage of the Roupenian Barons of Cilician Armenia. The paucity of specimens and the poor condition of the coins make it very difficult to present a complete picture of the coinage of this period or to attribute all the known coins with any degree of assurance. Nevertheless, while attempting a reasonable attribution of the available specimens is like trying to solve a jigsaw puzzle with only about fifty per cent of the pieces, a beginning has to be made.

The writer has found no evidence of the existence of silver coins struck by these princes. All the coins involved in this study are of copper and it appears probable that the rulers of Cilician Armenia, like their contemporaries in Edessa and other Latin principalities, issued copper coins only.[1]

The specimens shown (PLATE XLI) have been arranged according to design and style. The crudest ones, placed at the head of the list, are considered the earliest examples of Roupenian coinage. The series ends with a copper coin of Levon (1187–1198).

A careful examination was made of the individual coins for clues to establish a chronology.

It was interesting to note that none of the letters on the first four coins is in capital type. All are in common script. On the basis of style, the letters on coins 5 and 6 fall between the artistically executed capital letters of 7 and 8, and the crude common script of 1–4. This is some evidence in support of the sequence given. The style of lettering on 8 recalls that on the coins issued by Levon after his coronation as the first King of Cilician Armenia.

Coins 1–4, judging from their appearance and styling, are closely related, and could have been issued by Roupen I (1080–1095) or his

[1] G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1878).

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son, Gosdantin I (1095–1099). Coin 5 bears the name of Toros, and as indicated below, was struck by Toros I (1100–1129).

With the fort of Partzrpert as the seat of his principality, Roupen established himself as the independent ruler of a mountainous region in the Taurus. This was a relatively small area, and it is not too probable that Roupen issued any coins.

His son, Gosdantin I, the real founder of the Roupenian dynasty,[2] was able to expand his territory because of favorable circumstances. During his reign, the armies of the First Crusade arrived and were welcomed by the Armenians as natural allies against the Moslems. Also during this period, Baldwin I became the ruler of Edessa. Curiously enough, though his reign was short, Baldwin I struck a number of coins bearing his name.[3] Following the example of the Crusader princes, Gosdantin may have decided to strike coins of his own. It should be recalled that he bore allegiance to no one. Alishan,[4] in his comprehensive treatise on Cilician Armenia, states that he recalls a passage in a contemporary manuscript (the name of which he has forgotten) reading: "Gosdantin, the son of Roupen, called himself king and struck coins."

The legends on coins 1, 2 and 3 cannot be deciphered, but it is possible to see letters which are similar to each other.

Thus, on 2: ////աեռ.սո/// — ////ա/////////
and 3: //////հռ.ա ո/// — //յսա ն.ք ն///

The last word is perhaps an abbreviation for Gosdantin. The condition of 4 is a little better, and the legend apparently reads //// ա.ա է ե///// — ծա.ա ա՛յ ///// (Servant of E [?]—Servant of God).

Coins 5 has on the obverse: (Թ)որոսի է ռ(թ) (Toros of the Roupenians) and the typical Greek cross in the center. No legend appears on the reverse which contains an unfamiliar cross of a type peculiar to the coins struck by this prince. I have not found this cross in any

[2] For a historical account of this period, see: S. Der Nersessian in *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. II, pp. 630–660 (University of Pennsylvania, 1962); S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1951); R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1934); L. M. Alishan, *Sissouan ou l'Arméno-Cilicie* (Venice, 1899).
[3] G. Schlumberger, pp. 10–12, 18–25; pls. I, II.
[4] Alishan, p. 452.

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reference works on contemporary Byzantine or Crusader coins. In the left field under the wing of the cross is an abbreviated word as indicated by the horizontal line above it. The two letters appear to be ⵓⵕ, the abbreviated form of ⵓⵎⵍⵕⵕ (Saint). The abbreviation on the right looks like ⵏⵍⵔ (GhT) and its meaning is not known. A second specimen of this coin in the Museum of the Mekhitarists in Vienna is too worn to be of any assistance in reading the complete legend.

Another example of this type (No. 6), seems to be a seal or medal rather than a coin. It is much thicker than coin 5 and is of bronze. The legend on the obverse is the same, but is written counter-clockwise. On the reverse, the cross is somewhat similar, but its lower part is divided into two legs instead of three. There are no lines under the horizontal wings of the cross to indicate an abbreviation, but one sees various undeciphered signs to the left of the cross and two letters in the right field similar to the ones on coin 5.

Coin 5 is quite different from coins 7 and 8 which have been attributed to Toros II (1145–1169). For this reason, and because of the styling of the legend, coin 5 has been ascribed to Toros I (1100–1129).

During the reign of Toros I, a number of Crusader princes struck coins in copper. These coins were rather coarse examples of the Byzantine type, with the legend usually in Greek characters. They were struck by Baldwin II of Edessa (1100–1118) and his liege, Richard, Lord of Marash; Bohemond of Antioch (1098–1111); Tancred (1104–1112); Roger (1112–1119); Bohemond II (1119–1130); also, by the counts of Tripoli: Bertrand (1109–1112), and possibly Pons (1112–1136). It should be mentioned that the deniers of Bertrand are different from the Byzantine type, having the typical Greek cross and the name of Bertrand on one side, like the coins of Toros I.

After the death of Toros I, his brother, Levon I (1129–1138) ruled Cilicia and succeeded in taking over several important cities in the lowlands of Cilicia. Although no coins have yet been found which can be attributed to him, there is little doubt that this ambitious ruler followed precedent and struck coins in his name. Levon's reign ended when the Byzantine Emperor, John Commenus, entered Cilicia with a large army, captured Levon together with his two sons, and took them as prisoners to Constantinople.

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Toros, one of Levon's sons, eventually escaped and returned to Cilicia in 1145. The Armenians rallied around their leader and Toros II became master of the major part of Cilician Armenia.

Two coins bearing the name Toros (PLATE XLI, 7, 8) are attributed to Toros II. They bear a striking resemblance to the coins struck by the neighboring princes of Antioch and Tripoli during this time. The typical Greek cross is on the obverse and the name Toros is clearly legible, followed or preceded by another word which cannot be deciphered.

On coin 7, the obverse legend appears to be Թորոս ////յաստւ//// while on coin 8 it is Թորոս ////աստւ/////. Although the second word is not intelligible, it appears to be the same on both coins.

The reverse of coin 7 shows a castle or gate, and in the field, a number of letters: ωԹ to left, and ոω to right. On the reverse of 8, we again see a gate or castle, as well as signs or letters; however, the appearance of the castle is different.

The occurrence of a castle or gate on one side of the coin definitely puts it in the period of contemporary Crusader coins with similar illustrations. Raymond II (1152–1187) struck deniers with a cross on the obverse and a gate or castle on the reverse[5] and Baldwin III of Jerusalem (1144–1162) also issued coins of this type.[6]

After the death of Toros II, the country was ruled by his brother Mleh, an impetuous man of some ability. With the aid of the Sultan of Aleppo, Nur-al-Din, he captured some territory from the Byzantines and consolidated his position in Cilicia.

Alishan,[7] following Brosset,[8] mentions that Mleh struck coins. The coin attributed to Mleh, however, has Arabic characters, and Langlois[9] has shown that it belongs to another ruler in Asia Minor. Nevertheless, it is possible that during his five-year reign, Mleh struck coins even though none has been attributed to him to date.

Mleh's rule was a tyrannical one, and after the death in 1174 of his chief supporter, the Sultan of Aleppo, he was condemned to death by rebelling Armenian nobles.

[5] G. Schlumberger, pl. IV, 9–15.
[6] Ibid., pl. III, 19–26.
[7] Alishan, p. 56.
[8] M. Brosset, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (Paris, 1824–1836), XVI, p. 305.
[9] V. Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie au moyen âge* (Paris, 1855), p. 34.

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Roupen II (1175–1187) the son of Mleh's brother Stephen, succeeded Mleh and further expanded and consolidated his rule over the entire territory of Cilicia. It may be assumed that in the course of his twelve-year reign he struck coins in his name.

There is a copper coin first reported by Alishan[10] and attributed by him to either Toros I or Gosdantin I. An attribution to these early rulers does not seem plausible for several reasons. The presence of the gate or castle on the coin puts it in the latter half of the twelfth century rather than in the first half. In addition, the styling of the letters is quite artistic, unlike the crude representations found on the early examples. The letters are similar to the ones on the coins of the last prince, Levon II (1187–1198). It is therefore reasonable to place this coin just prior to that period. It is noteworthy that coins issued by Amaury of Jerusalem (1162–1173) show a marked resemblance to the coin under discussion.[11]

These considerations would justify attribution of this coin to Roupen II. Indeed, although the poor condition of the coin makes the legend rather unintelligible, one is tempted to give the following interpretation on the basis of the characters which can be deciphered:
Obv.: Castle (ՌՈՒՊԻՆ ՈՐԴԻ) (ՍՏԵՓԱՆԵՑԻ) (Roupen, Son of Stephen).
Rev.: Cross (ԿԵՍՊ ՈՒԺՈՎՆ ԵՅ) (By the Power of God).

Admittedly, much of this interpretation is conjecture, but the obverse legend appears on the coinage of Roupen's successor (his brother, Levon II), and the reverse legend occurs on numerous coins issued at a later date.

Roupen II retired to a monastery in 1187. Levon II was perhaps the most capable and ambitious of all the Roupenian barons. The Armenians were now masters of Cilicia and during the Third Crusade were in a position to assist the Crusaders in their wars against the Saracens. Levon's goal to establish a kingdom was finally achieved when he was crowned Levon I in Tarsus on January 6, 1198. The coronation took place in the presence of the head of the Armenian National Church, Catholicos Gregory VI, who anointed him, and of Archbishop Conrad of Mainz, the Papal legate, who presented him with the royal insignia.

[10] Alishan, p. 452.

[11] G. Schlumberger, pl. III.

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Following his coranation, Levon began an extensive coinage in silver and copper, and possibly gold[12] but this paper is concerned mainly with his coinage prior to his coronation.

The existence of copper coins bearing Levon's name has been known for some time. Two specimens were mentioned in Sibilian.[13] They are in poor condition and a correct interpretation of their legend was not made until 1930:[14]

Obv.: Knight galloping left ԼԵՒՈՆ ՇՈՒՄԱ ԱՅ (Levon, Servant of God).

Rev.: Greek cross ՈՍԿԻ ՍՏԵՓԱՆԵՑԻ (Son of Stephen).

It is interesting that Schlumberger shows a coin having the same obverse illustration, issued by a Latin ruler.[15] However, he was not able to attribute his coin to a particular ruler.

Ten of the fourteen specimens known of Levon's copper coinage are included in the writer's Corpus.[16]

The following chart summarizes the attributions which have been made to the princes of the Baronial period of the Roupenian dynasty (1080–1198).

Coin Number	Ruler	Location	Weight (Grams)
	Roupen I (1080–1095)	No known specimens	
1, 2, 3, 4.	Gosdantin (1095–1099)	3 in writer's collection (1, 2, 4)	3.43, 2.40,
		1 in Guevrekian coll. (3)	2.24, 3.64
		1 in Mekhitarist Museum, Vienna	
5, 6.	Toros I (1099–1121)	1 in writer's collection	0.75
		1 in Mekhitarist Museum, Vienna	
	Levon I (1129–1137)	No known specimens	

[12] P. Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, *NNM* 147 (1962).
[13] C. Sibilian, *Classification of Roupenian Coins* (Vienna, 1892), p. 78.
[14] H. Der Ghazarian, *Zouartnotz* (Paris, 1930), p. 409.
[15] G. Schlumberger, pl. III, No. 11.
[16] P. Z. Bedoukian, op. cit. pp. 129–130.

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Coin Number	Ruler	Location	Weight (Grams)
7, 8.	Toros II (1145–1169)	2 in writer's collection	1.25, 1.30
	Mleh (1170–1175)	No known specimens	
9.	Roupen II (1175–1187)	1 in Mekhitarist Museum, Venice	
10.	Levon II (1187–1198)	14 known specimens	
		2 in writer's collection	2.65, 2.60
		2 in Mekhitarist Museum, Vienna	
		1 in Mekhitarist Museum, Venice	
		2 in A. Donabedian coll., Beirut	
		1 in Mardikian Museum, Beirut	
		1 in Nubarian Library, Paris	
		2 in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	
		1 in State Museum, Erivan, Armenia	
		1 in J. Guevrekian coll., New York	3.70
		1 in H. Der Ghazarian coll. (Lost)	

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SELECTED ITEMS FROM THE DONALD J. ROGASNER COLLECTION OF EARLY DATED EUROPEAN COINS

(PLATES XLII–XLVIII)

HENRY GRUNTHAL

In the Spring of 1960, Mr. Donald J. Rogasner, the present Chairman of the Mediaeval Coin Committee of the ANS and a prominent collector of Greek coins, Bracteates and foreign coins in general, informed the American Numismatic Society of his intention to part with a section of his collection. The Society was therefore able to acquire by purchase this section, here described as the Donald J. Rogasner Collection of Early Dated European Coins, consisting of 619 items of which 101 were disposed of as duplicates. The remaining collection of 518 pieces does not form a homogeneous unit since it contains 157 items which were struck during a later period. To a large degree, this collection is indicative of Mr. Rogasner's pronounced taste for rarities inherent in most of the piedforts or odd-shaped coins, and to a lesser degree, they are perhaps the unwanted numismatic children of the uninitiated collector.

In addition to coins, the collection also contains six medals and numerous medallic coins. These medallic coins or "Schautalers" are commemorative coins which attract the collector because of their artistic and sometimes unusual design, but differ from medals in that they were struck in conformity with the prevailing standard, and as such, could have been used as media of exchange.

Since the collection contains many rarities and quite a few unique and unpublished pieces, it is considered appropriate to publish a representative selection in order that the interested numismatist may know of the existence of such a collection in a major coin cabinet. A description of the entire Donald J. Rogasner Collection of Early Dated European Coins is available in manuscript form in the Library of the American Numismatic Society.

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HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

1. *Maximilian I* (1490–1519). Gold medal, 1479, commemorating the marriage to Mary of Burgundy.
Obv.: ✣MAXIMILIANVS MAGNANIMVS · ARCHIDVX AVSTRIÆ BURGVNDIÆ Bust r., laureate and in armor, hair falling over shoulder; to l. and r. ÆTA — TIS·19.
Rev.: ✣ MARIA ✣ KAROLI · FILIA ✣ HERES ✣ BVRGVNDI ✣ BRAB ✣ CONIVGES ✣ Bust l.; to l. and r. ETAT — IS ✣ ZO · / 14–79.
44.5 mm., 46.85 gr. Cf. van Mieris I, p. 152, 2; *Gedenkpenningen* 12 (Æ). Formerly in the Giulia P. Morisini Collection, sold in Oct. 1932 by the American Art Association Anderson Galleries, Inc., #148 (PLATE XLII).

2. *Maximilian I*. Quintuple taler, 1509.
Obv.: ✱ MAXIMILIANVS · DEI · GRA · ROM · IMP · SEMP: AVG · ARCHIDVX · AVSTRIE Emperor crowned and in armor, holding imperial flag in r., riding r. on horse on which, richly adorned shabrack. On shabrack · HALT · MAS: · IN · ALLN · DING; to r. rosette, below horse 1509.
Rev.: ✱ PLVRIMQ ∘ EVROPE ∘ PROVIИCIAR' ∘ REX ∘ ET ∘ PRIИCEPS ∘ POTENTISIM Crowned shield with double eagle around which the chain of the Golden Fleece and double circle of arms.
140.24 gr. Unpublished as a quintuple taler. The coin was struck with the dies of Schulthess 27. Another specimen (131.57 gr.) was offered by H. H. Kricheldorf, Stuttgart, sale of Nov. 1960, #504A (PLATE XLII).

3. *Maximilian I*. Gulden, 1515.
Obv.: CÆS · MAXIMILIAN9 · ARCHID · AVSTRI · D · BRV · Bust l. crowned and in armor over which imperial robe; sceptre in r., orb in l.
Rev.: INEVROPAE · PRINCEPS · POTENTISSIM9 · M · D · XV · Crowned shield with double eagle around which the four shields of Hungary, Austria, Burgundy and Habsburg.
15.57 gr. Schulthess 31. Schulthess knew this coin only from a description in Appel's *Repertory*, II, 1, p. 37. In a footnote Schulthess expressed regret that he did not have an opportunity to examine the Appel specimen, but nevertheless questions the authenticity of the coin. He is sceptical of the representation of the emperor in his imperial robe and of the spelling of EVROPAE in the legend. The ANS specimen is struck over another coin.

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The undertype shows a crown in the center of the obv. and M in the rev. legend between EVROPAE and PRINCEPS. After thorough examination of the coin and based on its fabric and patination, I am convinced that Schulthess' reservations are unfounded (PLATE XLII).

4. *Rudolph II* (1576–1612). Taler klippe, 1606, struck at Prague.
Obv.: RVDOLPHVS · II · D · G · R · I · S · A · G · H · BO · REX
Bust r. in armor; the Bohemian lion below.
Rev.: ARCHID · AVSTRI · DVX – BVRG · MAR · MO: 1606
Crowned double eagle bearing Austrian shield on its breast. Mint mark: shield with three stars (Hans Lasanz von Friedenegg).
Not in Donebauer; Miller von Aichholz, p. 92; Helbing Sale (Munich), May 1907, #577 (PLATE XLIII).

5. *Archduke Leopold V*, brother of Emperor Ferdinand II (1618–1632). Triple taler klippe without date, struck at Hall, commemorating the marriage to Claudia of Medici which took place in 1626.
Obv.: Profile busts of the Archduke and Princess r., jugate.
Rev.: Tirolian eagle.
85.32 gr. Enzenberg 206 (PLATE XLIII).

BOHEMIA

6. *Georg of Podebrad* (1458–1471). Piedfort of groschen struck at Kuttenberg.
Obv.: GEORGIVS ✻ PRIMVS✢ around which ✢ DEI ✢ GRATIA ✢ REX ✢ BOEMIE
In the center, crown within circle of beads.
Rev.: ✢ ✯ GROSSI ✢ PRAGENSES ✯ Lion with double tail l.
22.33 gr. Not in Donebauer (PLATE XLIII).

VENICE

7. *Andrea Gritti* (1523–1538). Osella without date, struck in 1523 with dies prepared by the Venetian sculptor Vittore Gambello, better known as Camelio.
Obv.: ANDREAS GRITI DVX VENET Bust with doge's cap l.
Rev.: MVNVS DATVM NOBILIB VENET St. Mark seated writing his Gospel, at his feet lion's head, in exergue S.M.V. (Sanctus Marcus Venetus).

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28.5 mm., 9.30 gr. Jesurum, pp. 329–331; *C. N. I.* XX. 18, p. 284, 387; Friedländer, *Die Italienischen Schaumünzen des XV. Jahrhunderts*, p. 97; Heiss, p. 126; Werdnig, p. 41, n.; Papadopoli, Vol. II, p. 145; Signorelli Collection, Santa Maria, Mar. 1955, #4. Two specimens are known, one in the Vienna Cabinet and the one listed here. The Museo Civico e Correr, Venice, has a copy in lead. The paucity of specimens is explained by the fact that the Venetian Council of Ten stopped the striking because it was unlawful to place the portrait of a doge on coins. The dies for this osella were cut by Camelio who is known to have been the first engraver to have cut dies directly into steel (PLATE XLIII).

THE NETHERLANDS – BAER

8. *Walram of Moers* (1415–1456). Goldflorin, 1445.
Obv.: ✯ΠNNO = ✯DOIII' = MCCC✯ = CXLV✯
Quartered shield of Utrecht and Moers.
Rev.: ✣ MONETA ✣ NOVA ✯ VRC A ✯B A CR
The three shields of Utrecht-Baer, Utrecht-Moers and Utrecht-Moers form a triangle in which a carpenter's square.
3.02 gr. Noss, *Blätter für Münzfreunde* 5 (1904), p. 3136; Frey 70; Stephanik Collection, Amsterdam, 1904, #4481. Second known specimen (PLATE XLIV).

THE NETHERLANDS – CAMPEN

9. Double taler klippe, 1614.
Obv.: ✠ MONE · NO: CIVITATIS · IMPE · CAMPENSIS
City wall with three towers, date separating towers.
Rev.: MATHIAS · I · D: G · ELEC · RO IMP · SEM · AVG
Crowned imperial double eagle.
42.5 mm., 58.5 gr. Ex Schulman Sale, Nov. 1925, #710; Gans-Grunthal Sale, Dec. 1949, #653 (PLATE XLIV).

POLAND

10. *Sigismund III* (1587–1632). Taler, 162(9), struck with the dies of Hutten-Czapski 1602.
Obv.: Crowned bust r.
Rev.: SAM · LIV · NEG · NO: SVE – GOT · VAD: Q · HRI · REX^{X}
Crowned shield between 1–1 and 16–2 all surrounded by the chain of the Golden Fleece.
Not in Hutten-Czapski. Although the date on this specimen is incomplete, the obverse die was used for other talers dated 1629 (PLATE XLIV).

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SWEDEN

11. *Christine* (1632–1654). Thick double taler, 1646.
Obv.: ✠ CHRISTINA · D: G: SVE: GOT: WANQ: DE: REGI: ET · PR: HÆ:
Bust practically facing.
Rev.: ◊ SALVATOR ◊ MVNDI ◊ SALVA · NOS · M · DC · XLVI ·
Salvator standing facing.
Formerly in the Hermitage Museum. Ex R. Melchior, Rio de Janeiro Collection, Gans-Grunthal Sale, June 1950, #744. Double talers of Queen Christine are among the rarest in the Swedish series. Glück-Hesselblad knows only of four dates from 1644 to 1647 (PLATE XLIV).

ST. GALL

12. Plappart, 1424, equivalent to 1/26 of a gulden.
Obv.: MONET⛪: NOV⛪ S⛪ИТ · G⛪LLI+
Floriated cross in quatrefoil, eagle shield, the old coat of arms of the city in the center.
Rev.: S⛪ИTTVS: G⛪LLVS' I✕2✕
Saint Gall standing.
Iklé 274; Frey 21; *South Kensington Museum*, p. 157, 1. This is the oldest known European coin dated in Arabic numerals. See R. S. Poole, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Swiss Coins in the South Kensington Museum*, remarks on p. 158 (PLATE XLV).

BREMEN

13. *Heinrich III of Lauenburg* (1567–1585). Double taler, 1584.
Obv.: Bust practically facing between 8–4: the Duke wears a very high collar and a double eagle on a chain.
Rev.: Crowned double eagle with 32 on breast.
Not in Jungk, cf. Jungk 292, the single taler, but without period after DECRETO. Ex Danziger Collection sold by Meuss, Hamburg, Dec. 1938, #205; Owston-Smith Collection sold by Glendining & Co., 1951, #130 (PLATE XLV).

CORVEY

14. *Franz von Kettler* (1504–1547). Half taler, 1543, struck at Höxter.
Obv.: ✱ FRANCISC 9ϟ DϟGϟ ABBAS⸗ CORBEIE:
Quartered shield, date above.

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Rev.: MONETA✶ NOV✶ – CIVITA✶ HOXER
St. Vitus between S—V.

Unique. Ex Robert Ball Sale, Mar. 1931, #270; Schulman, Amsterdam, Jan. 1954, #1008 (PLATE XLV).

LIVONIAN ORDER

15. *Heinrich von Galen* (1551–1557). Taler, 1557.
Obv.: Master in armor holding shield in front of him between 1 · 5 · — 5 · 7 ·
Rev.: Crossed keys above city gate (arms of the city of Riga).

Schulthess 5048; *C. Schulthess* 2951 (RRRR); Minus & Preis 4223. This specimen, ex Cahn Sale 1924, #1224, is the second known since Schulthess published the coin which went from the Schulthess Sale into the Minus & Preis Collection. The head and armor appear to be slightly re-engraved on this specimen (PLATE XLV).

MAGDEBURG

16. *Albrecht IV*, Margrave of Brandenburg (1513–1545). Quarter guldengroschen, 1525.
Obv.: ‡ DOMINVS · MIHI · ADIVTOR · QVEM · TIM
Bust r., date below.
Rev.: ALBERT · CARDI · ARCHE · MAGD
Quartered shield with the arms of Brandenburg, Pomerania, Nuremberg and Zollern on staff with cross on which Cardinal's hat; in the center of the shield the arms of Magdeburg, Mainz and Halberstadt.

Not in v. Schroetter. Quarter talers of Albrecht were hitherto unknown (PLATE XLV).

BRUNSWICK-WOLFENBÜTTEL

17. *Henry the Younger* (1514–1568). Double taler, 1568, struck by Hans Küne at Goslar.
Obv.: ‡ HENRIC ✣ D✣ GR✣ DV✣ — BRVNS✣ E✣ LV✣ — NE
Bearded bust r. in fur coat; holding in r. a shield supported by wild man facing l.
Rev.: Crowned double eagle with orb on breast.

Unrecorded; dies identical with single taler, Fiala 136 (PLATE XLVI).

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MANSFELD-HINTERORTIC LINE

18. *Heinrich II*, alone (1595–1602). Double "Motto" taler, 1595.
Obv.: · HEINRICVS · COM · E · DOM · I · MANSFELD
Arms dividing G — M and date 9–5.
Rev.: COMMISI · — DOMINO · ET · IPSE · FACIET
St. George mounted l.
This unpublished coin was struck with the taler dies of Tornau 997e. Only one double "Motto" taler (1601) is listed by Tornau. Its whereabouts are unknown (PLATE XLVI).

PALATINATE

19. *Ludwig III* (1410–1436). Raderalbus, 1425.
Obv.: ΛNO ✠ DNI✠—M✠ααααα✠ XXV
Christ seated on Gothic throne, shield of the Palatinate and Bavaria below.
Rev.: L(V)DW—IC'✠C'P—R'✠ DV—X°BT
The shields of Bavaria, the Palatinate, Mainz, Trier and Cologne in the corners of a long cross.
Frey 24; ex Joseph Collection, sold by Leo Hamburger, Feb. 1912, #1958 (PLATE XLVI).

20. *Philip I the Sincere* (1476–1508). Goldgulden, 1491.
Obv.: PHILIP—PC · P' R' · — DVX · BT'
Shield of the Palatinate and Bavaria within trefoil in the corners of which small shields of Mainz, Trier and Cologne.
Rev.: ✠ MONα' · NOV' — AV · Rα · 1491 +
Christ seated on Gothic throne, the shield of the Palatinate and Bavaria at his feet.
Unpublished (PLATE XLVI).

21. *Friedrich II* (1508–1556).Gulden, 1522, struck at Nuremburg in commemoration of his imperial governorship.
Obv.: FRIDERICVS ∘ D ∘ G ∘ CO ∘ PALA ∘ RHE ∘ BAV ∘ DVX ⚷
Bust l. in armor and with the chain of the Golden Fleece.
Rev.: CAES ∘ MAI ∘ IИ — IMPERIO ⚷ LOCVMTENEN — S ∘ MCCCCCXXII.
Double eagle with shield of Austria and Aragon, within inscription shields of the Palatinate and Bavaria.

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Madai 1394; *C. Schultheß*, 4265; Exter I, p. 31; Domanig 37; Köhler, *Münzbelustigungen* XIX, 305; Habich I, pp. 6, 20. The dies for this taler were cut by Ludwig Krug after a design by Albrecht Dürer. This specimen was originally in the Raritäten Cabinet, sold by Hess, Oct. 1896, #565, purchased by Geheimrat Vogel in Chemnitz. It was resold by Leo Hamburger, Frankfurt, Nov. 1924, #24 to an unknown collector. The coin appeared again in a Busso Peus Sale, Oct. 1956, #222 (PLATE XLVI).

SAXONY-ERNESTINE LINE

(after the loss of the electorate)

22. *The sons of Johann Friedrich the Magnanimous during his captivity* (1547–1552). Thick taler, 1551, struck with the dies of an unpublished half taler.

Obv.: MONE: FILIOR · IOH · FRID · SENIORIS: D: SAX ·

Arms with four quarters and Saxonian center shield, date above.

Rev.: ✠D: G: CAR: V: ROM: IMP: SEMP: AVG

Crowned bust of Emperor Charles V r. with sceptre.

Unpublished. Ex Collection of the Duke of Fürstenberg, Helbing, Oct. 1933, #94. The half talers of 1551 described by Ampach, 13083, and Vogel Collection, 6081, are struck from dies different from those used in striking this specimen (PLATE XLVII).

SALM – WILD AND RHEINGRAFEN

23. *Otto of Kyrburg* (1594–1607). Thick double taler, 1604.

Obv.: ∘ OT — TO ∘ COꝵ SILV ∘ — ∘ Eꝵ RHEꝵ C ∘ I ∘ SA — L ∘ —ꝵ

Arms with center shield under three helmets.

Rev.: ∘ RVDOL ∘ II ∘ ROM ∘ IMP ∘ AVG ∘ PO ∘ F ∘ DEꝵ

Crowned double eagle with orb on breast, date below.

C. Schultheß, 5562 (RRRR), pl. II. Ex Raritäten Cabinet; Vogel Collection, #3352; Owston-Smith Collection Sale, 1951, #664 (PLATE XLVII).

WÜRTTEMBERG

24. *Ulrich* (1498–1550). $1\frac{1}{2}$ taler, 1537.

Obv.: ✠ Dꝵ G ∘ VLRICVS ∘ DVX ∘ WIRTꝵ TECK ∘ COꝵ MOꝵ BELLꝵ Ƶ

Bust l. with feather cap and in armor.

Rev.: ✠ DA ∘ GLORIAM ∘ DEO ∘ — OMNIPOTENTI ∘ 1537

Arms with two helmets.

33.0 gr. Unpublished, cf. Habich I, p. 19, 26. Habich attributes the dies to Hans Daucher. Ex R. Melchior Collection, Rio de Janeiro, sold by Gans-Grunthal, June 1950, #1029 (PLATE XLVII).

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AACHEN (AIX LA CHAPELLE)

25. Piedfort of the two mark piece, 1577, struck on a planchet eight times as thick as the regular issue.
Obv.: MO · REGIÆ · — SE · VR · AQVIS
Bust of Charlemagne with sceptre in l., church to l., city shield below.
Rev.: · RVDOLP · II · RO: CÆS · AV · 1577
Crowned double eagle with orb on breast.
13.06 gr., planchet thickness 4 mm. Not in Menadier. Menadier knows only of a piedfort of triple thickness (6.28 gr., municipal collection at Aachen, cf. Menadier 152c). Ex Collection of Duke of Fürstenberg, Helbing Sale, Dec. 1932, #1027 (PLATE XLVII).

COLOGNE

26. Real, 1512.
Obv.: ✠ IASPAR ∘ MELCHIOR ∘ BALTHASAR ∘ CIVITAS ∘ COLⅯ
The three Magi in Renaissance costume standing with German shields; the center shield has the coat of arms of the city with eleven sparks, arms of Melchior r., arms of Balthasar l. The l. and center king are bearded, Balthasar, being a negro, is beardless. Each king is holding a flag. The center king is Caspar as is denoted by his flag which carries his coat of arms.
Rev.: ✠ ADIVTORIVM ∘ И OSTRVM ∘ I ∘ И OИE ∘ DИI ∘ 1512
St. Ursula flanked by two virgins; to r. English prince Aetherius, to l. Gereon, patron saint of Cologne.
14.02 gr. Noss 63, n.; v. Merle 4 (cf. incorrect identification as four ducats, a not uncommon error). This specimen is identical with that described by v. Merle which went into the Vogel Collection, Helbing, Oct. 1932, #235; and again Helbing, July 1933, #2182; Coin Galleries Sale, Oct. 1954, #1261 (PLATE XLVIII).

FRANKFURT AM MAIN

27. Goldgulden, 1495, with title of Emperor Friedrich.
Obv.: ⅯO ∘ ℕO ∘ FR — Ᵽℕ Ⓐ ∘ 1495
St. John standing, facing; in l. lamb on book; the shield of Weinsberg between his feet.
Rev.: ✢ FRIDRI ⒶVS ∘ ROMⱣℏ' ∘ IMPⒶRⱣ'
Cross on orb in trefoil.
Not in Josef & Fellner. Hybrid coin struck with the dies of J. & F. 129h/126a (PLATE XLVIII).

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WISMAR

28. Taler, 1587, with altered date, 7 over 6.
Obv.: ✣ MONETA ✣ NO — VA ✣ WISMARI✣ AR
St. Lawrence standing, facing, holding shield of the city in front.
Rev.: 7 RVDOLPHVS ✣ II✣ D✣ G ∘ IMP✣ SE ∘ AVG ᵛS · 8 —
Crowned double eagle with 32 in orb on breast.
Unpublished (PLATE XLVIII).

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NOTES ON AN UMAYYAD HOARD FROM KHURĀSĀN

(PLATE XLVIII)

RAYMOND J. HEBERT

During a recent stay in Teheran, Iran, I was fortunate in acquiring a hoard of 196 dirhams said to have been found at Meshhed in Khurāsān province. Because some of these are unrecorded and in the hope that the information given below may help to shed some light on early Islamic monetary circulation patterns, it has seemed desirable to me to describe them.

Apart from three specimens,[1] the coins are very well-preserved Umayyad issues covering the years 86 through 115 A.H./A.D. 705–773/4 and representing eighteen mints.

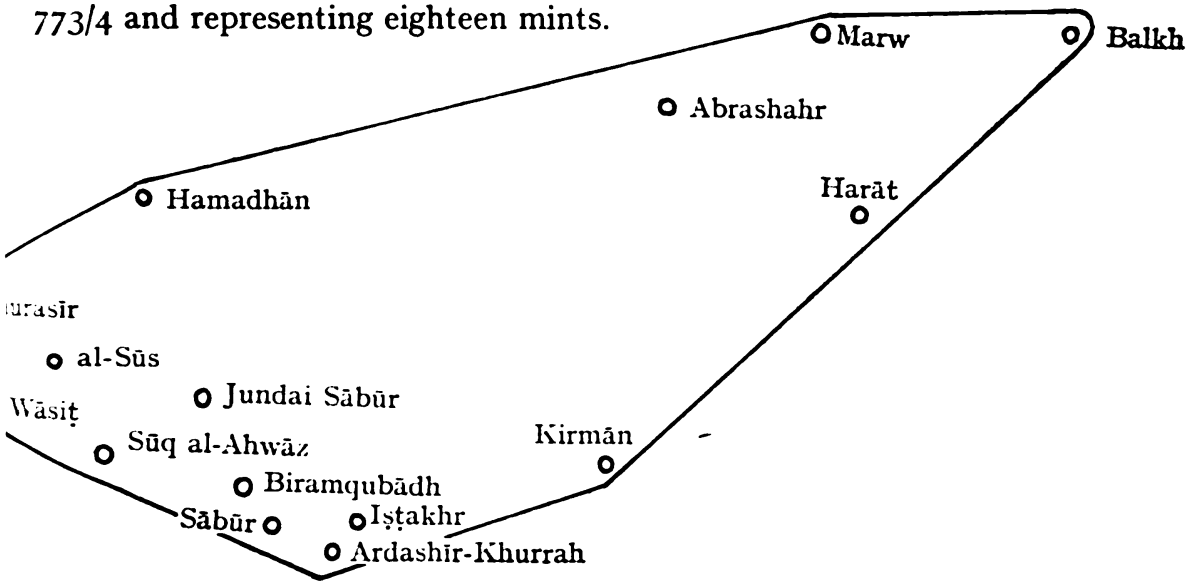


Fig. 1

When seen on a map, the pattern of distribution of these dirhams resembles a huge fan whose handle is at Balkh and whose fanning edge forms a crescent running from Bahurasīr in 'Irāq down to Kirmān in Kirmān (see fig. 1).

[1] The three are 'Abbāsid issues of Madīnat Samarqand, 135 A.H./A.D. 752/3, al-Muḥammadīyah, 160 A.H./A.D. 776/7, and Madīnat Abrashahr, 162 A.H./A.D. 778/9. They are quite worn and in view of their condition it seems unlikely that they came from the original Umayyad hoard but rather were probably added to it recently.

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The years 93–97 A.H./A.D. 711/2–715/6, the last three years of al-Walīd's reign and the first two of Sulaimān's, account for 75% of the total. Wāsiṭ accounts for 84% of the total.

As possible corroboration that the hoard may have actually come from the vicinity of Meshhed, the last year represented, 115 A.H./A.D. 733/4, is Balkh, in Khurāsān province.

Both al-Mubarākah and Hamadhān are written defectively.

Table I gives a numerical and percentage breakdown by provinces and years. Table II gives a breakdown by mint, date, and number.

TABLE I

Province	*Specimens*	%	*Years* A.H.
Khurāsān	10	.05	91–115
Fārs	5	.02	90– 97
Khuzistān	4	.02	94– 98
Kirmān	3	.02	102
Irāq	169	.86	86–112
Jibāl	1	.005	98
?	1	.005	95

THE HOARD[2]

1. Abrashahr 95 A.H./A.D. 713-4 بابرشهر فى سنة خمس وتسعين
   2.87 gm. Walker, *Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins in the British Museum*, II, p. 105, 256.
2. Ardashīr-Khurrah 90 A.H./A.D. 708-9 باردشير خرة فى سنة تسعين
   2.84 gm. Walker, p. 108, 261; pl. XIV.
3. Iṣṭakhr 97 A.H./A.D. 715-6 باصطخر فى سنة سبع وتسعين
   2.78 gm. Walker, p. 114, 276.
4. Biramqubādh 95 A.H./A.D. 713-4 ببرمقباذ فى سنة خمس وتسعين
   2.89 gm. (PLATE XLVIII, 1).

This is an unrecorded date. The mint Biramqubādh is known on only a few dirhams for 79, 80, 90, and 93 A.H. The writing of the

[2] Weights only are recorded here. Diameters range from 26 to 28 mm., and die positions are completely irregular.

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TABLE II

Mint (*Province*)	*Date* A.H. 86	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	103	104	106	107	108	110	111	112	115	*Total by mint*
Abrashahr (Khurāsān)									1														1
Ardashīr-Khurrah (Fārs)				1																			1
Iṣṭakhr (Fārs)											1												1
Biramqubādh (Fārs)									1														1
Balkh (Khurāsān)																						2	2
Bahurasīr (ʿIrāq)											1												1
Jundai-Sābūr (Khuzistān)												1											1
Sābūr (Fārs)							1			1													2
al-Sūs (Khuzistān)								2															2
Sūq al-Ahwāz (Khuzistān)										1													1
al-Furāt (ʿIrāq)									2														2
Kirmān (Kirmān)														3									3
Māhī (?)									1														1
al-Mubarākah (ʿIrāq)															1			1	1				3
Marw (Khurāsān)					1		3					1							1				6
Harāt (Khurāsān)													1										1
Hamadhān (Jibal)												1											1
Wāsiṭ (ʿIrāq)	1	1	2	1	4	7	10	16	54	39	16	1				1	5	2	1	1	1		163
Total by date	1	1	2	2	5	7	14	18	59	41	18	4	1	3	1	1	5	3	3	1	1	2	193

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mint name is curious in that there seems to be an extra tooth after the *mim* for which I am unable to account at this time. Some unintelligible scratchings or graffiti (not Arabic) are visible above and beneath the reverse area.

5–6. Balkh 115 A.H./A.D. 733-4 ببلخ سنة خمس عشرة ومئة
2.86 gm.; 2.92 gm. Walker, p. 128, 307; pl. XVI.
Annulets: ∴ ∴ ∴

7. Bahurasīr 97 A.H./A.D. 715-6 ببهرسير فى سنة سبع وتسعين
2.86 gm. (PLATE XLVIII, 2).

I am indebted to Dr. George C. Miles for his identification of and information concerning the mint Bahurasīr. Only one other issue is known, also 97 A.H., and that was added to Walker's corpus on a supplementary page of his *Catalogue*, vol. II, p. 296, fig. 34, just before he went to press. His specimen had been brought into the British Museum by a visitor. Bahurasīr, which, according to Le Strange,[3] is a corruption of Bih-Ardashīr, "the good town of King Ardashīr," was on the west bank of the Tigris, opposite ancient Ctesiphon.

8. Jundai-Sābūr 98 A.H./A.D. 716-7 بجندى سابور فى سنة ثمان وتسعين
2.84 gm. (PLATE XLVIII, 3).

This is an unrecorded date. Up to now, post-reform dirhams had ranged from the years 80 A.H. to 97 A.H.

9. Sābūr 93 A.H./A.D. 711-2 بسابور فى سنة ثلث وتسعين
2.91 gm. Walker, p. 157, 417.

10. Sābūr 96 A.H./A.D. 714-5 بسابور فى سنة ست وتسعين
2.89 gm. Walker, p. 158, 421.

11–12. al-Sūs 94 A.H./A.D. 712-3 بالسوس فى سنة اربع وتسعين
2.94 gm.; 2.88 gm. Walker, p. 164, 437.

13. Sūq al-Ahwāz 96 A.H./A.D. 714-5 بسوق الاهوز فى سنة ست وتسعين
2.89 gm. Walker, p. 166, 444.

[3] Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 34.

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14–15. al-Furāt 95 A.H./A.D. 713-4 بالفرات فى سنة خمس وتسعين
2.88 gm.; 2.77 gm. Walker, p. 169, 450, pl. XIX.

16–18. Kirmān 103 A.H./A.D. 723-4 بكرمان سنة ثلث ومئة
2.81 gm.; 2.83 gm.; 2.86 gm. Walker, p. 173, 466.

19. Māhī 95 A.H./A.D. 713-4 بماهى فى سنة خمس وتسعين
2.82 gm. Walker, p. 176, 476.

20. al-Mubarākah 104 A.H./A.D. 722-3 بالمبركة سنة اربع ومئة
2.87 gm. Walker, p. 178, 478.

21. al-Mubarākah 108 A.H./A.D. 726-7 بالمبركة سنة ثمان ومئة
2.92 gm. Walker, p. 178, 482.

22. al-Mubarākah 110 A.H./A.D. 728-9 بالمبركة سنة عشر ومئة
2.86 gm. Walker, p. 178, 484.

23. Marw 91 A.H./A.D. 709-10 بمرو فى سنة احدى وتسعين
2.88 gm. Walker, p. 181, 491.

24–26. Marw 93 A.H./A.D. 711-12 بمرو فى سنة ثلث وتسعين
2.85 gm.; 2.86 gm.; 2.88 gm. Walker, p. 181, 493.

27. Marw 98 A.H./A.D. 716-7 بمرو فى سنة ثمان وتسعين
2.87 gm. (PLATE XLVIII, 4).

Walker states that the sole references for this date are Mar. no. 152, and Izzet Holu Pasha p. 13, 34.

28. Marw 110 A.H./A.D. 728-9 بمرو فى سنة عشر ومئة
2.92 gm. Walker, p. 183, 499, pl. XXI. Annulets: ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴

29. Harāt 99 A.H./A.D. 717-8 بهراة فى سنة تسع وتسعين
2.89 gm. Walker, p. 189, 518.

30. Hamadhān 98 A.H./A.D. 716-7 بهمذن فى سنة ثمان وتسعين
2.85 gm. Walker, p. 190, P. 111.

31. Wāsiṭ 86 A.H./A.D. 705 بواسط فى سنة ست وثمنين
2.86 gm. Walker, p. 192, 528.

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32. Wāsiṭ 88 A.H./A.D. 706-7 بواسط فى سنة ثمان وثمنين
2.84 gm. Walker, p. 192, 530.

33–34. Wāsiṭ 89 A.H./A.D. 707-8 بواسط فى سنة تسع وثمنين
2.79 gm.; 2.87 gm. Walker, p. 192, 531.

35. Wāsiṭ 90 A.H./A.D. 708-9 بواسط فى سنة تسعين
2.78 gm. Walker, p. 192, 532.

36–39. Wāsiṭ 91 A.H./A.D. 709-10 بواسط فى سنة احدى وتسعين
2.77 gm.; 2.84 gm.; 2.89 gm.; 2.88 gm. Walker, p. 192, 533.

40–46. Wāsiṭ 92 A.H./A.D. 710-11 بواسط فى سنة اثنين وتسعين
2.73 gm.; 2.78 gm.; 2.84 gm.; 2.88 gm.; 2.88 gm.; 2.76 gm.; 2.85 gm. Walker, p. 193, 535.

47–56. Wāsiṭ 93 A.H./A.D. 711-12 بواسط فى سنة ثلث وتسعين
2.70 gm.; 2.79 gm.; 2.84 gm.; 2.88 gm.; 2.76 gm.; 2.83 gm.; 2.88 gm.; 2.76 gm.; 2.87 gm.; 2.88 gm. Walker, p. 193, 536.

57–72. Wāsiṭ 94 A.H./A.D. 712-13 بواسط فى سنة اربع وتسعين
2.70 gm.; 2.76 gm.; 2.77 gm.; 2.78 gm.; 2.82 gm.; 2.89 gm.; 2.87 gm.; 2.70 gm.; 2.70 gm.; 2.79 gm.; 2.82 gm.; 2.82 gm.; 2.77 gm.; 2.77 gm.; 2.83 gm.; 2.86 gm. Walker, p. 193, 538.

73–126. Wāsiṭ 95 A.H./A.D. 713-4 بواسط فى سنة خمس وتسعين
2.71 gm.; 2.75 gm.; 2.78 gm.; 2.79 gm.; 2.81 gm.; 2.71 gm.; 2.75 gm.; 2.76 gm.; 2.79 gm.; 2.80 gm.; 2.80 gm.; 2.80 gm.; 2.80 gm.; 2.81 gm.; 2.81 gm.; 2.82 gm.; 2.82 gm.; 2.82 gm.; 2.83 gm.; 2.85 gm.; 2.86 gm.; 2.87 gm.; 2.87 gm.; 2.87 gm.; 2.88 gm.; 2.70 gm.; 2.73 gm.; 2.76 gm.; 2.79 gm.; 2.81 gm.; 2.81 gm.; 2.87 gm.; 2.74 gm.; 2.75 gm.; 2.77 gm.; 2.77 gm.; 2.78 gm.; 2.80 gm.; 2.84 gm.; 2.84 gm.; 2.84 gm.; 2.85 gm.; 2.89 gm.; 2.71 gm.; 2.72 gm.; 2.74 gm.; 2.74 gm.; 2.76 gm.; 2.79 gm.; 2.84 gm.; 2.84 gm.; 2.86 gm.; 2.89 gm.; 2.90 gm. Walker, p. 193, 539, pl. XXII.

127–165. Wāsiṭ 96 A.H./A.D. 714-5 بواسط فى سنة ست وتسعين
2.74 gm.; 2.76 gm.; 2.78 gm.; 2.86 gm.; 2.88 gm.; 2.88 gm.; 2.72 gm.; 2.75 gm.; 2.75 gm.; 2.76 gm.; 2.76 gm.; 2.77 gm.;

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2.78 gm.; 2.81 gm.; 2.83 gm.; 2.83 gm.; 2.87 gm.; 2.84 gm.; 2.87 gm.; 2.87 gm.; 2.88 gm.; 2.73 gm.; 2.75 gm.; 2.76 gm.; 2.79 gm.; 2.79 gm.; 2.79 gm.; 2.84 gm.; 2.85 gm.; 2.86 gm.; 2.87 gm.; 2.87 gm.; 2.70 gm.; 2.71 gm.; 2.79 gm.; 2.81 gm.; 2.85 gm.; 2.88 gm.; 2.88 gm. Walker, p. 193, 541.

166–181. Wāsiṭ 97 A.H./A.D. 715-6 بواسط فى سنة سبع وتسعين

2.79 gm.; 2.82 gm.; 2.85 gm.; 2.71 gm.; 2.81 gm.; 2.77 gm.; 2.79 gm.; 2.82 gm.; 2.81 gm.; 2.81 gm.; 2.81 gm.; 2.83 gm.; 2.83 gm.; 2.87 gm.; 2.88 gm.; 2.85 gm. Walker, p. 194, 153.

182. Wāsiṭ 98 A.H./A.D. 716-7 بواسط فى سنة ثمان وتسعين

2.74 gm. Walker, p. 194, P. 112.

183. Wāsiṭ 106 A.H./A.D. 724-5 بواسط سنة ست ومئة

2.86 gm. Walker, p. 195, 552.

184–188. Wāsiṭ 107 A.H./A.D. 725-6 بواسط سنة سبع ومئة

2.71 gm.; 2.76 gm.; 2.87 gm.; 2.78 gm.; 2.76 gm. Walker, p. 195, 554.

189–190. Wāsiṭ 108 A.H./A.D. 726-7 بواسط سنة ثمان ومئة

2.88 gm.; 2.85 gm. Walker, p. 195, 555, pl. XXII.

191. Wāsiṭ 110 A.H./A.D. 728-9 بواسط سنة عشر ومئة

2.71 gm. Walker, p. 196, 558.

192. Wāsiṭ 111 A.H./A.D. 729-30 بواسط سنة احدى عشرة ومئة

2.87 gm. Walker, p. 196, 559.

193. Wāsiṭ 112 A.H./A.D. 730-1 بواسط سنة اثنتى عشرة ومئة

2.72 gm. Walker, p. 196, 560, pl. XXII.

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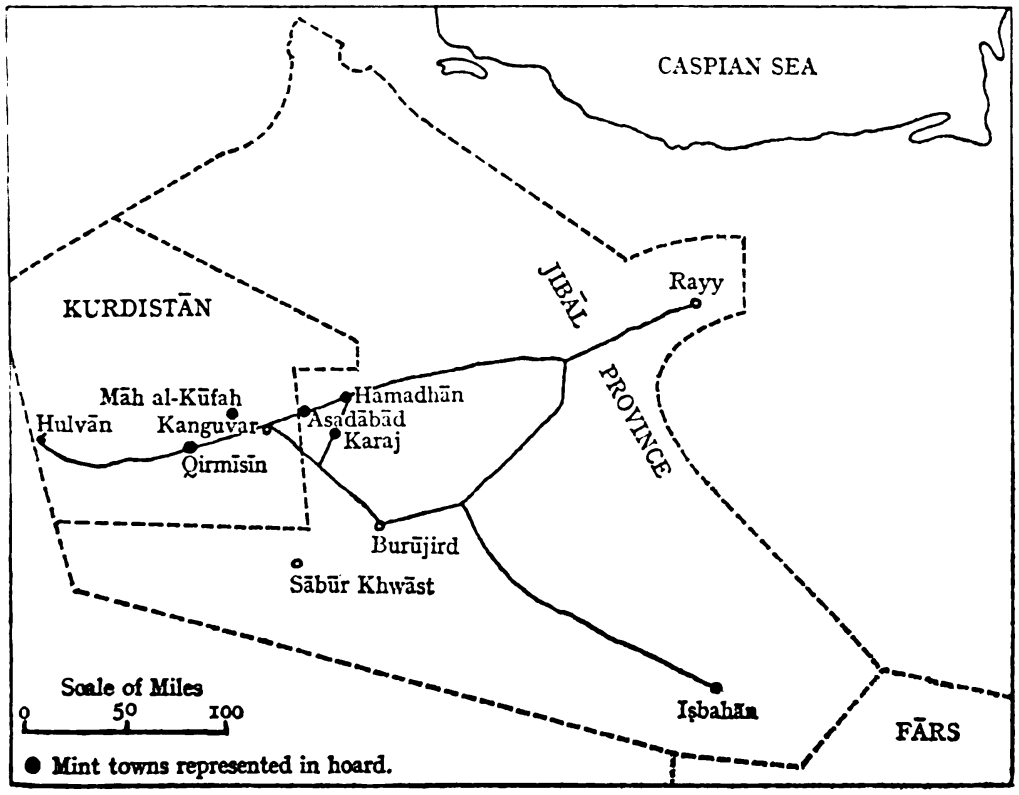
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A HOARD OF KĀKWAYHID DIRHEMS

(PLATES XLIX–LII)

GEORGE C. MILES

In 1964 the American Numismatic Society acquired part of a hoard of Kākwayhid dirhems dating from the second decade of the 5th century of the Hijrah (3rd decade of the 11th century A.D.). As the majority of the coins are of inedited types (among them two



previously unrecorded mints) and as no Kākwayhid hoard has to my knowledge ever been published, a description of the lot would seem to be in order.[1] A further point of interest is that while the name

[1] The numismatic bibliography of the Kākwayhids is given in my article, "The Coinage of the Kākwayhid Dynasty," in *Iraq*, V (1938), p. 89, n. 1. This article hereinafter is referred to as *Kākwayhids*. The only additions to be made to that bibliography, so far as I know, are: my article entitled "Notes on Kākwayhid Coins," in *ANSMN* IX (1960), pp. 231–236; and *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, April, 1962, p. 181, no. W186 (a dirhem of Iṣbahān, 411 H.).

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of the Kākwayhid appears on all the coins in the hoard, several of the issues bear in addition the names of various vassals owing allegiance to Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. How much of the hoard is represented by the 45 specimens acquired by the Museum is unknown, nor is there any reliable information with regard to the exact provenance. The dealer reported that he was told that the coins were found in the vicinity of Kirmanshah. The localities of the identifiable mints in the hoard suggest that such a find-spot is not improbable. At first only three specimens were acquired, but later the dealer brought in 41 additional pieces, and on another visit still one more.[2] Fabric, tarnish and state of wear of all the specimens are so similar that there can be little doubt that the lot constitutes a hoard. The preserved dates are all between 414 and 418 H./A.D. 1023–1028.

The catalogue which follows is arranged by mints in Arabic alphabetical order. Unfortunately, because of weak striking (not because of wear, which is slight), particularly on the periphery of these broad dirhems, mint names and/or dates are lacking on many of the specimens, but a considerable number of these can be exactly attributed by die identities with better struck specimens.

A. *Asadābād*

1. Asadābād. 416 H./A.D. 1025–6

Obv.:

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
القادر بالله

Inner margin: etc. قل هو الله احد الله الصمد (Qur'ān CXII)

Outer margin: ... بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باسداباد سنة ست عشر مائة

Traces of outer linear border.

Rev.:

محمد بن
دشمنزار

[2] ANS 64.81, 64.129 and 64.207.

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Inner margin: شاهنشاه مجد الدولة امير الامرا سنا الدولة

Outer margin: Qur'ān IX, 33.
28 mm., 3.37 gr.↗ (PLATE XLIX).

B. *Iṣbahān*

2. Iṣbahān. 414 H./A.D. 1023–4

Obv.:

رضا
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
القادر بالله
مجد الدولة
محمد بن دشمنزار

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهـ.....هان سنة اربع عشرة واربع مائة

Area enclosed by chain border. Outer linear border.

Rev.: (Qur'ān CXII)

قل هو
الله احد الله
Scroll الصمد لم يلد و Scroll
لم يولد ولم يكن
له كفوا احد

Margin: Qur'ān IX, 33 (mostly preserved).
27 mm., 5.80 gr.↑ (PLATE XLIX).

This dirhem is similar to one in the J. Avent collection, published by Lane-Poole in "Fasti Arabici," VI, *NC* 1887, p. 339, no. 14, not illustrated. There, as here, only the end of the mint name is preserved. A specimen of the same date and mint in the Hermitage (Markov, *Inventory*, p. 854, no. 4) is not described.[3]

[3] Cf. *Kākwayhids*, p. 97, nos. 8–9.

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C. *Qirmīsīn*

3–5. Qirmīsīn. 41X H.

Obv.:

سلطان
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
القادر بالله
عز الدولة

Inner margin: Qur'ān CXII.
Outer margin: بسم الله ..... هذا الدرهم بقرميسين سنه....رة واربع مائة

Area enclosed by border of dots. Linear border between inner and outer margins.

Rev.:

سلطان
لله
محمد بن
دشمنزار
✱.

Inner margin: ..... مجد الدولة امير الامرا سما الدولة وسنا الملة ....
Outer margin: Qur'ān IX, 33 (mostly effaced).

Area enclosed by border of dots. Linear border between inner and outer margins.
3. 29 mm., 5.33 gr.↗; 4. 28 mm., 4.86 gr.↘ (PLATE XLIX); 5. 27 mm., 2.58 gr.← (PLATE XLIX).

The obverse dies of all three specimens are identical (see also nos. 6–12, below), and the reverse dies of all three specimens are identical. The marginal legends are very imperfectly struck and the transcriptions given above are composite, having been reconstructed from the few words preserved on each specimen. The mint name is best preserved on no. 5 and on nos. 6 and 7, below.

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6–12. Qirmīsīn. 41X H.

Obv.: Die identical with nos. 3–5.

Rev.:

سلطان
محمد رسول الله
عضد الدين
علا الدولة
و وفخر المـ[illegible]لة
وتاج الامة
ابو جعفر

Margin: Qur'ān IX, 33.
Linear border enclosing area.
6. 29 mm., 4.91 gr.↖ (PLATE XLIX); 7. 29 mm., 4.19 gr.↙ (PLATE XLIX); 8. 29 mm., 3.97 gr.↓; 9. 28 mm., 2.94 gr.↗; 10. 28 mm., 6.11 gr.↗ (PLATE XLIX); 11. 27 mm., 5.07 gr.↘; 12. 27 mm., 5.76 gr.↗.

The reverse dies of all seven specimens are identical. The reverse of no. 7 is double-struck.

The mint name is partially preserved on nos. 6 and 7, and the partial date on no. 10.

13. [Qirmīsīn]. 41X H.

Obv.:

سلطان
لا اله الا الله
القادر بالله
مجد الدولة
وكهف الامة
عز الدولة؟

Inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذ ..... عشر واربع مائة

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Outer margin: Qur'ān CXII (a few words preserved)
Linear border enclosing area.

Rev.: Die identical with nos. 6–12.
28 mm., 3.97 gr.↖ (PLATE L).

D. *Al-Qaṣr*

14. Al-Qaṣr. 415 H./A.D. 1024–5

Obv.:

لا اله الا الله
وحده لاشريك له
القادر بالله
مجد الدولة
محمد بن محمد دشمنزار

Margin: .... لله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالقصر سنة خمس.....

Area enclosed by border of dots. Margin enclosed by dotted and linear borders.

Rev.:

لله
محمد رسول الله
امير الامرا
سما الدولة
على بن علي عمر

Margin: Qur'ān IX, 33 (two-thirds preserved).
31 mm., 5.92 gr.↖ (PLATE L).

The word محمد over the *nūn* of بن and the *sīn* of سنة on the obverse, and the word علي over the *nūn* of بن on the reverse, are engraved in fine miniscule characters.

15. Al-Qaṣr. 415 H./A.D. 1024–5

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Obv.:

خراج
لا اله الا الله
وحده لاشريك له
القادر بالله
مجد الدولة
محمد بن دشمنزار

Margin: ..... الدرهم بالقصر ... س واربع م.....

Area enclosed by border of dots. Margin enclosed by border of dots.

Rev.: Similar to no. 14 and probably the same die.
28 mm., 6.09 gr.↓ (PLATE L).

E. *Al-Karaj*

16. Al-Karaj. 418 H./A.D. 1027–8

Obv.:

فتح
لا اله الا الله
وحده لاشريك له
القادر بالله
مجد الدولة
ح؟

Inner margin: امير الامرا سما الدولة وسنا الملة ابو الحسن بن شمس الدولة
Outer margin: بسم .... ضرب هذا الدرهم بالكرج سنة ثمان عشر واربع مائة

Outer margin enclosed by double linear border.

Rev.:

لله
محمد رسول الله

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عضد الدين علا
الدولة وفخر
الملة وتاج الامة
ابو جعفر

Margin: Qur'ān IX, 33.
Area enclosed by border of dots.
30 mm., 5.43 gr.↗ (PLATE L).
Both obverse and reverse are badly double-struck.

The letter which I read as *kāf* in the mint name appears to be rounded and rather resembles a *ṣād*, but this is due to wear or poor striking, and al-Karaj, I believe, is the only possible reading. There is an exceptional amount of space in the effaced part of the marginal legend between بسم (obscure) and ضرب.

F. *Māh al-Kūfah*

17–22. Māh al-Kūfah. 418 H./A.D. 1027–8

Obv.:

فتح ك
لا اله الا الله
وحده لاشريك له
القادر بالله مجد
الدولة امير الامرا
سما الدولة وسنا
الملة

محمد عنان — بن

Margin: ..... ضرب هذا الدرهم بماه الكوفة سنة ثمان عشر.....

Area enclosed by border of dots. Margin enclosed by linear border.

Rev.:

لله
محمد رسول الله

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عضد الدين علا
الدولة وفخر
الملة وتاج الامة
ابو جعفر

Margin: Qur'ān IX, 33.

Area enclosed by border of dots. Margin enclosed by linear border.
17. 30 mm., 4.07 gr.← (PLATE L); 18. 30 mm., 5.43 gr. ↖; 19. 30 mm., 3.93 gr.↑ (PLATE L); 20. 30 mm., 6.21 gr.↖; 21. 28 mm., 4.48 gr.↑; 22. 29 mm., 3.47 gr.↑ (PLATE L).

All six specimens are struck with identical obverse and reverse dies. Complete mint and date are not preserved on all the specimens.

23. [Māh al-Kūfah]. Year 41[8] H./A.D. 1027–8

Obv.: Similar to nos. 17–22, but different die.

Margin: ... لله ضرب .....رة واربع مائ....

Rev.: Similar to nos. 17–22, but different die.
29 mm., 5.45 gr.← (PLATE LI).

G. *Hamadhān*

24. Hamadhān 416 H./A.D. 1025–6

Obv.:

لا اله الا
الله محمد رسول
الله القادر
بالله

Inner Margin: Qur'ān CXII.
Outer margin: Qur'ān IX, 33.

Area enclosed by linear border. Inner margin enclosed by border of dots.

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Rev.:

محمد بن
دشمنزار

Inner margin: شاهانشاه مجد الدولة امير الامرا سنا الدولة وسما الملة

Outer margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بهمذان سنة ست عشرة واربع مائة

Area enclosed by linear border. Inner margin enclosed by border of dots. Outer margin enclosed by linear border.
28 mm., 5.21 gr.↗ (PLATE LI).

Similar to a dirhem in the Guthrie collection published by Lane-Poole in "Unpublished coins of the Ḳaḳweyhīs," *NC* 1875, p. 234, no. 5,[4] except that the transcription of the reverse inner margin of that specimen ends with سنا الدولة, I suspect by inadvertence.

H. *Mints Effaced*

25–26. Mint effaced. 416 H./A.D. 1025–6

Obv.:

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
القادر بالله

Inner margin: Qur'ān CXII.
Outer margin: Qur'ān IX, 33.
Outer margin enclosed by thin and thick linear borders.

Rev.:

ب
محمد بن
دشمنزار

Inner margin: شاهانشاه مجد الدولة امير الامرا [سنا] الدولة وسما الملة

Outer margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم ب..... سنة ست عشرة واربع مائة

[4] Cf. *Kākwayhids*, p. 99, no. 48.

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Outer margin enclosed by thin linear, dotted and thick linear borders. Pair of annulets between dotted and outer linear borders preserved at 3 o'clock on no. 25; single annulets at 12 and 4 o'clock preserved on no. 26.

25. 30 mm., 6.83 gr.↓ (PLATE LI); 26. 30 mm., 5.17 gr.↗.

27. Mint effaced. 417 H./A.D. 1026–7

Obv:

بالله
لا اله .....
محمد ر.....
القادر

Inner margin: Qur'ān CXII.

Outer margin: بسم الله .....ة سبع عشرة واربع مائة

Area enclosed by linear border. Inner margin enclosed by linear border.

Rev.:

سلطان
م[حم]د بن
دشمنزار
عز[؟]

Inner margin: مجد الدولة الامير سنا الدولة وسما [*sic*] ابو الحسن

Outer margin: Qur'ān IX, 33 (mostly off flan).

Area enclosed by linear border. Inner margin enclosed by linear border.

28 mm., 7.02 gr. (PLATE LI).

28–36. Mint effaced. 418 H./A.D. 1027–8

Obv.:

فتح
لا اله الا
الله وحده

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لا شريك له
القادر بالله
مجد الدولة

Inner margin: امير الامیرا [*sic*] سما الدولة وسنا الملة ابو الحسن بن شمس الدلة [*sic*]

Outer margin: ..... لدر ..... سنة ثمان عشر واربع .....

Area enclosed by border of dots. Inner margin enclosed by border of dots.

Rev.:

☆ لله ☆
محمد رسول الله
عضد الدين
علا الدولة
وفخر الملة
وتاج الامة
ابو جعفر

Margin: Qur'ān IX, 33 (very little preserved).
Area enclosed by border of dots.
28. 28 mm., 5.43 gr.↗ (PLATE LI); 29. 28 mm., 6.35 gr.↘ (PLATE LI); 30. 29 mm., 4.59 gr.↘; 31. 28 mm., 4.76 gr.←; 32. 28 mm., 5.26 gr.↗; 33. 30 mm., 6.72 gr.↖; 34. 29 mm., 4.63 gr.↗ (PLATE LI); 35. 29 mm., 3.47 gr.↑; 36. 29 mm., 7.69 gr.↙.

All nine specimens are struck with identical obverse and reverse dies. The date is preserved on two specimens only, nos. 28 and 29. The stars at either side of لله on the reverse are clear only on no. 34, and on most specimens they are evidently not present at all. Apparently they were added to the die after a certain quantity of the issue had been struck.

There are very faint traces of the mint name on no. 28. It is just possible that the name is Māh al-Kūfah, but the few letters are so

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obscure that it would not be safe to attribute the issue to this mint. Cf. Nos. 17–22.

37–38. Mint effaced. Date effaced.

Obv.: Same die as nos. 28–36, but with غياث (or عناز ?) added at right and left of the area.

Inner margin: امير الاميرا [*sic*] سما الدولة وسنا الملة ابو الحسن بن شمس الدلة [*sic*]

Outer margin: A few faint traces.

Rev.: Same die as nos. 28–36.

37. 29 mm., 6.59 gr.↖ (PLATE LII); 38. 28 mm., 2.75 gr.↙ (PLATE LII).

One of the two stars described in nos. 28–36 is visible on no. 37.

39. Mint effaced. Date effaced.

Obv.:

فتح ❋
لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له
القادر بالله
مجد الدولة

Inner margin: امير الامرا سنا الدولة وسما الملة ابو الحسن بن شمس الدولة بن فخر الدولة

Outer margin: ..... [؟] ... ه رب .....

Inner margin enclosed by border of dots.

Rev.:

لله
محمد رسول الله
عضد الدين
علا الدولة

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وفخر الملة
وتاج الامة
ابو جعفر

Margin: Qur'ān IX, 33 (a few words preserved).
29 mm., 4.67 gr.↘ (PLATE LII).

40. Mint effaced. 41X H.

Obv.:

خراج [؟]
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
القادر بالله مجد
الدولة امير الامرا
سما الدولة
ر[؟]

Margin:
..... شرة واربع مائة

Area enclosed by partially linear, partially beaded border. Margin enclosed by border of dots.

Rev.:

قل هو
الله احد الله
الصمد لم يلد و
لم يولد ولم يكن
له كفوا احد
محمد بن دشمنزار

Margin: Qur'ān IX, 33 (about one-half preserved).
Area enclosed by border of annulets. Margin enclosed by dotted and linear borders.
28 mm., 4.84 gr.↖ (PLATE LII).

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The epigraphy of the obverse, compared with that of the rest of the hoard, is relatively simple and crude.

41–42. Mint effaced. Date effaced.

Obv.:

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
القادر بالله
مجد الدولة
امير الامرا سما
الدولة

Margin: A few letters are preserved at 9 and 3 o'clock.

Area enclosed by a triple border composed of dots and beads.

Rev.:

قل هو
الله احد الله
الصمد لم يلد و
لم يولد ولم يكن
له كفوا احد
محمد بن دسمنزار

Margin: Qur'ān IX, 33 (about one-third preserved).
Border similar to the obverse.
41. 29 mm., 5.22 gr.↖ (PLATE LII); 42. 28 mm., 5.18 gr.↗.

Both specimens are struck with identical obverse and reverse dies. The و of الدولة in the last line of the obverse is crowned with a delicate miniscule scroll of half palmettes, and a scroll fills the space between the *lāms* of الله in the third line of the obverse. The محمد within the *nūn* of بن in the last line of the reverse is in miniscule characters. Cf. no. 14.

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43. Mint effaced. 41X H.

Obv.:

ص
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
القادر بالله
مجد الدولة
امير الام...
الدو...

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم ..... شرة واربع مائة

Area enclosed by border of dots.

Rev.:

قل هو
الله احد الله
الصمد لم يلد و
لم يولد ولم يكن
له كفوا احد
محمد بن دشمنزار
به

Margin: Qur'ān IX, 33.

Area enclosed by border of dots. Margin enclosed by linear border.

27 mm., 4.79 gr.↙ (PLATE LII).

44–45. Mint effaced. 4XX H.

Obv.:

ع *
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله

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القادر بالله
مجد الدولة
امير الامرا سما الدولة
فرهاذ

Scroll or word at left.

Rev.:

قل هو
الله احد الله
الصمد لم يلد و
لم يولد ولم يكن
له كفوا احد
محمد بن دشمنزار
او[؟] ام

Margin: Qur'ān IX, 33 (partly preserved).
Area enclosed by border of dots.
44. 29 mm., 6.19 gr.↙ (PLATE LII); 45. 25 mm., 3.86 gr.→ (PLATE LII).

The obverse area and the reverse are similar to Lane-Poole, *NC* 1875, p. 237, no. 10 = *BM* III, no. 44, except that the latter has خير(?) above the obverse area. Zambaur (*Contributions* III, p. 146, n. 70) correctly interpreted the mint as Burūjird.[5]

COMMENTARY

I have entitled the hoard "Kākwayhid,"[6] but as remarked in the opening paragraph of this article it is to be noticed that several of the coins are actually attributable to lesser dynasties whose princes recognized the Kākwayhid as their overlord. Fāris b. Muḥammad (nos. 17–23) was an 'Annāzid of Kurdistan; Farhādh (b. Mardāvīj)

[5] Cf. *Kākwayhids*, p. 98, no. 22.

[6] Conforming with earlier publications I use the Arabicized form of the name accepted by the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, although it perhaps should be discontinued in favor of the correct Persian "Kākōyid" or "Kākūyid." Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār was commonly known as Ibn Kākōye.

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(nos. 44–45) was a Ziyārid; ʿAli b. ʿUmar (nos. 14 and 15) is unknown unless he is to be identified with a certain ʿAli b. ʿImrān, a vassal of, and at times a rebel against, the Kākwayhid; and someone with the honorific title ʿIzz al-Dawlah (nos. 3–13, 28–38) is unknown. All these persons, including Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār, owed allegiance to the Buwayhids (Būyids) Majd al-Dawlah and Samā' al-Dawlah, and all, purely as a matter of form, of course recognized the ʿAbbāsid Caliph in Baghdād as their ultimate sovereign.

NAMES

Before analyzing the hoard in detail, let us identify, so far as possible, and tabulate the names and titles which appear on the coins.

1. Al-Qādir bi'llāh. ʿAbbāsid Caliph, 381–422 H./A.D. 991–1031. His name appears on all the issues.

2. Majd al-Dawlah. Būyid overlord in Rayy (and sometimes in Iṣbahān), 387–420 H./A.D. 997–1029. His name appears on all the issues except nos. 6–12, occasionally with the title *shāhānshāh* (nos. 1, 3–5?, 24, 25–26), i.e., at Asadābād, Qirmīsīn(?) and Hamadhān, in 416 and 41X.[7]

3. Samā' al-Dawlah. Titulary Būyid prince of Hamadhān and Iṣbahān, 412–? H./A.D. 1021–?.[8] His name appears in several different forms:

a. As Amīr al-Umarā' Samā' al-Dawlah at al-Qaṣr in 415 and at unidentified mints.

b. As Amīr al-Umarā' Sanā' al-Dawlah at Asadābād in 416.

c. As Amīr al-Umarā' Samā' al-Dawlah wa-Sanā' al-Millah at Qirmīsīn in 41X and Māh al-Kūfah in 418.

d. As Amīr al-Umarā' Samā' al-Dawlah wa-Sanā' al-Millah abu'l-Ḥasan b. Shams al-Dawlah in Karaj in 418, and (with mistakes in orthography) at an unidentified mint also in 418.

[7] In most of these summaries I mention only the issues with mint name preserved.

[8] The date of his death appears to be unknown. The question is inconclusively discussed in a long footnote by Muḥammad Muʿīn in his edition of ʿArūdi's *Chahār Maqālah* (Teheran, 1331), pp. 434–436. I am indebted to Mr. Roy P. Mottahedeh for this reference. The coins at least inform us that Samā' al-Dawlah was alive in 418.

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e. As Amīr al-Umarā' Sanā' al-Dawlah wa-Samā' al-Millah at Hamadhān in 416, and at an unidentified mint in the same year.

f. As Amīr al-Umarā' Sanā' al-Dawlah wa-Samā' al-Millah abu'l-Ḥasan b. Shams al-Dawlah b. Fakhr al-Dawlah at an unidentified mint, date effaced.

g. As al-Amīr Sanā' al-Dawlah wa-Samā' [al-Millah] abu'l-Ḥasan at an unidentified mint in 417.

4. Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. Kākwayhid prince of Jibāl and Kurdistan, 398–433 H./A.D. 1007–1041. He is named either simply as Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār or by titles and *kunyah* on all the issues in the hoard. The latter style ('Aḍud al-Dīn, 'Alā' al-Dawlah wa-Fakhr al-Millah wa-Tāj al-Ummah abu-Ja'far) occurs at al-Karaj and Māh al-Kūfah in 418 and at Qirmīsīn in 41X. The name "Dushmanzār" is always given as "Dushmanziyār" by both eastern and western writers, but on the coins there is never any trace of a *yā'* (cf. on this question the references cited by B. Spuler, *Iran in Früh-Islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1952), p. 116, n. 1).

5. Fāris b. Muḥammad 'Annāz. 'Annāzid prince of Hulvan[9] and occasionally other neighbouring cities, usually known as Ḥusām al-Dīn abu'l-Shawk Fāris, 401–437 H./A.D. 1010–1046. His name appears on issues of Māh al-Kūfah (Dīnavar or Daynavar) in 418.

6. Farhādh (b. Mardāvīj). Ziyārid princeling, died 425 H./A.D. 1034. His name appears on an issue at an unidentified mint, date effaced.

7. 'Ali b. 'Umar. See the discussion of nos. 14–15, below. His name appears on two issues of al-Qaṣr, both dated 415.

8. 'Izz al-Dawlah, unknown. His name appears on issues of Qirmīsīn in 41X and at an unidentified mint in 418.

9. Ghiyāth, or 'Annāz. See the discussion of no. 37, below.

10. Sulṭān. The title associated apparently with 'Izz al-Dawlah and Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār, occurs at Qirmīsīn in 41X, and at an unidentified mint, associated with عز (?) in 417.

DATES

The preserved dates are: 414 (one issue), 415 (two issues), 416 (three issues), 417 (one issue), and 418 (four issues). In addition there

[9] See Minorsky in *EI*², s.v. 'Annāzids.

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are five issues on which the digit is missing but the decade is preserved (41x); one issue on which only the century is preserved (4xx); and three with no trace of the date. All these issues with incomplete dates are restricted to the years between 412 and 420 by the presence of the names of Majd al-Dawlah and Samā' al-Dawlah. More restrictive dates will be suggested for certain issues in the commentary on the individual issues, below. In all probability the hoard was buried or lost between 418 and 420 when Mas'ūd of Ghaznah took Iṣbahān and Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār fled temporarily to Khūzistān.

METROLOGY

The weights are highly irregular and range from a low of 2.58 grams to a high of 7.69 grams. There is a frequency peak in the range between 5.01 and 5.50 grams (11 specimens).

Weight Intervals	*No. of Specimens*
2.51–3.00 grams	3
3.01–3.50	3
3.51–4.00	4
4.01–4.50	3
4.51–5.00	8
5.01–5.50	11
5.51–6.00	3
6.01–6.50	5
6.51–7.00	3
7.01–7.50	1
7.51–8.00	1

The composition of the metal has not been analyzed, but to judge by appearance the coins contain a large proportion of silver, in contrast to the Būyid debased billon dirhems of al-Muḥammadīyah in circulation toward the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th century of the Hijrah.[10] Die positions are completely irregular.

[10] See G. C. Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy*, (*NS* 2, 1938), pp. 172ff., and especially pp. 176–177.

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THE ISSUES

1. *Asadābād*, 416 H. The only well-documented coins hitherto assigned to Asadābād are one of 415[11] (mistakenly attributed to Astarābād by Lane-Poole), and one with date effaced (414–419).[12] The mint is discussed in *Kākwayhids*, p. 102. The type with reverse area entirely occupied by the name of Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār without any title also occurs on no. 24 (Hamadhān, 416) and nos. 25–26 (mint effaced, 416); and in *Kākwayhids*, p. 100, I pointed out that this type, to judge by the corpus of published Kākwayhid coins, appears to be limited to the years 415 and 416.

2. *Iṣbahān*, 414 H. References to comparable specimens are given in the catalogue, above.

3–5. *Qirmīsīn*, 41X H. This is not only a heretofore unrecorded Kākwayhid mint, but, so far as I know, this is the first record of the mint name on any coin. Qirmīsīn (also sometimes vocalized Qirmāsīn, Qarmāsīn, Qarmīsīn, etc.) was the earlier name of Kirmānshāh, one of the four principal cities of Jibāl, the other three being Rayy, Hamadhān and Iṣbahān.[13] Unfortunately the digit of the date is lacking, but the reverse area type with the name of Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār in two lines suggests a date around 415 or 416 (see the note on no. 1, above). The word *sulṭān* (without the definite article) above the obverse and reverse areas is curious, and I cannot say whether it refers to ʿIzz al-Dawlah or Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. The question of the identity of ʿIzz al-Dawlah, whose name, or rather honorific, occurs also on nos. 6–13 (Qirmīsīn, 41X), nos. 28–36 (mint effaced, 418), and 37–38 (mint and date effaced) is discussed immediately below.

6–12. *Qirmīsīn*, 41X H. As the obverse die of all the specimens is identical with nos. 3–5, the date obviously is the same. The reverse of this issue, however, instead of carrying the untitled name of Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār, bears his long and grandiose titles transliterated in the list of names on p. 183 above. In *Kākwayhids*, p. 100, I stated that Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār first used this long array of honorifics in 421, but the hoard now provides us with evi-

[11] *Kākwayhids*, p. 97, no. 1.
[12] Ibid., p. 97, no. 2.
[13] Le Strange, *Lands*, pp. 186–187; Kramers in *EI*[1], s.v. Kirmānshāh.

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dence of its use at al-Karaj and Māh al-Kūfah in 418 (nos. 16 and 17–22). With regard to the question of the identity of 'Izz al-Dawlah, we know only that he had some connection with Qirmīsīn and some other city (that is, if nos. 28–38 are not of Qirmīsīn also; Māh al-Kūfah is a possibility, see the note on no. 28 in the catalogue), and that he was active in 418 (nos. 28–38) and perhaps as early as 415 or 416. The possibility of these earlier dates is suggested by the obverse die identity with nos. 3–5, and the reverse type of nos. 3–5. Might 'Izz al-Dawlah be the *laqab* of the 'Annāzid Fāris b. Muḥammad? He would seem to me to be a not improbable candidate. For one thing, we have dirhems of his of Māh al-Kūfah, 418, in the hoard (nos. 17–23); and it is just possible that the variants (nos. 37–38) of nos. 28–36 have the name 'Annāz added to the obverse. I cannot at this time enter into the exceedingly complex political and military history of this area in the late 4th and early 5th centuries of the Hijrah, but we do know that Fāris occupied Qirmīsīn more than once, as well as Daynavar (Māh al-Kūfah) and perhaps Sābūr Khwāst, and that he was at times in alliance with, or subject to, the Kākwayhid.[14] It is a great pity that the date is not completely preserved on these coins of Qirmīsīn and that the mint is effaced on nos. 28–38.

It would be logical to suppose that these issues of 'Izz al-Dawlah's at Qirmīsīn, struck in the same year, followed in the order in which I have presented them, the issue with the simple name of Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār preceding that with the long series of titles.

13. [*Qirmīsīn*], 41X H. The attribution to Qirmīsīn is made on the basis of the reverse die identity with nos. 6–12.[15] The obverse, although it also has the word *sulṭān* and the title 'Izz al-Dawlah (?), is different, and of all the coins in the hoard it is the only one on which the *laqab* of Majd al-Dawlah is supplemented by Kahf al-Ummah. As this latter honorific is known to us on coins of Majd al-Dawlah's at Rayy from 389 H. onward,[16] it does not aid in establishing the date of the issue.

[14] See Minorsky, s.v. 'Annāzids in *EI*². Huart's article on the 'Annāzids cited in the bibliography there throws no light on 'Izz al-Dawlah.

[15] Of course the reverse die could have been borrowed from Qirmīsīn by a neighbouring mint, but this is not likely.

[16] Cf. Miles, *Rayy*, nos. 205ff.

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14. *Al-Qaṣr*, 415 H. This dirhem and no. 15 are remarkable in several respects. While the mint name might be read in various ways I should imagine that al-Qaṣr, "the castle," or "the palace," is by all means the most likely. While an Idrīsid mint by the name of al-Qaṣr has been recorded I know of no other numismatic occurrence of the word unqualified by an adjective or complementary noun. There are of course innumerable places called Qaṣr in Moslem lands, but without any qualification or determinative the name is frustratingly anonymous. Among possible candidates in the Kākwayhid area are Qaṣr al-Luṣūṣ, Qaṣr al-Rūnāsh and Qaṣr Yazīd;[17] and there is also Qaṣr-i Shīrīn,[18] which however lies somewhat to the west of the region dominated by Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār. One might speculate more intelligently if one knew the identity of the vassal who issued these dirhems, but of the individuals named on the coins, al-Qādir, Samā' al-Dawlah, Majd al-Dawlah, Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār and 'Ali b. 'Umar, the last appears to be unknown. One might expect some mention of the man by Ibn al-Athīr or other chroniclers, but I have been unsuccessful in my search, unless indeed the identification very tentatively proposed below has validity. The only person in this period and area with a name nearly approximating 'Ali b. 'Umar is a certain 'Ali b. 'Imrān, a general of some importance whose name occurs a number of times in Ibn al-Athīr's chronicle between 417 and 423 H. He is first mentioned in 417 when with Farhādh (cf. nos. 44–45) he was charged by the Kākwayhid with the task of fighting the Kurds of Juzaqān;[19] in the following year, 418, in revolt against Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār and in alliance with the Ziyārid Ispahbadh Minūchihr of Ṭabaristān, 'Ali b. 'Imrān was closely besieged by Muḥammad in the fortress of Kanguvar, where he had entrenched himself, and finally was forced to sue for peace;[20] and in 421 and 423 he figures again in the campaigns between Mas'ūd of Ghaznah and the Kākwayhid.[21] Is it possible that Ibn al-Athīr or his copyists are mistaken in giving the name as 'Ali

[17] Le Strange, *Lands*, pp. 188, 192, 228, 238.
[18] Ibid., p. 63; *EI*[1], s.v.
[19] Ibn al-Athir, IX, pp. 247–248.
[20] Ibid., IX, pp. 251–252. Cf. C. Huart, "Les Ziyârides," *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XLII, 1922, pp. 64–65.
[21] Ibn al-Athīr, IX, pp. 285, 289–290.

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b. ʿImrān and that it should be ʿAli b. ʿUmar? It is perhaps significant that Tornberg in his edition of Ibn al-Athīr notes in Volume IX, p. 289 with reference to ʿAli b. ʿImrān, whose name occurs several times on that page, that the Paris manuscript always has *ʿUmar*, not *ʿImrān*.[22] The reading of the name on the coins (nos. 14–15) is, I think, indisputable; there is certainly no trace of an *alif-nūn* after the letters *ʿayn-mīm-rā'*.

We must leave the question open, but before dismissing the possibility of an identity between the ʿAli b. ʿUmar of the coins and ʿAli b. ʿImrān, I should call attention to the fact, mentioned above, that according to Ibn al-Athīr ʿAli b. ʿImrān was in possession of Kanguvar (Kinkivar, etc.) in 418 H. At Kanguvar or in its immediate vicinity was the famous Qaṣr al-Luṣūṣ.[23] Kanguvar lies on the road between Qirmīsīn (Kirmanshah) and Asadābād, both towns represented in the hoard. Might not al-Qaṣr of ʿAli b. ʿUmar's coins be Qaṣr al-Luṣūṣ? If he were in possession of it in 418 it may well have been his in 415, when these coins were struck.[24]

The epigraphy of both obverse and reverse dies is very fine, and it is only unfortunate that the coin is badly struck. Special note should be taken of the miniscule word *Muḥammad* within the extended *nūn* of *bn* in the last line of the obverse and above the word *sanah* in the margin; and the word *ʿAli* within the *nūn* of *bn* in the last line of the reverse.

[22] On the other hand, the Persian poet Minūchihr, who died in 432/1040–1 or shortly thereafter (*EI*[1], s.v.) and hence was contemporary with the events under discussion, wrote a poem in honor of ʿAli b. ʿImrān, who almost certainly is the same ʿAli b. ʿImrān as the general several times mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr. See A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Menoutcheri, Poète persan du 11ième siècle de notre ère* (Paris, 1886), text pp. 129–132, transl. pp. 247–250, note by the editor, p. 387. But could the father's name be fictitious to flatter the man with a famous patronymic? Or could Ibn al-Athīr or the copyists have confused the father's name with ʿImrān b. Shāhīn (*EI*[1], s.v.)?

[23] Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 188; *EI*[1], s.v. Kinkivar.

[24] There are of course still other possible identifications of the mint name al-Qaṣr, in addition to those mentioned above (p. 187): Ḥulvān, for example, an important place in this area, for which curiously we have so far no Kākwayhid (or any other) coins. At Ḥulvān was an ancient fortification (قهندز) within which stood the great mosque, and outside the city was an impregnable fortress (Al-Muqaddasi, p. 123; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, VI, Leipzig, 1926, pp. 680, 682; Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 191; *EI*[1], s.v. Ḥulwān).

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15. *Al-Qaṣr*, 415 H. Only the end of the digit is preserved but it is almost certainly a *sīn* and the date therefore 415, as on no. 14. The obverse die differs from no. 14; the reverse is double-struck, which makes it difficult to be positive about the die identity with no. 14. The word خراج above the obverse area also occurs on other dirhems of Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār's: one of Asadābād (Lane-Poole read Astarābād), 415 H. (Lane-Poole, *NC* 1892, p. 166), one of Sābūr Khwāst, date effaced (Allotte de la Fuÿe, *NC* 1935, p. 69, nos. 1–2), and two others, mint and date effaced (Covernton, *NC* 1909, p. 238, no. 8; de la Fuÿe, loc. cit., no. 3), and perhaps on no. 40 in the present hoard.

16. *Al-Karaj*, 418 H. The only other recorded Kākwayhid coin of al-Karaj is one of the year 419, not illustrated or described, in the Hermitage collection.[25] With reference to that coin I wrote in *Kākwayhids*:[26] "I believe there can be little doubt but that the Karaj here represented is the town by that name which stood in the Rūdhrāwar district, equidistant from Hamadhān and Nihāwand, and not the Karaj of abū-Dulaf or the village (now a town) in the Rayy (Ṭeherān) district. The author of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* tells us that the Karaj of abū-Dulaf was in ruins when he wrote (372/982–3), while that of Rūdhrāwar was 'a large town, prosperous, pleasant, and very populous. It is a resort of merchants.' The town was plundered and shamefully treated by the Ghuzz, and figures several times as a stopping-place in the alarms and excursions of 'Alā' al-Dawlah and of the Ghaznawid army."

I have discussed the Karaj of abū-Dulaf in connection with an 'Abbāsid dinar of the year 295 H.[27]

17–22. *Māh al-Kūfah*, 418 H. These coins, all struck from the same pair of dies, are actually 'Annāzid and are the first of that petty

[25] Markov, *Supplement*, p. 928, no. 6; cf. *Kākwayhids*, p. 98, no. 36. Markov headed the entry with the names "Samā' al-Dawlah abu'l-Ḥasan" and "'Aḍud al-Dīn abu-Ja'far," but I doubt that these reproduce the full protocols on the coin.

[26] Pp. 103–104.

[27] *Rare Islamic Coins* (*NNM* 118, 1950), pp. 44–45. To the references cited there may be added E. Herzfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra* (Hamburg, 1948), p. 139, n. 5, where Karaj is identified with the present-day Sulṭānābād; and G. Levi Della Vida in *Rev. degli Studi Orientali*, 14, pp. 250–251, relative to the misreading of the *nisbah* al-Karaji as al-Karkhi.

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dynasty, so far as I know, to be published. In addition to the names of al-Qādir, Majd al-Dawlah, Samā' al-Dawlah and the Kākwayhid (with his long honorifics), the name of Fāris b. Muḥammad 'Annāz is added at the right and left of the obverse area. As mentioned above (p. 183), Fāris is usually known in the written sources as Ḥusām al-Dīn (or Ḥusām al-Dawlah) abu'l-Shawk, lord of Ḥulvān. His career is summarized in Minorsky's article on the 'Annāzids in *EI*[2][28] and in an article, s.v. Fāris b. Muḥammad in *EI*[1]. See also the commentary on nos. 6–12, above. Aside from the purely numismatic interest of the present issue, it is of documentary value in that it establishes the fact that Fāris was in possession of Dīnavar (Daynavar, Māh al-Kūfah) in 418 H. and that at this time he recognized Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār with whom he was frequently in conflict.

A few other Kākwayhid issues of Māh al-Kūfah are known:[29] 41(5?), 416 and 427. The city was an important one and Ibn Hawqal in the 4th century H. relates that it was two-thirds the size of Hamadhān.[30] Previous to the 'Annāzid occupation it had been the

[28] The numerous references to Fāris in Tornberg's edition of Ibn al-Athīr are found in the index under Abu'l-Shawk Fāris b. Muḥammad 'Annāz Ḥusām al-Dawlah. At the end of his article in *EI*[2] Minorsky mentions an undated billon coin of the 'Annāzids in the collection of the ANS about which I informed him in correspondence some years ago. In view of the fact that this coin has never been published I give a brief description here.

Obv. (within octagonal frame):
لا اله الا الله
وحده لاشريك[له]
القائم بامر ال[له]
حسام الدولة
ابوالش[وك]

Rev. (within border of dots):
محمد رس[ول الله]
...اج الدين
...يف الدولة
وعز الامة ابو
• الفتح •

At right: traces of a word; at left: لة.... Traces of marginal legend. ANS (acquired by purchase in 1936 from former Saxe-Coburg collection), 27 mm., 3.82 gr. The coin was struck by abu'l-Fath, governor of Dīnavar in 430 H. (Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 212), under the suzerainty of his father abu'l-Shawk. Incidentally, Zambaur in the bibliography following his genealogical table of the 'Annāzids cites Bergmann, "Beiträge zur muh. Numismatik," *WNZ* 1873, p. 25 (cited also by Minorsky in the bibliography of his article in *EI*[2]). I have not been able to identify this reference but I suspect it is an error for Bergmann, "Beiträge zur muh. Münzkunde," in *Sitzb. phil.-hist. Cl. Ak. Wiss.*, Wien, 1873, pp. 129ff., wherein 'Annāzid history is touched upon but no 'Annāzid coins are mentioned.

[29] *Kākwayhids*, p. 98, nos. 37–41.

[30] Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 189.

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capital of the Ḥasanwayhids, and although I know of no Ḥasanwayhid coins of Māh al-Kūfah, there had been an 'Abbāsid and abu-Dulafid mint there in the 3rd and early 4th centuries of the Hijrah (my earliest record is an 'Abbāsid dirhem of 233 and the latest a dinar of 319).

24. *Hamadhān*, 416 H. A similar specimen published by Lane-Poole is mentioned in the catalogue, above. The curious reversal of Samā' al-Dawlah's usual epithets (Sanā' al-Dawlah wa-Samā' al-Millah, instead of the other way around) is noteworthy. Apparently this form occurs only at Hamadhān and at Māh al-Kūfah in 41(5?) and 416; and on coins where the mint name is effaced (nos. 25–27 and 39, below). The only other known Kākwayhid issue of Hamadhān is a dirhem of the year 414 (see *Kākwayhids*, p. 99, no. 47).

25–26. *Mint effaced*, 416 H. The only mints at which Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār's name occupies the entire reverse area as here are Māh al-Kūfah and Hamadhān. On the basis of the present record, therefore, this issue might tentatively be assigned to one of these two mints.

27. *Mint effaced*, 417 H. See the comment on nos. 25–26, although here we have the word *sulṭān* above (see also nos. 3–13), and a name (?) below the area.

28–36. *Mint effaced*, 418 H. As stated in the catalogue, it is just possible that the mint name Māh al-Kūfah can be read on no. 28. The most interesting aspect of the issue is the presence of the name 'Izz al-Dawlah on the reverse. The question of his identity is discussed under nos. 3–5 and 6–12, above. The fact that nos. 37–38 are struck with the same dies as nos. 28–36 but with the addition of a word to the right and left of the obverse area (as well as the apparent addition of the stars on the reverse) doubtless has some significance of a political nature, obscure however to me. See immediately below and the discussion of nos. 6–12 with reference to the added words. The error in the spelling of the word *al-umarā'* is noteworthy. The word *fatḥ*, "victory," above the obverse area, also occurs in the year 418 at al-Karaj (no. 16) and at Māh al-Kūfah (nos. 17–23), as well as on a coin whose date and mint name are effaced (no. 39). Here also there is a hint of some allusion to a political or military event of importance in the year 418.

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37–38. *Mint effaced, date effaced.* Although the date is effaced, the fact that the dies are basically identical with nos. 28–36, date 418, almost certainly places this issue in the same year (although they might have been kept and used, let us say, in 419). Certainly the added words, right and left of the obverse area both look like غياث *ghiyāth*, "help, aid," but, as I have suggested in the commentary on nos. 6–12, it is just possible that the final letter should be read as a *zā'* (drawn out rather than descending, or with an up-swinging tail because of the restricted available space), in which case we could read عناز, *'annāz*, as on nos. 17–22; and these coins might then be attributed to abu'l-Shawk Fāris, who, as we know from nos. 17–22, was in possession of Dīnavar (Māh al-Kūfah) in 418.

39. *Mint effaced, date effaced.* The style, 'Aḍud al-Dīn, 'Alā' al-Dawlah, etc., would place the issue probably no earlier than 418 (see the observation under nos. 6–12); the word *fatḥ* also points toward the year 418 (see the remark under nos. 28–36).

40. *Mint effaced.* 41X H. For خراج (?), see no. 15.

41–42. *Mint effaced, date effaced.* The fine die work and the miniscule محمد is to be compared with the issue of al-Qaṣr, no. 14. The use of Qur'ān CXII in the reverse area suggests, on the basis of available comparative evidence, that the date of this issue is no later than 416.

43. *Mint effaced.* 41X H. Here also the reverse area type suggests a date no later than 416.

44–45. *Mint effaced,* 4XX H. It is most unfortunate that this issue, with the name of Farhādh beneath the reverse area, should lack both mint and date. The possibility that the mint might be Burūjird is implicit in the resemblance of the issue to the dirhem of 415 in the British Museum (cited in my catalogue, above). As for the date, the probability is that it is no later than 416 (see the comment on nos. 40–43). According to Ibn al-Athīr,[31] Farhādh b. Mardāvīj, who held the fief of Burūjird, was allied with Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār against Samā' al-Dawlah in 414, but since Samā' al-Dawlah's name

[31] IX, p. 232. Cf. Huart, *Ziyârides* (cited in n. 20, above), p. 73, and Zambaur, *Contributions* III, p. 144. Ibn al-Athīr calls him Farhādh b. Mardāvīj al-Daylami, *muqṭa'* of Burūjird. For the term *muqṭa'*, see Sobernheim's article *iḳṭā'* in *EI*[1].

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also appears on this issue it would appear that it was struck after a later reconciliation. However, as Zambaur has pointed out,[32] Samā' al-Dawlah's name is retained on the Kākwayhid coins even after Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār deposed him in 414. In fact, the Kākwayhid allegiance to both Majd al-Dawlah and Samā' al-Dawlah expressed on the coins was a pure formality and was continued even when Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār was virtually independent. The name of Farhādh presents a genealogical problem: surely he cannot have been the son of the founder of the Ziyārid dynasty of Ṭabaristān, Mardāvīj b. Ziyār, for that Mardāvīj was assassinated in 323 H., and the Farhādh of Ibn al-Athīr, and of our coins, was killed fighting against the Ghaznavids in 425.[33] At least two generations must be missing.

[32] *Contributions* III, p. 146.

[33] Farhādh's activities in the Ghaznavid and related campaigns subsequent to 414 H. are mentioned in Ibn al-Athīr IX, p. 247 (417 H.), pp. 289–290 (423 H.), p. 296 (425 H.), and 301 (posthumously, 426 H.). Cf. Huart, *Ziyârides*, pp. 73–75; *EI*[1], s.v. Ziyārids, where the writer expresses doubt about Farhādh's parentage. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 211, in his genealogical table places him without any question as the original Mardāvīj's son.

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LATE MEDIEVAL NORTH AFRICA: ADDITIONS AND SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

(PLATES LIII–LV)

HARRY W. HAZARD

Among a supplementary lot of coins transferred in 1957 from the Hispanic Society of America to the custody of the American Numismatic Society, there are 510 pertaining to the dynasties covered in *The Numismatic History of Late Medieval North Africa*, published in 1952 by the ANS as No. 8 of its *NS* series. In preparing the following notes on these coins as a brief supplement to that work, I have taken the opportunity to insert a few corrections to it, to describe a few other coins acquired by the ANS since the preparation of that corpus, as well as some coins in the collections of Dr. Georges Eck and M. Francisco Chomé, and to list the weights of all gold specimens in the ANS, HSA, and UM collections.[1] All the HSA coins formerly described were identified by serial numbers, and the new lot has been given similar serial numbers preceded by 57. Many of these coins had distinctive tags bearing numbers corresponding to entries in Vives' corpus[2] describing coins from the collection of Pascual de Gayangos, and there is no doubt that his collection was acquired almost intact by Archer M. Huntington and subsequently donated to the Hispanic Society; these coins are designated PG. Others seem to derive from Vives' own collection, and are marked AV? in these notes.

Of this lot of 510 coins, 162 are gold, of which 126 are Murābiṭ, 25 Muwaḥḥid, 10 Marīnid, and 1 an imitation. These are here described in the order established in Hazard, with new items inserted at the appropriate places.

[1] For these abbreviations, and the breakdown of each collection, see Hazard, *The Numismatic History of Late Medieval North Africa*, pp. 286–295.
[2] For Vives, see Hazard, p. 295.

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I. HSA 57 Murābiṭ Gold (126 specimens of 111 coins, all dinars)

Yūsuf ibn-Tāshfīn

480–500 A.H. / A.D. 1087–1106

60. Aghmāt – 488: (HSA 57.1884; AV?) ⟨ *b* RF, slightly clipped. 4.02

61. Aghmāt – 489: (HSA 57.1885; AV?) without ⟨. 4.17

64. Aghmāt – 491: (HSA 57.1886; PG) ⟨ *b* RF. 4.18

65. Aghmāt – 492: (HSA 57.1887; provenance unknown) ⟨ *b* RF. 4.17

77. Sijilmāsah – 483: (HSA 57.1888; AV?) without ⟨. 4.18

78. Sijilmāsah – 484: (HSA 57.1889; PG) ⟨ *b* RF. Delete question-mark in Hazard description of BM specimen. 4.13

81. Sijilmāsah – 487: (HSA 57.1890; PG) without ⟨, date faulty سبع وثما[نين واربع]مايۃ. This should be noted in Hazard and in Vives. 4.13

82a. Sijilmāsah – 489: (HSA 57.1891; provenance unknown, possibly Italian) as **58**, without ⟨; hitherto unrecorded. 4.15

84. Sijilmāsah – [4]91: (HSA 57.1892; PG) without ⟨, date faulty. This should be noted in Hazard and in Vives. 4.06

89. Sijilmāsah – 497: (HSA 57.1893; AV?) without ⟨. 4.17

101. Madīnat Ishbīliyah – 493: (HSA 57.1894; AV?) without ⟨. 4.08

102. Ishbīliyah – 496: (HSA 57.1895; PG) ⟨ *b* RF; unique.[3] 4.06

108. Sanlūkah – 491: (HSA 57.1896; PG) without ⟨, مايۃ omitted from date; unique. PLATE LIII, 1. 4.11

112. Madīnat Qurṭubah – 490: (HSA 57.1897; PG) without ⟨; unique. 4.14

[3] The comment "unique" is to be taken merely as short for "no other specimen is listed in Hazard or known to exist."

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114. Qurṭubah – 496: (HSA 57.1898; PG) without ـ. 4.08

119. al-Marīyah[4] – 495: (HSA 57.1899; AV?) without ـ. 4.08

Yūsuf with heir *ʿAlī*

496–500 A.H. / A.D. 1103–1106

121. Aghmāt – 498: (HSA 57.1900; PG "V 1480," error for 1524) والامير for الامير in 4th line of OF, ـ *b* RF. Correct OF in Hazard and in Vives; delete PG specimen under Hazard **71**, misread by Vives. 3.98

127. Balansiyah – 497: (HSA 57.1901; PG) no letter *b* RF. 4.13

128. Balansiyah – 498: (HSA 57.1902; PG) no letter *b* RF, سنة omitted from RM. Correct RM in Hazard and in Vives. 4.10

130. Balansiyah – 499: (HSA 57.1903; AV?) no letter *b* RF. PLATE LIII, 2. 4.04

131. Balansiyah – 499: (HSA 57.1904; PG) no letter *b* RF, broken. 4.06

132. Balansiyah – 500: (HSA 57.1905; PG) no letter *b* RF. 4.12

135. Dāniyah – 498: (HSA 57.1906; PG) no letter *b* RF. 3.95

ʿAlī ibn-Yūsuf

500–537 A.H. / A.D. 1106–1143

158. Aghmāt – 506: (HSA 57.1907; PG) ـ *b* RF, two punched holes. 3.94

165. Aghmāt – 513: (HSA 57.1908; PG) ـ *b* RF. 4.15

180. Sijilmāsah – 518: (HSA 57.1909; PG) no letter *b* RF; unique. Delete question-mark after "misprint" in Hazard reference to Vives. 4.12

189. Madīnat Fās – 512: (HSA 57.1910; PG) ـ *b* RF; هاذ for هذا in RM; unique. Correct RM in Hazard and in Vives. 3.95

[4] This mint is rendered as Almarīyah by George C. Miles in his *Coins of the Spanish Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif* (*Hispanic Numismatic Series* III, 1954), pp. 44, 135, 136, 143. As both forms are identical in Arabic, either spelling is acceptable; al-Marīyah is used here for consistency with Hazard, not out of conviction that it is otherwise preferable.

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192. Madīnat Fās – 521: (HSA 57.1911, 57.1912; lack PG tag, both AV?) no letter *b* RF. 4.07, 4.01

198. Marrākush – 519: (HSA 57.1913; PG) ك *b* RF, two punched holes; unique. 4.09

212. Ishbīliyah – 515: (HSA 57.1914; PG) لك *b* RF. 3.99

213. Ishbīliyah – 516: (HSA 57.1915; PG) لك *b* RF. 4.00

214. Ishbīliyah – 516: (HSA 57.1916; AV?) لك *b* RF. 3.94

215. Ishbīliyah – 517: (HSA 57.1917, 57.1918; lack PG tag, both AV?) لك *b* RF. 3.91, 4.01

218. Ishbīliyah – 519: (HSA 57.1919, 57.1920; PG, AV?) no letter *b* RF. 4.02, 4.03

219. Ishbīliyah – 520: (HSA 57.1921; PG) no letter *b* RF. 3.98

219a. Ishbīliyah – "510" (for 520): (HSA 57.1922; PG) no letter *b* RF. Shift the similar coins listed under Hazard **219** to this number: V 1664 (AH, PG, AV), BM V 16. Coin listed as Hazard **211** is probably this coin too. 3.95

220. Ishbīliyah – 521: (HSA 57.1923; PG) no letter *b* RF. 4.08

221. Ishbīliyah – 522: (HSA 57.1924; PG) د for ر in ياشر, no letter *b* RF. 3.99

222. Balansiyah – 500: (HSA 57.1925; PG) no letter *b* RF. 4.02

224. Balansiyah – 504: (HSA 57.1926; AV?) no letter *b* RF. 3.97

225. Balansiyah – 505: (HSA 57.1927, 57.1928; PG, AV?) no letter *b* RF. 3.94, 4.08

228. Balansiyah – 512: (HSA 57.1929; PG) no letter *b* RF. 3.96

230. al-Jazīrah – 507: (HSA 57.1930; PG) ك *b* RF. 4.02

232. al-Jazīrah – 508: (HSA 57.1931, 57.1932; former AV?, latter bought in Seville) ك *b* RF, هاذ for هذا in RM, س in RM above date. Brethes' plate (XIV, #864) shows same peculiarities; correct RM in Hazard and in Vives. 4.02, 4.04

234. Madīnat Dāniyah – 500: (HSA 57.1933; PG); no letter *b* RF. 4.02

243. Ighranāṭah – 509: (HSA 57.1934; AV?) no letter *b* RF. Delete question-mark after "error" in Hazard reference to KM specimen. 3.99

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246. Ighranāṭah – 516: (HSA 57.1935; PG) ما *a* OF, لگ *b* RF. 3.99

246a. Madīnat Gharnāṭah – 516: (HSA 57.1936; provenance unknown) as **153**, ما *a* OF, لگ *b* RF; hitherto unrecorded. PLATE LIII, 3. 3.93

248. Ighranāṭah – 517: (HSA 57.1937; PG) ما *a* OF, لگ *b* RF. 3.95

251. Ighranāṭah – 519: (HSA 57.1938, 57.1939; PG, AV?) م outside inner R circle, ل *b* RF. 3.99, 3.97

256. Ighranāṭah – 522: (HSA 57.1940; PG) لم *b* RF. 4.12

257. Qurṭubah – 503: (HSA 57.1941; PG) دا *b* RF. The KM reading in Hazard is therefore correct, and Rivero's in error. 3.97

259. Mālaqah – 500: (HSA 57.1942; provenance unknown) as **152**, not **184**, ون (or possibly مون) *b* RF. PLATE LIII, 4. 3.95

262. Mālaqah – 506: (HSA 57.1943; PG) ک *b* RF; unique. 4.05

263. Mursiyah – 501: (HSA 57.1944; PG) م outside inner O circle. 3.99

264. Mursiyah – 502: (HSA 57.1945; AV?) م outside inner O circle. 4.09

267. Mursiyah – 504: (HSA 57.1946, 57.1947; PG without tag, AV?) م outside inner O circle on former, not on latter. 4.05, 4.02

269. Mursiyah – 506: (HSA 57.1948; PG) no letter outside inner O circle or *b* RF. 4.01

271. Mursiyah – 509: (HSA 57.1949; PG) no letter outside inner O circle or *b* RF. 3.98

272. Mursiyah – 512: (HSA 57.1950, 57.1951; PG without tag, AV?) م *b* RF. 3.98, 4.01

281. al-Marīyah – 514: (HSA 57.1952; PG) no letter *b* RF. 3.92

283. al-Marīyah – 515: (HSA 57.1953, 57.1954, 57.1955; first from Caballero-Infante, others AV?) م *b* RF on first two, not on last. 3.92, 3.93, 3.96

284. al-Marīyah – 516: (HSA 57.1956; PG) م *b* RF. 3.92

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285. al-Mariyah – 517: (HSA 57.1957, 57.1958, 57.1959; two PG, one AV?) م *b* RF. 3.94, 4.02, 3.91

287. al-Mariyah – 519: (HSA 57.1960, 57.1961; PG, AV?) م *b* RF. 4.09, 3.99

289. al-Mariyah – 520: (HSA 57.1962, 57.1963; PG) م *b* RF, ٥ outside inner R circle. 3.87, 4.09

290. al-Mariyah – 521: (HSA 57.1964; PG) م *b* RF, ٥ outside inner R circle. 4.13

291. al-Mariyah – 522: (HSA 57.1965; PG) م *b* RF, ٥ outside inner R circle. 4.15

ʿAlī with heir *Sīr*

522–533 A.H. / A.D. 1128–1139

310. Sijilmāsah – 533: (HSA 57.1966; PG) no letter *b* RF. 4.17

312a. Madīnat Fās – 525: (HSA 57.1967; PG "V 1729," error) as **311a**, ح *b* RF; hitherto never correctly recorded. Correct Vives, and delete PG specimen under Hazard **312**, misread by Vives. All coins alleged to be **312** may really be **312a**, and all alleged to be **311** really **311a**. PLATE LIII, 5. 4.17

314. Madīnat Fās – 527: (HSA 57.1968; PG) ح *b* RF. 4.17

319. Madīnat Fās – 532: (HSA 57.1969; PG) ح *b* RF. 4.15

320. Madīnat Fās – 533: (HSA 57.1970; PG) ح *b* RF. وولى on the BM specimen in Hazard is probably a misprint rather than an engraving error. 4.14

321. Marrākush – 522: (HSA 57.1971; PG) ح *b* RF. 4.13

334. Nūl – 525: (HSA 57.1972; PG) ح *b* RF. 4.12

337. Nūl – 530: (HSA 57.1973; PG) ح *b* RF. 4.16

338. Nūl – 531: (HSA 57.1974; PG) ح *b* RF. 4.16

348. al-Mariyah – 522: (HSA 57.1975; PG "V 1741," error) م *b* RF, ٥ outside inner R circle. Correct Vives, and

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delete PG specimen under Hazard **347**, misread by Vives. All coins alleged to be **347** may really be **348**. 4.15

349. al-Marīyah – 523: (HSA 57.1976; PG) ۴ *b* RF, ۰ outside inner R circle. 4.18

350. al-Marīyah – 524: (HSA 57.1977; PG) ۴ *b* RF, ۰ outside inner R circle. 4.16

351. al-Marīyah – 525: (HSA 57.1978; PG) ۴ *b* RF, ۰ outside inner R circle. 4.18

352. al-Marīyah – 526: (HSA 57.1979; PG) ۴ *b* RF, possibly ۰ outside inner R circle. 4.16

353. al-Marīyah – 527: (HSA 57.1980; PG without tag) ۴ *b* RF, ۰ outside inner R circle. 4.18

354. al-Marīyah – 528: (HSA 57.1981; PG) ۴ *b* RF, ۰ outside inner R circle. 4.15

355. al-Marīyah – 529: (HSA 57.1982; PG) ۴ *b* RF, ۰ outside inner R circle. 4.16

357. al-Marīyah – 530: (HSA 57.1983; PG) ۴ *b* RF. 4.14

358. al-Marīyah – 531: (HSA 57.1984; PG) ۴ *b* RF. 4.12

360. al-Marīyah – 532: (HSA 57.1985; PG) ۴ *b* RF. 4.08

ʿAlī with heir *Tāshfīn*

533–537 A.H. / A.D. 1139–1143

362. Aghmāt – 533: (HSA 57.1986; PG) ۵ *b* RF. 4.11

368. Madīnat Tilimsān – 536: (HSA 57.1987; PG) ۵ *b* RF. 4.22

374. Madīnat Fās – 534: (HSA 57.1988; PG) ۵ *b* RF. 4.15

377. Fās – 535: (HSA 57.1989; without PG tag, AV?) ۵ *b* RF. 4.13

378. Madīnat Fās – 536: (HSA 57.1990; PG without tag) ۵ *b* RF. Delete question-mark after "error" in Hazard reference to Vives. 4.16

380. Marrākush – 533: (HSA 57.1991; PG) ۵ *b* RF. 4.14

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381. Marrākush – 534: (HSA 57.1992; PG) ﺱ *b* RF. 4.13

388. Nūl – 534: (HSA 57.1993; PG) ﺱ *b* RF. 4.12

392. Nūl – 537: (HSA 57.1994; PG) ﺱ *b* RF. 4.18

394. Ishbīliyah – 536: (HSA 57.1995; PG) illegible letter *b* RF. PLATE LIII, 6. 4.16

396. al-Marīyah – 533: (HSA 57.1996; PG) ﻡ *b* RF. 4.18

397. al-Marīyah – 534: (HSA 57.1997; PG) ﻡ *b* RF. 4.13

399a. al-Marīyah – 535: (HSA 57.1998; provenance unknown) as **362**, ﻡ *b* RF; hitherto unrecorded. PLATE LIII, 7. 4.12

400a. al-Marīyah – 535: (HSA 57.1999; PG "V 1797," error) ﻡ *b* RF. Correct OF in Vives; delete 1 PG specimen from Hazard **400**, misread by Vives. 4.12

401a. al-Marīyah – 536: (HSA 57.2000; PG "V 1798," error) ﻡ *b* RF. Correct OF in Vives, delete PG specimen from Hazard **401**, misread by Vives. 4.16

402a. al-Marīyah – 537: (HSA 57.2001, 57.2002; PG "V 1799," error) ﻡ *b* RF. Correct OF in Vives, delete both PG specimens from Hazard **402**, misread by Vives. All coins alleged to be **402** may really be **402a**, but this is not true of **400** and **401**, which do exist. 4.09, 4.12

Tāshfīn ibn-ʿAlī

537–540 A.H. / A.D. 1143–1145

410. Madīnat Fās – 538: (HSA 57.2003; PG) ﺱ *b* RF. PLATE LIII, 8. 4.16

419. al-Marīyah – 538: (HSA 57.2004; PG) ﻡ *b* RF. 4.16

420. al-Marīyah – 539: (HSA 57.2005; PG) ﻡ *b* RF. 4.17

Tāshfīn with heir *Ibrāhīm*

538–540 A.H. A.D. 1144–1145

430. Ishbīliyah – 539: (HSA 57.2006; PG) ﻉ *b* RF. PLATE LIII, 9. 4.17

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432. al-Marīyah – 539: (HSA 57.2007; PG "V 1864," error for 1870) ع *b* OF, م *b* RF. As Vives' erroneous account of this specimen was the only source for Hazard **421**, that coin must be deleted. 4.19

Isḥāq ibn-'Alī

540–541 A.H. / A.D. 1145–1147

439. Ighranāṭah – 540: (HSA 57.2008; PG) ف *b* OF, بكر (?) *b* RF. 4.10

Murābiṭ partisans in Spain

after 541 A.H. / A.D. 1147

445. Madīnat Gharnāṭah – 545: (HSA 57.2009; PG, though Vives records only 1 specimen "Codera Imp.") م *b* OF, ک *b* RF; may be unique. PLATE LIII, 10. 4.02

II. Other Murābiṭ Gold (3 coins, all dinars)

Yūsuf ibn-Tāshfīn

480–500 A.H. / A.D. 1087–1106

116a. al-Marīyah – 491: (ANS 51.146; provenance unknown) as **58**, without ک *b* RF; hitherto unrecorded. 4.08

'Ali ibn-Yūsuf

500–537 A.H. / A.D. 1106–1143

175. Sijilmāsah – 504: (ANS 57.161; bought from Dumbarton Oaks' Pierce collection, bought from Jacques Schulman, presumably the unique Saxe-Coburg-Gotha specimen) no letter *b* RF. 4.13

290. al-Marīyah – 521: (ANS 56.25; provenance Spanish) م *b* RF, ه outside inner R circle. 4.09

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III. HSA 57 Muwaḥḥid Gold (25 specimens of 13 coins)

'Abd-al-Mu'min ibn-'Alī

524–558 A.H. / A.D. 1130–1163

453. Sabtah (*b* RF) – dinar: (HSA 57.2010; PG). 2.26

456. Fās (*b* OF and *b* RF) – dinar: (HSA 57.2011; PG "V 2048 var.," error for 2051). Delete PG specimen from Hazard **458**, misread by Vives. 2.27

466. (no mint) – dinar: (HSA 57.2012–57.2023; PG) 2 with illegible mints *b* OF, 1 with illegible letter *b* OF and *b* RF, 4 with س *b* OF and *b* RF, 5 without letters. 2.27 (3), 2.28 (5) 2.29 (3), 2.30 (1)

468. (no mint) – half dinar: (HSA 57.2024; PG "V 2060," error, as this is the coin described in Vives' note) unique. Delete PG specimen from Hazard **467**. PLATE LIV, 1. 1.14

470. Madīnat (*a* RF) Ishbīliyah (*b* RF) – dinar: (HSA 57.2025, 57.2026; PG). 2.28, 2.28

Yūsuf I ibn-'Abd-al-Mu'min

558–580 A.H. / A.D. 1163–1184

As amīr

558–563 A.H. / A.D. 1163–1168

488. Ḥaḍr Marrākush – dinar: (HSA 57.2027; provenance unknown). PLATE LIV, 2. 2.30

As amīr al-mu'minīn

563–580 A.H. / A.D. 1168–1184

495. (no mint) – dinar: (HSA 57.2028; PG, though not recorded as such by Vives). 2.13

496. (no mint) – half dinar: (HSA 57.2029; PG, though not recorded as such by Vives). 1.15

497. Ishbīliyah – dinar: (HSA 57.2030; provenance unknown). 2.32

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'Umar ibn-Isḥāq

646–665 A.H. / A.D. 1248–1266

533. (no mint) – double dinar: (HSA 57.2031; PG). 4.63
534. (no mint) – dinar: (HSA 57.2032; PG). 2.31
536. (no mint) – half dinar: (HSA 57.2033; PG). 1.08

Idrīs II ibn-Muḥammad

665–668 A.H. / A.D. 1266–1269

539. (no mint) – half dinar: (HSA 57.2034; PG).
PLATE LIV, 3. 1.15

IV. Other Muwaḥḥid Gold (1 coin)

'Alī ibn-Idrīs I

640–646 A.H. / A.D. 1242–1248

521. (no mint) – double dinar: (Chomé 41) ابو for ابى in 3rd RS; delete (error?) in Hazard **521**, and probably also in **520**.

V. Hūdid Gold in the collection of M. Francisco Chomé (1 coin)

Muḥammad I ibn-Yūsuf

625–635 A.H. / A.D. 1228–1238

in the name of the 'Abbāsid *al-Manṣūr ibn-Muḥammad*

623–640 A.H. / A.D. 1226–1242

540a. Sijilmāsah? (*b* OF) – double dinar.
OF as OF of **540**, RF as RF of **540**, OS as RS of **540**, RS:

– ؟ – ؟ الامام –

امير المومنين – بن امرا المومنين –

(Chomé 200). The Hūdids, during their brief control of Sabtah, are not known to have held Sijilmāsah, far inland, so if the mint is correct, the dynasty may be wrong, and vice versa.

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VI. Ḥafṣid Gold in the collection of Dr. Georges Eck (2 coins)

Muḥammad II ibn-Yaḥyâ II

694–709 A.H. / A.D. 1295–1309

578a. Tūnis (*b* RF) – dinar: (Eck) Naskhī script, OF as OF of **563**, OS as OS of **562** and **577**, RS as RS of **562** and **577**, RF new:

ابو عبد الله
ابن امير المومنين
ابن امير المومنين
(mint)

Muḥammad IV ibn-Muḥammad

837–839 A.H. / A.D. 1434–1435

626a. Ṭarābulus (*b* RF) – double dinar: (Eck) diameter of dinar, OF as OF of **584** and **626**, OS (largely illegible) apparently as OS of **562** and **626**, RS difficult to read (2nd may be amīr al-mu'minīn and 3rd may be al-Mujāhid-fī-sabīl-Allāh, but this is problematical), RF clear and new:

ابو عبد الله محمد
المنتصر بالله ابن
الامرا الراشدين
(mint)

This attribution, made on the basis of the epithet (which is confirmed by Brunschvig from Arabic sources) as well as the name and the stylistic resemblance to contemporary Ḥafṣid gold, entails the emendation of the epithet in the RS of Hazard **626**, the only previously known coin of Muḥammad IV, from al-Mustanṣir-bi-Allāh (as read and sketched by earlier scholars) to al-Muntaṣir-bi-Allāh, thus bringing the historical and numismatic evidence into harmony. PLATE LIV, 4.

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VII. Ziyānid Gold in the collection of Dr. Georges Eck (1 coin)

ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān I ibn-Mūsâ I

718–737 A.H. / A.D. 1318–1337

648. Madīnat (in 1st RS) Tilimsān (2nd RS) – double dinar: (Eck). Dr. Eck concurs in ascribing this coin to ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān I rather than II (with the note that the puzzling phrase ibn-al-khulafā' al-rāshidīn may refer to this ruler's *maternal* descent from the Ḥafṣid caliphs). He tentatively supports Østrup's reading of the disputed last line of the RF: wa-mā akbar Allāh yaum al-dīn; I am still dubious.

VIII. HSA 57 Marīnid Gold (10 specimens of 6 coins)

Abū-Bakr or *Yaʿqūb ibn-ʿAbd-al-Ḥaqq I*

642–685 A.H. / A.D. 1244–1286

687. Fās – dinar: (HSA 57.2035; provenance unknown). 2.26

706. (no mint) – quarter dinar: (HSA 57.2036–57.2040; provenance unknown). 0.53, 0.56 (3), 0.59

Yūsuf ibn-Yaʿqūb

685–706 A.H. / A.D. 1286–1307

716a. Sijilmāsah (*b* OF) – double dinar: (HSA 57.2041; provenance unknown) OF as OF of **713**, RF as RF of **715**, RS as RS of **718**, OS:

والحكم اله وا — حد لا اله —

الا هو — الرحمن الرحيم —

hitherto unrecorded. PLATE LIV, 5. 4.53

718a. Madīnat Sijilmāsah (?) – double dinar: (HSA 57.2042; provenance unknown) as **715**; hitherto unrecorded. 4.65

ʿUthmān II ibn-Yaʿqūb

710–731 A.H. / A.D. 1310–1331

738. Madīnat (in 1st RS) Fās (in 1st line of RF) – double dinar: (HSA 57.2043; provenance unknown). 4.59

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ʿAli ibn-ʿUthmān II

731–752 A.H. / A.D. 1331–1351

Second series: anonymous with Naṣrid inscription

756a. Fās (*b* OF) – dinar: (HSA 57.2044; provenance unknown). PLATE LIV, 6. 2.30

IX. Other Marīnid Gold (4 specimens of 3 coins)

Abū-Bakr or *Yaʿqūb ibn-ʿAbd-al-Ḥaqq I*

642–685 A.H. / A.D. 1244–1286

710. (no mint) – quarter dinar: (ANS; provenance unknown) traces of possible segment inscriptions. 0.59

ʿAli ibn-Uthmān II

731–752 A.H. / A.D. 1331–1351

Third series: anonymous with Ziyānid inscription

761a. Ḥaḍrat Tūnis (*b* OF) – double dinar struck in A.H. 748 or 749: (Chomé 164, and probably also 163) as **759**.

763a. Madīnat Sabtah (?) – double dinar: (Eck) as **759**, mint uncertain. PLATE LIV, 7.

X. Hybrid Gold in the collection of M. Francisco Chomé (1 coin)

H2a. (Hazard, p. 231) Obverse of **750**; reverse of **522**: (Chomé 201).

XI. HSA 57 Imitation Gold (1 specimen)

(HSA 57.2045) see note after H14 in Hazard p. 231. PLATE LIV, 8. 4.26

The remaining 348 coins in the HSA 57 lot are silver, of which 197 are Murābiṭ, 139 Muwaḥḥid, 3 Ḥafṣid, 7 Marīnid, and 2 Naṣrid (from North Africa; there are many Naṣrid from Spain). Many of the obviously PG specimens lack tags.

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XII. HSA 57 Murābiṭ Silver (197 specimens of 60 coins)

Abū-Bakr ibn-ʿUmar

448–480 A.H. / A.D. 1056–1087

888. Qirat: (HSA 57.2046: 2 sp.; PG) no trace of marginal inscriptions. 0.93, 0.98

890. Half qirat: (HSA 57.2047; PG) unique. 0.45

Yūsuf ibn-Tāshfīn

480–500 A.H. / A.D. 1087–1106

894. Qirat: (HSA 57.2048: 14 sp.; 12 PG, 2 AV?). Delete other 2 PG specimens listed in Hazard; one is **897a**, one is **897b**. Av. 0.96 Max. 1.08

895. Qirat: (HSA 57.2049: 4 sp.; PG). Delete other 5 PG specimens listed in Hazard; 3 are **897b**, 2 are **897c**. Av. 1.02 Max. 1.11

897a. 2/3 qirat with diameter of qirat: (HSA 57.2050; PG "V 1535," error) as **894**, except weight. 0.67

897b. 2/3 qirat with diameter of qirat: (HSA 57.2051: 4 sp.; 1 PG "V 1535," 3 PG "V 1536," errors) as **895**, except weight. Av. 0.67 Max. 0.70

897c. Half qirat with diameter of qirat: (HSA 57.2052: 2 sp.; PG "V 1536," error) as **895**, except weight. 0.50, 0.52

898. Half qirat: (HSA 57.2053; 2 sp.; PG) unique. PLATE LV, 1. 0.41, 0.50

899. 1/3 qirat (not quarter, as in Vives and Hazard): (HSA 57.2054; PG) unique. Correct denomination in Hazard and in Vives. 0.39

Yūsuf with heir *ʿAlī*

496–500 A.H. / A.D. 1103–1106

903. Qirat: (HSA 57.2055; PG). Delete other PG specimen listed in Hazard; it is **903a**. PLATE LV, 2. 1.03

903a. 2/3 qirat with diameter of qirat: (HSA 57.2056; PG "V 1541," error) as **903**, except weight. 0.58

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ʿAlī ibn-Yūsuf

500–537 A.H. / A.D. 1106–1143

905. Sabtah – qirat: (HSA 57.2057: 3 sp.; 2 PG, 1 AV?). PLATE LV, 3. 0.90, 0.92, 0.96

908. Qirat (not dirhem, as in Vives and Hazard): (HSA 57.2058; provenance unknown) fragment, base silver, no margins. 0.73

917. Qirat: (HSA 57.2059; PG). 0.93

922. Qirat: (HSA 57.2060; AV?). 0.84

924. 3/4 qirat with diameter of qirat (not qirat, as in Vives and Hazard): (HSA 57.2061; PG). 0.75

926. Qirat: (HSA 57.2062: 2 sp.; PG, AV?) ك to left and ل to right of علي in RF. 0.89, 1.00

927. Qirat: (HSA 57.2063: 8 sp.; PG) د to left and ا to right of علي in RF on 1 specimen. Av. 0.90 Max. 0.96

928. Qirat: (HSA 57.2064: 2 sp.; PG, AV?) ك *b* RF on 1 specimen. 0.93, 0.97

933. 3/4 qirat (not qirat, as in Vives and Hazard): (HSA 57.2065: 2 sp.; PG). 0.72, 0.73

933a. 3/4 qirat: (HSA 57.2066: 2 sp.; PG "V 1701," error) as **927**, except weight. 0.74, 0.76

934. Half qirat: (HSA 57.2067; PG). 0.49

936. 1/3 qirat (not quarter, as in Vives and Hazard): (HSA 57.2068; AV?). 0.31

937. Eighth qirat: (HSA 57.2069; PG). 0.11

938. Eighth qirat: (HSA 57.2070; PG). 0.11

958. Qurṭubah – 502 – qirat: (HSA 57.2071; PG). 1.15

962. Qurṭubah – 506 (?) – qirat: (HSA 57.2072; PG, not recorded as such by Vives) clipped, date uncertain. 0.80

ʿAlī with heir *Sīr*

522–533 A.H. / A.D. 1128–1139

973. Sabtah – qirat: (HSA 57.2073: 4 sp.; PG). PLATE LV, 4. Av. 0.92 Max. 0.95

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976. Qirat: (HSA 57.2074: 12 sp.; PG). Av. (of 11) 0.91
Max. 0.96
One (clipped) 0.59

979. Qirat: (HSA 57.2075; PG) Naskhī script, clipped or 3/4 qirat. 0.78

982. Qirat: (HSA 57.2076: 14 sp.; PG). Av. 0.94
Max. 0.98

983. Qirat: (HSA 57.2077: 15 sp.; PG) س *b* RF on 3 specimens. Av. 0.93
Max. 0.98

983a. Qirat: (HSA 57.2078; provenance unknown) OF as OF of **977**, RF as RF of **983**, س *b* RF; hitherto unrecorded. 0.93

988. Half qirat: (HSA 57.2079: 4 sp.; PG). Av. 0.47
Max. 0.49

ʿAlī with heir *Tāshfīn*

533–537 A.H. / A.D. 1139–1143

997. Qirat: (HSA 57.2080: 3 sp.; PG) 1 specimen clipped or 3/4 qirat. 0.78, 0.93, 0.97

999. Qirat: (HSA 57.2081: 9 sp.; 6 PG, 3 AV?) 4 with ک *b* RF, 2 with ۴ *b* RF, 3 without letter *b* RF. Av. 0.96
Max. 0.99

1000. Qirat: (HSA 57.2082; PG). 0.96

1001. Qirat: (HSA 57.2083: 9 sp.; PG) Naskhī script. Av. 0.95
Max. 0.99

1002. Qirat: (HSA 57.2084; provenance unknown). 0.97

1003. Qirat: (HSA 57.2085: 11 sp.; 7 PG, 3 AV?, 1 other). Av. 0.96
Max. 1.07

1004. Qirat: (HSA 57.2086: 11 sp.; 9 PG, 2 AV?) ج *a* RF on all. Av. 0.96
Max. 0.99

1008. Qirat: (HSA 57.2087; PG). PLATE LV, 5. 0.94

1009. Half qirat: (HSA 57.2088: 3? sp.; PG). 0.47, 0.50, 0.50

1010. 1/3 qirat (not half, as in Vives and Hazard): (HSA 57.2089; PG). 0.34

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1012. Half qirat: (HSA 57.2090; PG) Naskhī script. Note script in Hazard. 0.43

1013. 1/6 qirat (not quarter, as in Vives and Hazard): (HSA 57.2091; PG). 0.17

1014. Quarter qirat: (HSA 57.2092: 2 sp.; PG) Naskhī script. 0.24, 0.25

Tāshfīn ibn-ʿAlī

537–540 A.H. / A.D. 1143–1145

1021. Qirat: (HSA 57.2093: 2 sp.; PG) unique. PLATE LV, 6. 0.89, 0.90

1022. Qirat: (HSA 57.2094: 2 sp.; PG). 0.90, 0.93

1025. Half qirat: (HSA 57.2095; PG). 0.49

1026. Half qirat: (HSA 57.2096; PG). Delete question-mark after "misprint" in Hazard reference to Vives. 0.45

1029. Quarter qirat: (HSA 57.2097; PG). 0.23

1031a. Eighth qirat: (HSA 57.2098; PG) OF blank, RF as RF of **1024**. V 1878 (PG, AV 6 sp.) should all be shifted to **1031a**; Vives' error was not in terming them eighths but in so terming the MA and KM specimens. 0.14

1032. Eighth qirat: (HSA 57.2099; 6 sp.; PG). Av. 0.12 Max. 0.13

Tāshfīn with heir *Ibrāhīm*

538–540 A.H. / A.D. 1144–1145

1035. Qirat: (HSA 57.2100; 2 sp.; AV?). 0.92, 0.95

1036. Qirat: (HSA 57.2101: 3 sp.; AV "V 1885"?). 0.91, 0.93, 0.95

Isḥāq ibn-ʿAlī

540–541 A.H. / A.D. 1145–1147

1040. Qirat: (HSA 57.2102: 5 sp.; PG "V 1895," error). Correct Vives, and delete 5 PG specimens under Hazard **1039**, misread by Vives. Av. 0.93 Max. 0.97

1041. Qirat: (HSA 57.2103: 3 sp.; PG "V 1896"). Delete question-mark after "error" in Hazard reference to Vives. 0.91, 0.94, 0.95

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1047. Half qirat: (HSA 57.2104; PG). PLATE LV, 7. 0.52

1052. Qurṭubah – qirat: (HSA 57.2105: 2 sp.; PG) Naskhī script. 0.90, 0.95

XIII. Other Murābiṭ Silver (6 specimens of 5 coins)

894. Qirat: (UM, previously overlooked). 0.88

926. Qirat: (ANS 53.77; provenance unknown) punched. 0.75

928. Qirat: (UM, another specimen, previously overlooked) 0.87

974a. (mint ?: الاباسه) – 3/4 qirat: (UM) punched; hitherto unrecorded.

OF لا اله الا الله / (mint) RF امير المسلمين / علي بن يوسف / الامير سير

Semicircle *b* OF محمد رسول الله PLATE LV, 8. 0.70

988. Half qirat: (HSA 15907, 15908: 2 sp. previously overlooked). 0.49, 0.47

XIV. HSA 57 Muwaḥḥid Silver (139 specimens of 23 coins)

Muwaḥḥid partisans in North Africa
about 540 A.H. / A.D. 1145

1060. Qirat: (HSA 57.2106; PG, not recorded as such by Vives) Kūfī script. PLATE LV, 9. 0.89

Muwaḥḥid partisans in Spain
about 540 A.H. / A.D. 1145

1062. Qirat: (HSA 57.2107: 4 sp.; PG). Av. 0.84, Max. 0.86

ʿAbd-al-Muʾmin ibn-ʿAlī
524–558 A.H. / A.D. 1130–1163

1068. Square half dirhem: (HSA 57.2108: 11 sp.; 10 PG, 1 AV?). Av. (of 10) 0.74, Max. 0.77, One (clipped) 0.55

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1071. Jayyān (*b* RF) – square half dirhem: (HSA 57.2109; PG). PLATE LV, 10. 0.77

Anonymous silver

1085. Bijāyah (*b* OF) – square dirhem: (HSA 57.2110: 7 sp.; 5 PG, 2 AV?). Av. 1.53 Max. 1.55

1086. Tilimsān (*b* OF and *b* RF) – square dirhem: (HSA 57.2111; provenance unknown). PLATE LV, 11. 1.47

1087. Tilimsān (*b* OF) – square dirhem: (HSA 57.2112: 5 sp.; 4 PG, 1 AV?). Av. 1.53 Max. 1.54

1092. Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ (*b* OF) – square dirhem: (HSA 57.2113; PG). 1.54

1093. Sabtah (*b* OF) – square dirhem: (HSA 57.2114; AV?). 1.54

1096. Fās (*b* OF) – square dirhem: (HSA 57.2115: 25 sp.; 9 PG, 16 AV?). Av. (of 24) 1.53 Max. 1.55 One 1.29

1096a. Fās (*b* OF) – square dirhem; (HSA 57.2116; provenance unknown) as **1096**, but RF inverted; hitherto unrecorded. 1.54

1101. (no mint) – square dirhem: (HSA 57.2117: 43 sp.; 42 PG, 1 other). Av. 1.50 Max. 1.56

1101a. (no mint) – square millares:[5] (HSA 57.2118: 2 sp.; provenance unknown). 1.38, 1.41

1101c. (no mint) – square dirhem: (HSA 57.2119: 2 sp.; provenance unknown) as **1101**, but RF inverted. 1.48, 1.56

1103. (no mint) – square dirhem: (HSA 57.2120: 7 sp.; provenance unknown) Kūfī script. Av. 1.51 Max. 1.54

1106. Ishbīliyah (*b* OF) – square dirhem: (HSA 57.2121: 3 sp.; 2 PG, 1 AV?). 1.53, 1.53, 1.54

1107. Balansiyah (*b* OF) – square dirhem: (HSA 57.2122: 3 sp.; 1 PG, 2 AV?). 1.55, 1.46, 1.44

[5] For the European imitations of Muwaḥḥid square silver with deliberate distortions of the names Allāh, Muḥammad, and al-Mahdī, see Louis Blancard, *Le millarès* (Marseilles, 1876).

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1111. Gharnāṭah (*b* OF) – square dirhem: (HSA 57.2123: 4 (?) sp.; 3 PG, 1 (?) AV?). Av. 1.54 Max. 1.55

1112. Qurṭubah (*b* OF) – square dirhem: (HSA 57.2124: 3 sp.; PG). 1.50, 1.53, 1.55

1113. Mālaqah (*b* OF) – square dirhem: (HSA 57.2125: 4 sp.; 3 PG, 1 AV?). Av. 1.54 Max. 1.55

1114. Mānurqah (*b* OF) – square dirhem: (HSA 57.2126: 2 sp.; PG, AV?). 1.48, 1.54

1115. Mursiyah (*b* OF) – square dirhem: (HSA 57.2127: 5 sp.; 4 PG, 1 AV?). Av. 1.50 Max. 1.54

1116. Mayūrqah (*b* OF) – square dirhem: (HSA 57.2128: 3 sp.; 2 PG, 1 AV?) one PG specimen base silver. 1.34, 1.49, 1.53

XV. Other Muwaḥḥid Silver (and Copper)

Anonymous silver

1085. Bijāyah (*b* OF) – square dirhem: (ANS 53.77) replaces specimen listed in Hazard, which is **1085a**. 1.34

1085a. Bijāyah (*b* OF) – square dirhem: (ANS "**1085**," error) as **1085**, but RF rotated clockwise 90°. 1.40

1088a. Tūnis (*b* RF) – square dirhem. Both ANS specimens listed in Hazard are almost surely Ḥafṣid; one has RF rotated clockwise 90°, and should be numbered **1122a**, the other has RF rotated 270°, and should be **1122b**; the KM specimen is probably Ḥafṣid too, but in the absence of stylistic evidence is left under this number.

1088b. Tūnis (*b* OF) – square millares: (ANS "**1088**," error) as **1088**, but RF rotated clockwise 270°. PLATE LV, 12. 1.31

1093a. Sabtah (*b* OF) – square millares: (ANS "**1093**," error) as **1093**, but RF rotated clockwise 270°. Other ANS **1093** specimen is correct. 1.28

1096. Fās (*b* OF) – square dirhem: (ANS 53.77). 1.53

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1101a. (no mint) – square millares: (ANS "**1101**": 4 sp.; HSA "**1101**": 5 sp.) should be renumbered, as should all other millares when identified. **Av.** 1.30 **Max.** 1.52 **Min.** 0.88

1101b. (no mint) – square millares: (ANS "**1101**," error) as **1101a**, but RF rotated clockwise 90°. 1.20

1101c. (no mint) – square dirhem: (ANS "**1101**," error) as **1101**, but RF inverted. 1.39

1101d. (no mint) – square millares: (ANS "**1101**": 2 sp.; HSA "**1101**": 2 sp., error) as **1101a**, but RF inverted. ANS 1.35, 1.44 HSA 1.50, 1.47

Anonymous copper

1171. (no mint) – square pseudo-dirhem: (ANS "**1101**," error). 1.00

XVI. HSA 57 Ḥafṣid Silver (3 specimens of 2 coins)

Anonymous silver

1123. (no mint) – square dirhem: (HSA 57.2129: 2 sp.; provenance unknown) ornamented Kūfī script. 1.47, 1.52

1123a. (no mint) – square dirhem: (HSA 57.2130; provenance unknown) as **1123**, but RF inverted. 1.55

XVII. Other Ḥafṣid Silver (3 coins)

Anonymous silver

1121a. Tūnis (*b* RF) – square dirhem: (ANS "**1088a**," error) as **1088a**, but RF rotated clockwise 90°. PLATE LV, 13. 1.29

1121b. Tūnis (*b* RF) – square dirhem: (ANS "**1088a**," error) as **1088a**, but RF rotated clockwise 270°. 1.30

1123. (no mint) – square dirhem: (UM, previously overlooked) ornamented Kūfī script. 1.39

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XVIII. HSA 57 Marīnid Silver (7 specimens of 4 coins)

Yūsuf ibn-Ya'qūb

685–706 A.H. / A.D. 1286–1307

1137. (no mint) – square half dirhem: (HSA 57.2131; PG). 0.77

'Alī ibn-'Uthmān II

731–752 A.H. / A.D. 1331–1351

First series: anonymous

1144. Fās (?) – square half dirhem: (HSA 57.2132; provenance unknown) mint uncertain. PLATE LV, 14. 0.69

1146. (no mint) – square half dirhem: (HSA 57.2133: 4 sp.; 2 PG, 2 AV?). 0.77, 0.82, 0.87, 0.92

'Abd-al-Raḥmān ibn-'Alī

776–784 A.H. / A.D. 1374–1382

1150. (no mint) – square "dirhem": (HSA 57.2134; PG "V 2124," misread) this is the coin noted following Hazard **1150**, to which it may now be assimilated; although damaged, it appears to be a half dirhem. 0.72

XIX. Other Marīnid Silver (1 medal)

'Abd-al-'Azīz II ibn-Aḥmad

796–799 A.H. / A.D. 1393–1396

M 2. Square medal: (HSA 15944) attribution tentative; impressed OF:

لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول

الله عدة (؟) لعبد

العزيز بن احمد

الغالب بالله(؟)

PLATE LV, 15. 1.87

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XX. HSA 57 Naṣrid African Silver (2 coins)

Muḥammad V ibn-Yūsuf I

755–760, 763–793 A.H. / A.D. 1354–1359, 1362–1391

1153. Sabtah – square quarter dirhem: (HSA 57.2135; PG). 0.54

1153a. Sabtah – square half dirhem: (HSA 57.2136; PG, not in Vives) as **1153**, with ع at end of 2nd line of RF; hitherto unrecorded, but the similar coin ascribed by Prieto to Fās (P 59 ter, p. 113) and rejected in note following Hazard **1153** may be this coin. PLATE LV, 16. 0.85

XXI. Weights of 20 ANS gold coins in Hazard:

20	4.11	**220**	4.08	**447**	2.29	**(495)**	2.29	**559**	2.36
43	4.10	**268**	4.07	**453**	2.28	**501**	(4.42)	**643**	1.12
76	4.21	**374**	4.19	**466**	2.30	**522**	4.58	**682**	4.42
215	3.93	**397**	4.19	**495**	2.19	**551**	2.37	**767**	4.69

XXII. Weights of 64 HSA gold coins in Hazard:

42	4.14	**283**	3.97	**378**	4.13	**(466)**	2.27	**497**	2.31
44	4.01		3.99	**401**	4.17		2.28	**501**	4.60
66	4.14	**284**	3.72	**401a**	4.16	**470**	2.24	**506**	4.57
79	4.14	**287**	4.05	**439**	4.11		2.28	**535**	2.29
159	4.15	**296**	4.15	**440**	4.14		2.29	**660**	3.99
164	4.15	**301**	4.08	**446**	4.10	**477**	2.31	**706**	0.47
214	4.00	**324**	4.11	**446a**	0.57	**478**	2.29	**736**	4.64
216	4.01	**329**	4.09	**458**	2.29	**479**	2.30	**760**	4.67
217	3.91	**334**	4.11	**460**	2.30	**494**	2.30	**806**	4.62
218	4.01	**339**	3.96	**466**	2.12	**495**	2.01	**822**	4.59
219	3.54	**359**	4.17		2.18		2.30	**825**	4.63
221	4.09	**369**	4.20		2.26		2.31	**860**	4.69
247	3.95	**377**	4.15		2.27		2.31		

Also 2 imitations (H14 note, pl. VI): 2.26 and 3.87.

XXIII. Weights of 2 UM gold coins in Hazard:

287	3.96	**496**	1.15

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XXIV. Note on Ḥammūdid (Barghawāṭah) silver struck at Ceuta by al-'Izz ibn-Saqaut

My attribution of **887** (PLATE LV, 18) to the Barghawāṭah Berber governor of Ceuta (Sabtah) al-'Izz ibn-Saqaut has been challenged in terms which indicate that my reasoning demands clarification. The relevant portions of Hazard (pp. 58–59) read: "After the collapse of the [Ḥammūdid] dynasty in 449, Ceuta was held by a succession of non-royal adventurers culminating in the Barghawāṭah Berber Saqaut and his posterity. His coins (PLATE LV, 17) ... are crowded with names, titles, and epithets. Saqaut is al-Manṣūr, al-Ma'ān, Bahā'-al-Daulah. ... His son al-'Izz is al-ḥājib, the chancellor. The tough, elderly ex-slave who assumed this welter of nomenclature died in battle ... leaving al-'Izz to continue the defense of Ceuta. ... His embattled tenure—471–476—is represented numismatically by a mintless, dateless base silver dirhem with the field inscriptions inside octagons. Al-'Izz is Ḍiyā'-al-Daulah, which is, like his father's Bahā'-al-Daulah, an epithet with an oriental flavor not found elsewhere in this study. And al-ḥājib is Saqaut, Ḍiyā'-al-Daulah too. Though the latter is generally presumed to be al-'Izz's father, no explanation has been offered for the change in epithets or for his appearance as chancellor following his undoubted death. My own conclusion is that a third generation is involved, with the younger Saqaut as heir to his father al-'Izz and sharing the same epithet. He is not mentioned by historians."

Dr. George C. Miles, in his *Coins of the Spanish Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if*, pp. 40–41, attributes this same coin to the senior Saqaut, emends the epithet of al-ḥājib Saqaut from Ḍiyā'-al-Daulah to Saif-al-Daulah (which may well be correct), and comments as follows: "Hazard (pp. 58–59), following a line of reasoning based on the difference of epithets ... attributes this unusual coin to Saqaut b. al-'Izz b. Saqaut. But there are frequent numismatic instances of Moslem rulers using a variety of epithets; and I do not grasp Hazard's further argument (p. 59) that 'no explanation has been offered ... for his appearance as chancellor following his undoubted death.' The coin is undated."

I therefore offer these observations to support my attribution (to

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al-ʿIzz ibn-Saqaut, be it noted, not to Saqaut ibn-al-ʿIzz ibn-Saqaut as Dr. Miles has it):

1. On the undoubted coins of the senior Saqaut (**880–886**), his epithet is Bahā'-al-Daulah; on **887** Saqaut is (now) Saif-al-Daulah. Though it is of course true that "there are frequent instances of Moslem rulers using a variety of epithets," they usually use them in parallel and not in series; there is no instance in Hazard, for example, of a ruler dropping one epithet and replacing it with another, though it is not rare for them to add a second to their first. Other things being equal, this raises a presumption that the Saqauts are not one man but two.

2. This presumption is strengthened by the fact that the senior Saqaut's other epithets—al-Manṣūr and al-Maʿān—are not accorded the Saqaut of **887**.

3. The clinching clue, however, is the odd behavior of the title al-ḥājib. On the coins of the senior Saqaut, which bear dates corresponding to the historians' evidence on his reign (453–471 A.H./A.D. 1061–1078), his son al-ʿIzz (for whose existence and name there is ample evidence besides these coins) appears, logically enough, as his chancellor. On **887** al-ʿIzz is the ruler and Saqaut is the chancellor! Since al-ʿIzz assumed power only at the death of his father, the clear deduction is that his living chancellor is not his dead father (which is what I meant by "no explanation has been offered ... for his appearance as chancellor following his undoubted death." I was attempting to discredit, not to endorse, this posthumous apparition.), but is some other Saqaut. As given names frequently alternate generations among the Moslems of this period, I tentatively suggested that, as al-ʿIzz had been chancellor to his father, quite possibly the Saqaut who served him in this position was in turn his son, namesake of his grandfather. I did, and do, concede that the hypothetical younger Saqaut is not mentioned by the historians, who were primarily interested in the victorious Murābiṭs and not in their victims, and this is why the suggestion that a third generation is involved is tentative, but even if the chancellor Saqaut is not the son of al-ʿIzz, the coin must have been struck by al-ʿIzz and not by the senior Saqaut; so much is certain.

4. Finally, the style of **887** is utterly unlike **880–886**, prima facie evidence that they belong to different rulers; the very fact that "the

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coin is undated" differentiates it from the dated series. It is likely that some coins were struck by al-'Izz during his five-year rule, and that some of these have survived, and I see no reason whatever to doubt that **887** is such a coin. I regret my previous terseness, which permitted this confusion to arise, but I feel that in its present expanded form the logic of the argument is unassailable, and therefore reaffirm my conviction that this coin must be ascribed to al-'Izz ibn-Saqaut, whose chancellor Saqaut may well have been his son, but could not have been his father.

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COINS OF GEORGIA IN TRANSCAUCASIA ACQUIRED BY THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY: 1953–1965

(PLATES LVI–LIX)

DAVID M. LANG

Since the pioneer work of Barataev, Langlois and Bartholomaei over a century ago, historians and archaeologists have paid increasing attention to the monetary series of Georgia, both for its own sake, and for the light which it throws on the political and economic history of the Caucasus from the period of Classical Colchis right up to that of Tsar Alexander I of Russia in the 19th century. In 1953, under the guidance of Dr. George C. Miles, I made a study of the large collection of Georgian coins in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society; the resulting work, *Studies in the Numismatic History of Georgia in Transcaucasia*, being published in 1955 as No. 130 of the *NNM* series. The Society's generosity, combined with that of the Department of the Near and Middle East, Columbia University, made it possible for me to pay another visit to New York in January 1965, for the purpose of registering the fresh accessions of Georgian coins acquired by the ANS during the intervening period.

Investigation showed that additions to the ANS Georgian collection between 1953 and 1965 totalled 174 items. Of these, 30 silver pieces, dating from the reign of Bagrat V (1360–93), had in fact been in the ANS Museum since the acquisition of the Starosselsky collection in 1922, but had only recently been attributed by Dr. Miles on the basis of descriptions provided in Kapanadze's book, published in 1955.[1] The greater part of the new acquisitions came through the generous gift of Stacks, New York, and also through purchase of a lot auctioned at the Dorotheum in Vienna. Apart from the Georgian national series, the ANS Museum had also acquired several fresh silver pieces from classical Colchis (Western Georgia) and a substan-

[1] D. G. Kapanadze, *Gruzinskaya numizmatika*, Moscow, 1955 (original, Georgian edition, published Tbilisi, 1950). The coins in question are Kapanadze's Nos. 122 & 123.

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tial number of coins minted in Tiflis (Tbilisi) by successive Mongol, Persian and Ottoman overlords.

Prominent among the Colchian accessions is a rare didrachm—the first such piece to feature in the ANS collection. This particular specimen has an interesting pedigree. It formed part of a hoard dug up in 1910 at the Black Sea port of Poti. The didrachm in question was acquired in Tiflis that same year by the father of the Czech numismatist Eugen Pochitonov, from whose possession it passed in 1918 into that of Professor V. A. Shuchayevsky. The latter brought the coin to New York and disposed of it in 1956 to the ANS.[2]

1. Didrachm Colchis ca. 400 B.C.

Obv.: Female head, right, with hair falling in tresses down the back of the neck, within linear circle.

Rev.: Two female heads, facing one another, each in square incuse.

Æ 21 mm. ↙ 9.58 gr. PLATE LVI, 1.

Lang, *Studies*, No. 2, but illustrating the specimen in the E.S.G. Robinson collection, ex-Jameson, No. 2543; Kapanadze, *Gruzinskaya numizmatika*, No. 2.

A feature of the new Georgian acquisitions is the wealth of copper pieces dating from the century prior to the Mongol invasion of the Caucasus, and covering the reigns of Dimitri I (1125–55), Giorgi III (1156–84), Queen T'amar (1184–1213), Giorgi IV Lasha (1213–23) and Queen Rusudan (1223–45). Some of these are regular in shape, with circular planchet; others, the majority, are the so-called irregular copper pieces, crudely cast or struck in rough and often fantastic shapes. Many have counterstamps.[3] Among types already represented in the ANS collection, we may cite 9 additional irregular coppers of Queen T'amar (Lang, *Studies*, No. 10), 2 regular coppers of T'amar and David Soslan (Lang, *Studies*, No. 11), 14 irregular coppers of the Khwārazmian invader, Shah Jalāl al-Dīn Menküberti, dated A.H. 623/1226 A.D. (Lang, *Studies*, No. 12), 7 regular coppers of Rusudan

[2] See E. Pochitonov, "Poznámky a doplňky k nejstarším ražbám Kolchidy," in *Numismatické Listy*, yr. XIV, No. 3/4, Prague, 1959, pp. 68–69.

[3] Several of these counterstamps are reproduced in diagram form in Lang, *Studies*, p. 25, with references to the Russian literature, particularly to E. A. Pakhomov.

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(Lang, *Studies*, No. 13), as well as 4 small coppers of preceding reigns counterstamped with Queen Rusudan's personal cipher.

However, many of these new copper coins in the ANS collection belong to reigns previously unrepresented and therefore not illustrated in my earlier monograph. Particular interest attaches to a newly acquired group of coins of King Dimitri I and his son Giorgi III, having the initial of the Georgian monarch on the obverse and the name of the reigning Seljuk sultan or of the Muslim caliph on the reverse. Such coins are mentioned by the twelfth century Arab historian Ibn al-Azraq, who says that after the Georgians took Tiflis from the Muslims in the year 1122, their king granted the defeated Muslims sundry privileges. "He struck dirhams for them, on one side of which stood the names of the sultan and the caliph, and on the other side stood the names of God and the Prophet, on him be peace, whereas the king's own name stood on one side of the dirham also..."[4]

2. Irregular copper. Tiflis A.D. 1125–31

Obv.: الملوك (inverted) — Of kings

Დ — D[imitri]

ملك — King

Inner frame of straight lines, surrounded by circular border. Specimens with larger planchet show unintelligible Arabic marginal legend.

Rev.: بن محمد (inverted) — Son of Muḥammad

محمود — Maḥmūd

Surrounded by frame and unintelligible Arabic marginal legend.

Æ 14 mm. 1.85 gr. PLATE LVI, 2.

E. A. Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, St. Petersburg, 1910, No. 45; Kapanadze, No. 51. Note that the Seljuk Sultan Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad reigned from A.D. 1118 to 1131.

3. Irregular copper. Tiflis A.D. 1156–60

[4] Lang, *Studies*, p. 17, quoting from the study of Ibn al-Azraq by Professor V. Minorsky.

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Obv.: ⴂ G[iorgi]
Surrounded by ornamental pattern of five intertwined rosettes, within which, in segments, Arabic legend:

گيورگي ملك الملوك حسام المسيح

Giorgi, King of Kings, Sword of the Messiah.

Rev.: Pattern of five intertwined rosettes, within segments of which, Arabic legend:

المقتفى لامر الله امير المؤمنين

Al-Muqtafī-liamr-Allah, Commander of the Faithful.

Æ Various sizes and weights. PLATE LVI, 3a–f

Pakhomov, No. 49; Kapanadze, No. 55. Note that the caliphate of al-Muqtafī extended from A.D. 1136 to 1160.

In 1178, six years before his death, King Giorgi III appointed his daughter T'amar to reign as joint sovereign with himself. Accordingly, a new type of coinage was minted conjointly in the name of the two monarchs. The single specimen acquired by the ANS is of very small planchet and shows only the central portion of the design and inscription, which we have completed from examples in other collections.

4. Irregular copper. Tiflis A.D. 1178–84

Obv.: Central rosette containing first and last letters of the name of King Giorgi III, surrounded by intertwined rosettes with legend in Georgian khutsuri majuscules in the segments, the entire legend reading:

ⴑⴈⴝⴈⴃⴖⴃⴀⴋⴗⴀⴋⴗ – ⴂⴝ

May God exalt the King of Kings Giorgi!

Rev.: Similar to Obv., but with the first and last letters of Queen T'amar's name in the center, the complete legend reading:

ⴑⴈⴈⴗⴃⴖⴃⴀⴋⴗⴑⴈⴗⴈⴋⴀⴑⴆⴝ – ⴛⴘ

May God exalt the Sovereign and Queen T'amar!

Æ 11 mm. 1.98 gr. PLATE LVI, 4.

Pakhomov, Nos. 52–55; Kapanadze, Nos. 58–59a.

The later coins of Queen T'amar were fully described in my earlier monograph, pages 22–27, but those of her son and successor King

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Giorgi IV Lasha (1213–23) were not at that time represented in the ANS collection. However, we now dispose of no less than 13 examples, on the basis of which the following description has been put together.

5. Irregular copper. Tiflis 430 Georgian era = A.D. 1210, and after.

Obv.: Center:

ⴒⴑ ⴘⴒ
ⵛⵄⴘⴑⴑ — Giorgi, son of T'amar

surrounded by pattern of intertwined rosettes.

Marginal legend:

ⵜⴑⴟⴒⴖⴑⵛⴟⴖⵛⴑⵜⴣⵊⴒⵛⵜⵔⵄⴟⴖⴑⴑⵛⵄⴑⵜⴒⴑⴖ

O Christ! In the name of God, the striking of this silver piece (sic) was made in the year 430 (= 1210 A.D.)

Rev.: Center:

الملك الملوك — The King of Kings

جلال الدنيا والدين — Glory of the World and Faith

گيورگي بن تامار — Giorgi son of T'amar

حسام المسيح — Sword of the Messiah

Marginal legend in Persian: بنام خداى پاك اين سيمرا زده اند بتاريخ چهار صد وسى سال

In the name of God the pure, this silver piece (sic) was struck in the year 430 (= A.D. 1210).

Æ Various sizes and weights

PLATES LVI, 5a–d; LVII 5e–f.

Pakhomov, No. 63; Kapanadze, Nos. 66–67.

The coins of the Mongol domination of Georgia, extending from A.D. 1236 until about 1360, have long been exceptionally well represented in the ANS collection; forty pages in my earlier monograph were devoted to this period. Apart from a number of new specimens struck exclusively in the names of the various Il-Khan overlords, much interest attaches to a group of rather rare local coppers newly acquired, and struck by the Georgian Bagratid vassal kings themselves.

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6. Fulūs of King David Narin. Tiflis A.H. 645/1247 A.D.

Obv.: Royal monogram ჳ D[avi]T‘

In the field:

قاان Of the Qā'ān

بنده شاه the slave, of the Shah

جهان داود of the World—David

ملك King

Rev.:

بشهر In the town

تفليس of Tiflis

عمرها الله May God prosper it

خمسة اربعين سمّاية 645 [A.H. = A.D. 1247]

Æ 20 mm. 3.19 gr. PLATE LVII, 6.

V. Langlois, *Essai de Classification des suites monétaires de la Géorgie*, Paris, 1860, No. 33; Kapanadze, No. 83.

7. Fulūs of King David Ulugh. Tiflis (?) N.D. (ca. 1250)

Obv.: King on horseback, riding to right. To l. and r. of king's head:

ᲓᲐ D[avi]T‘.

Rev.:

الملك الملوك King of Kings

داود بن گيورگي David son of Giorgi

حسام المسيح Sword of the Messiah

Æ 20 mm. 2.82 gr. PLATE LVII, 7.

Langlois, *Essai*, No. 14; Kapanadze, No. 88.

8. Fulūs of King Dimitri II "The Devoted." Tiflis (?) (1271–89)

Obv.: Royal monogram ჳ D[imitr] I.

Ornamental border, within outer segments of which:

ሕዋሕዋ King of Kings.

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Rev.: Military standard, vertical, being a royal emblem of the Bagratid dynasty. Linear border, outside which marginal legend:

ⴗⴊⴅⴔⴑ ⴔⴅⴔⴑⴔⴗⴓⴅⴑⴅⴅ–ⴔⴓ

We believe in Father, Son and Holy Ghost. King Dimitri.
Æ 22–25 mm. 1.68 and 2.67 gr.

PLATE LVII, 8a–b.

Langlois, *Essai*, No. 36; Kapanadze, No. 100.

Early in the 14th century, the Il-Khans abolished the striking of independent coinage by their Georgian vassals. From the accession of Uljaitu in 1304 until the fall of Anūshirvān Khan in 1357, the Tiflis mint followed minutely the patterns established for the standard coinage of the Mongols of Iran. Already rich in the silver dirhems and double-dirhems of this period, the ANS has now acquired for the first time three of the small copper coins minted at Tiflis by the Il-Khan Abū Sa'īd (1316–35), the copper of this period being much rarer than the silver. The identification and description of these pieces is entirely the work of Dr. George C. Miles.

9. Fulūs of Abū Sa'īd Bahādur Khān. Tiflis A.H. 72X/ca. 1320–1329

Obv.: Within octagonal star-shaped frame:

الله
لا اله الا
محمد
رسول الله

Legends in outside segments effaced.

Rev.: Within circle:

.....
السلطان سعيدُ ابو
بهادر خان خلد ملكه
تفليس

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Traces of marginal legend. On one specimen the words .... فى شهور سنة ...., "in the months of the year..." are preserved.

Æ Three specimens, 21–22 mm. 1.76, 2.51, 2.60 gr.
PLATE LVII, 9a–c.

These coppers are probably similar to one described but not illustrated in Lane-Poole, *BMCOriental* VI, no. 268, Tiflis, 7XX. The only copper of Abū Sa'īd with similar obverse and reverse types in the ANS collection is one with mint effaced, dated 72X.

During the second half of the 14th century, Georgia was closely connected with the Jalā'irid dynasty of Baghdad and Tabriz, and was also invaded and ravaged repeatedly by Tamerlane. The general influence of the silver coinage of the Jalā'irids and of the Golden Horde is clearly felt in the anonymous Georgian silver dirhems of this period. Thirty of these, of types usually attributed to King Bagrat V (1360–93), were recently discovered by Dr. Miles among material acquired from General Starosselsky in 1922.

10. Dirhems (29 specimens). No mint or date.

Obv.: Bird facing either l. or r., above which, sometimes inverted: لله To Allah; to l. and r. of bird's head, rosette. Unintelligible Arabic marginal legend.

Rev.: Distorted Sunnite pious formula within square; unintelligible Arabic outer legend.

Æ 18 mm. 1.30 gr. av.
PLATES LVII, 10a–c; LVIII 10d–j.

Many varieties; cf. Kapanadze, No. 122.

11. Dirhem. No mint or date.

Similar to preceding, but obv. shows lion facing r. Beneath legs, symbol resembling Georgian majuscule Დ "D" inverted.

Æ 20 mm. 1.36 gr. PLATE LVIII, 11.

Kapanadze, No. 123.

Another Georgian series much enriched by new acquisitions since 1953 is the Tiflis copper coinage struck during the 17th and 18th centuries. These coins follow the general pattern of the so-called

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"autonomous coppers" struck locally in many cities of the Persian empire, with simple obverse designs featuring birds, fishes or animals, signs of the zodiac, planets and other motifs. During the 17th century, the Tiflis coppers were all anonymous. In 1708, the Regent Vakhtang, later King Vakhtang VI, brought out a new style of coinage, with the date on the obverse in European numerals—a most unusual feature.[5] After this, the Bagratid kings of K'art'lo-Kakhet'i usually incorporated their initials in the design, and introduced other distinctive features into the Tiflis copper coinage. After the Russo-Georgian Treaty of 1783, the Russian eagle made its appearance on the obverse as a symbol of Georgia's association with the empire of Catherine the Great. These copper coins were commonly struck in three denominations—bisti, half-bisti and p'uli, though very rarely specimens of a shauri (2½ bisti) and half-p'uli are also recorded.[6]

Some of the best of the Tiflis coppers recently acquired by the ANS are described below in tabulated form.

12. Sun type. ca. A.H. 1075/1664–5 A.D. PLATE LVIII, 12.

Similar to Kapanadze, No. 159.

13. Horse walking left. King Giorgi XI of Georgia, vassal of Shah Sulaymān I of Iran; between A.H. 1090–96/1679–85 A.D. PLATE LVIII, 13.

Similar to Kapanadze, No. 161.

14. Rhinoceros, to r. Erekle I, vassal of Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn; ca. A.H. 1112/1700 A.D. PLATE LVIII, 14.

Kapanadze, No. 163.

15. Peacock, to r. Georgian mkhedruli letters ბქრ BK'R, for King Bak'ar. A.H. 1130 & 1131/1717–19 A.D. PLATE LIX, 15.

Lang, *Studies*, Nos. 75–77.

16. Lion attacking deer. Prince 'Alī-Qūlī-Khān, governor of Tiflis. A.H. 1148/1735–6 A.D. PLATE LIX, 16.

Kapanadze, No. 169.

[5] Kapanadze, No. 164. In Lang, *Studies*, p. 97, I wrongly stated that no coins of King Vakhtang VI were known.
[6] Kapanadze, p. 129.

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17. Lion to l. თმრზ T'MRZ, for King T'eimuraz II. A.H. 1162/1748–9 A.D. PLATE LIX, 17.

Cf. Lang, *Studies*, No. 92.

18. Falcon and heron. On rev.: თე — ერ T'E — ER, for T'eimuraz II and Erekle II (joint coinage). A.H. 1166–9/1752–6 A.D. PLATE LIX, 18a–c.

Kapanadze, No. 171.

19. Regal insignia of Bagratid dynasty, type of King Erekle II, A.H. 1179/1765–6 A.D., overstruck on coin of T'eimuraz II, showing underlying counterstamp ⟲ T', for T'eimuraz, in sexagonal incuse. PLATE LIX, 19.

Cf. Lang, *Studies*, Nos. 100–101.

20. Double eagle of Russia. King Erekle II, as ally of Catherine II. A.H. 1201/1787 A.D. PLATE LIX, 20.

Cf. Lang, *Studies*, No. 104.

It is to be hoped that these notes will serve as a useful supplement to my earlier monograph, which could itself, of course, be greatly expanded and improved by reference to the Moscow and Tiflis museum collections. Possessors of *Studies in the Numismatic History of Georgia in Transcaucasia* are asked to correct in their copies the following two errors, due to oversight: Map facing page 1—R. Aragvi *should be* R. Alazani; p. 90—regnal dates of Shah 'Abbās I *should be* 1587–1629.

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I



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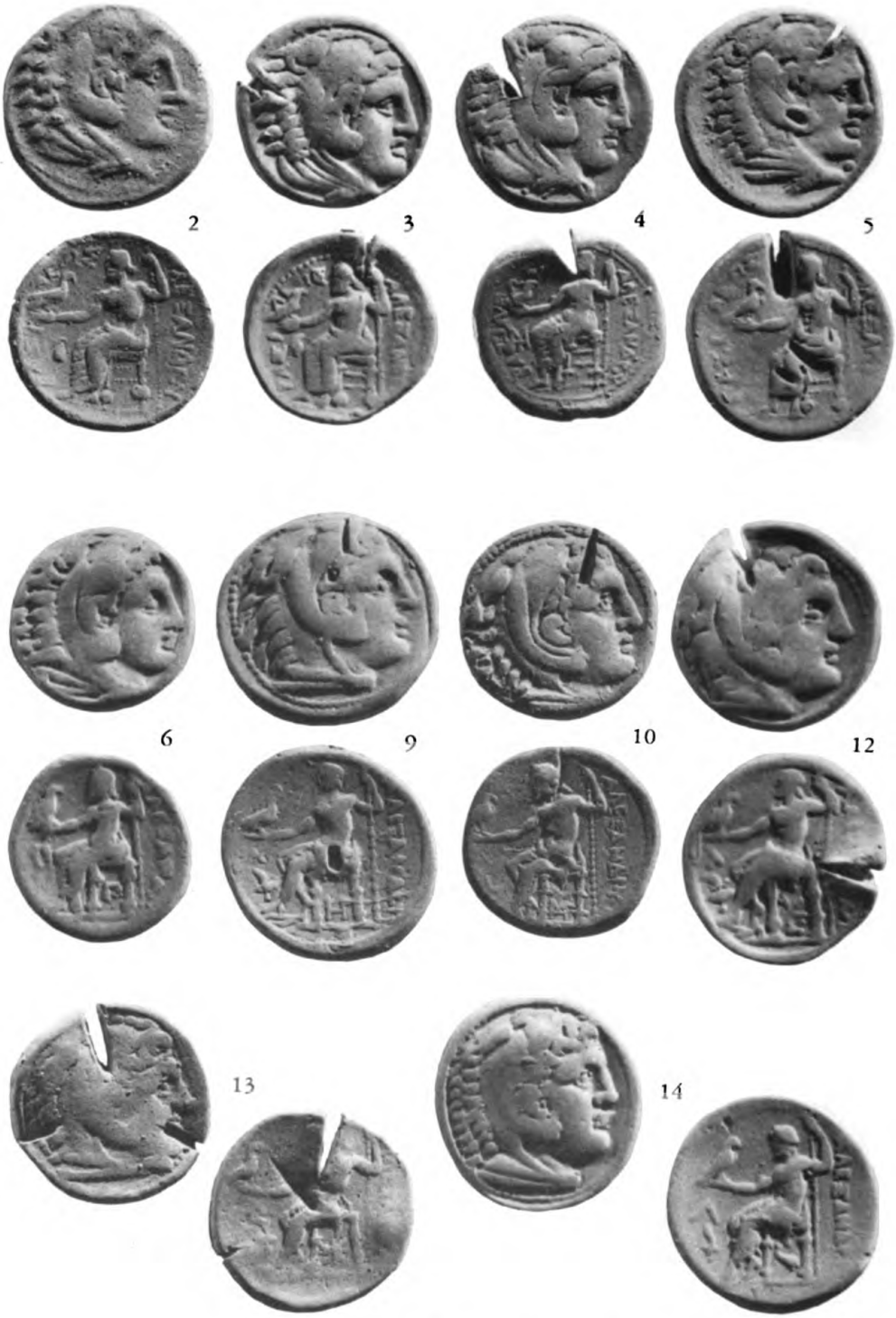
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V



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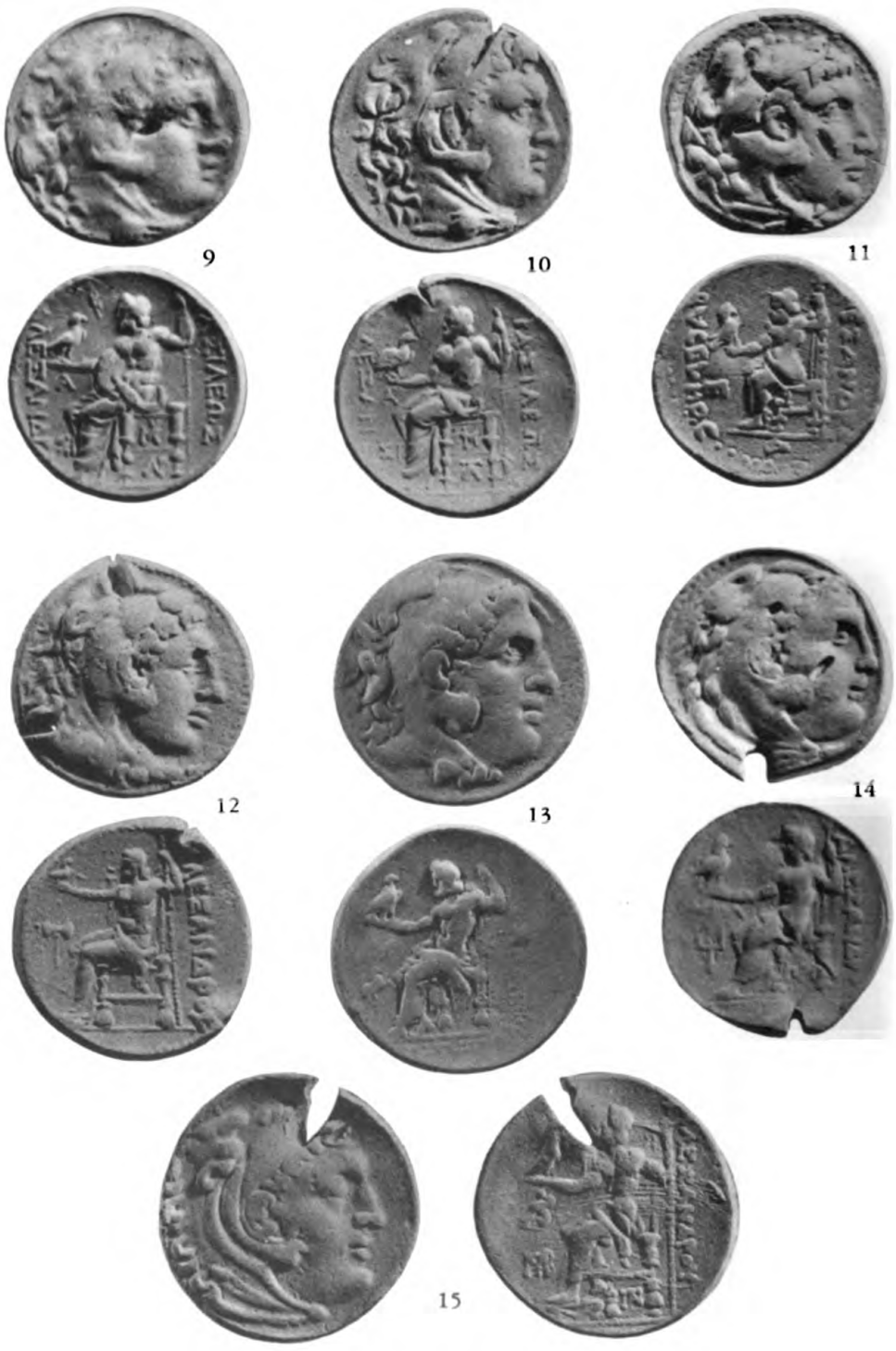
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XIII



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68

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XIX



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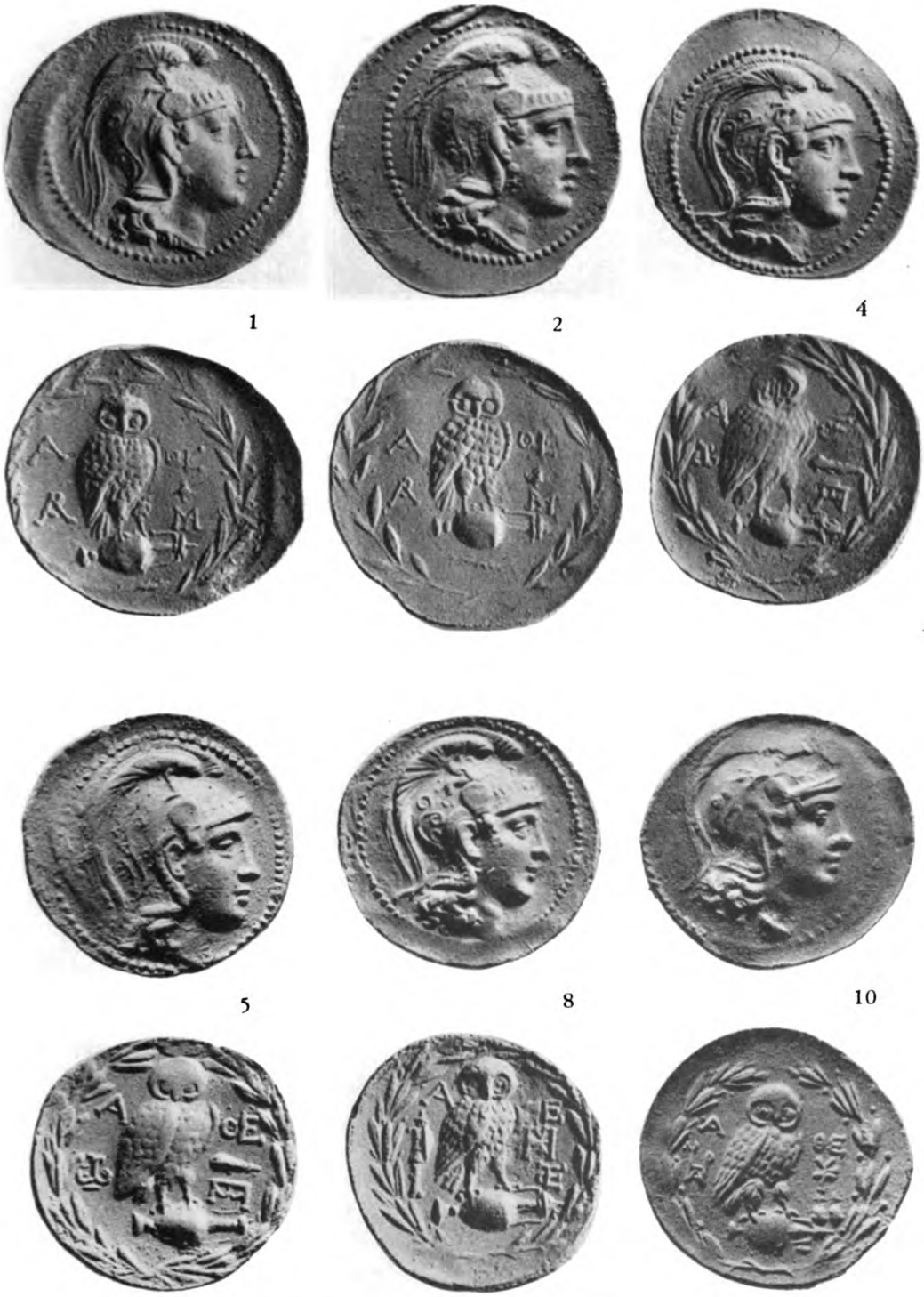
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GORDION HOARDS V, VII

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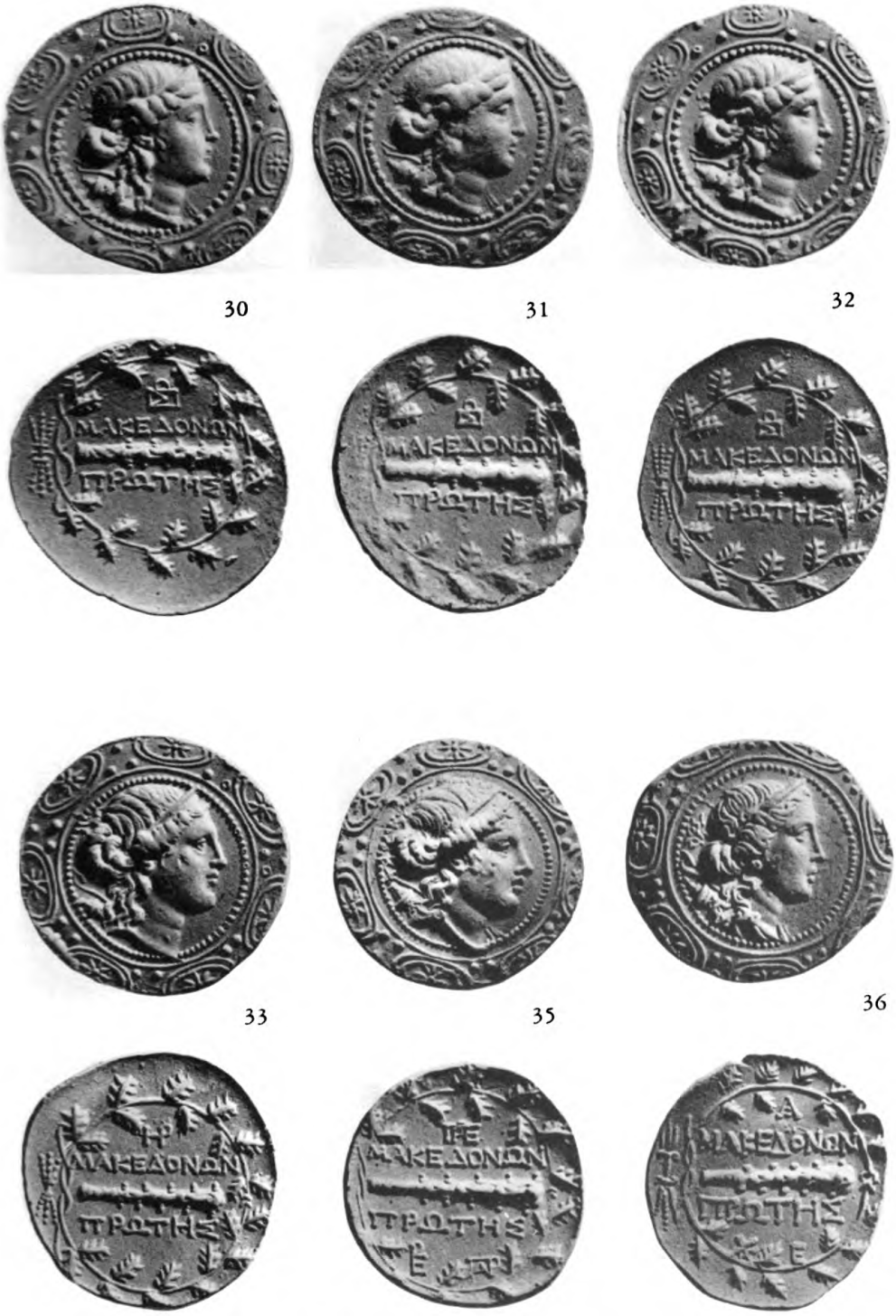


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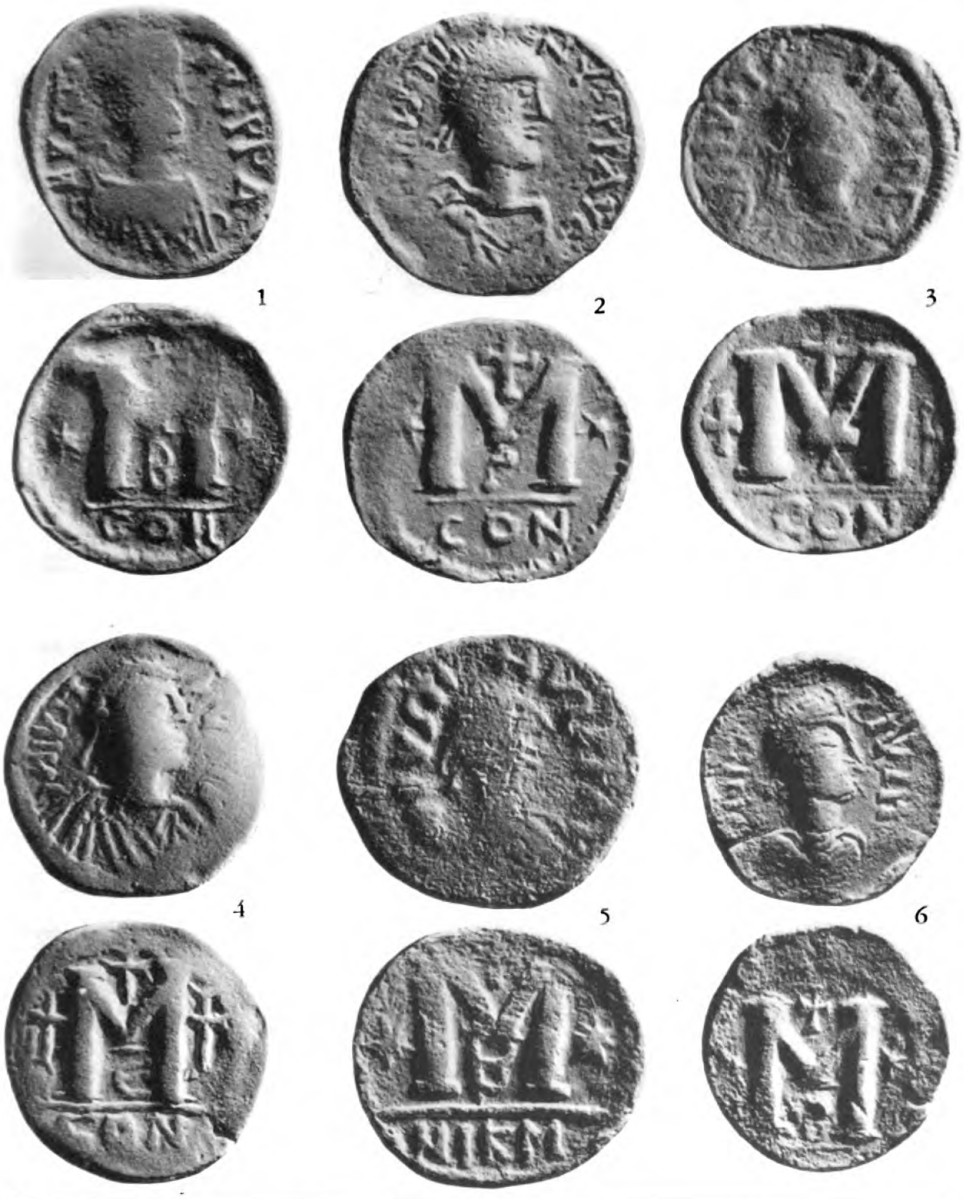
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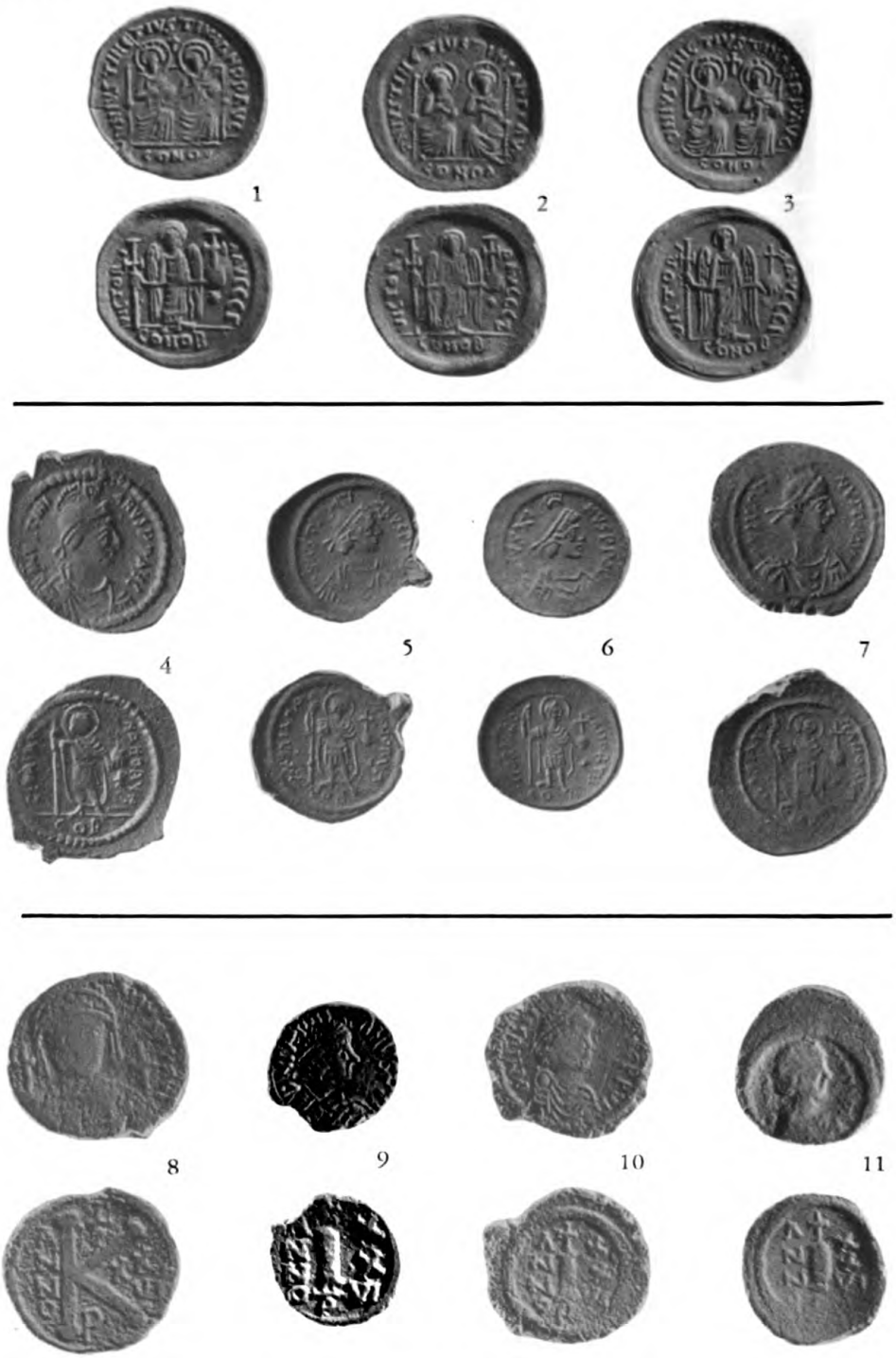
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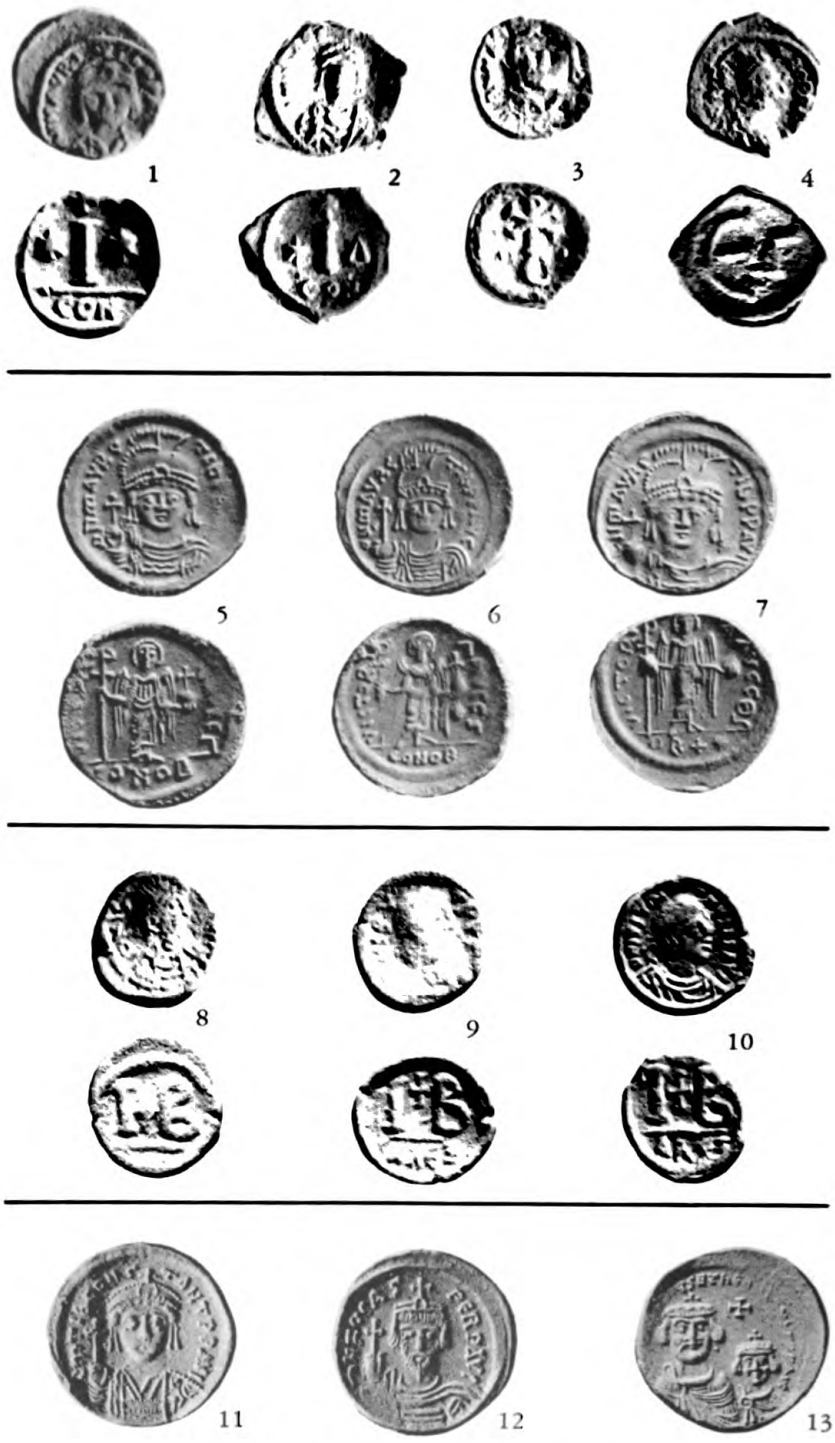
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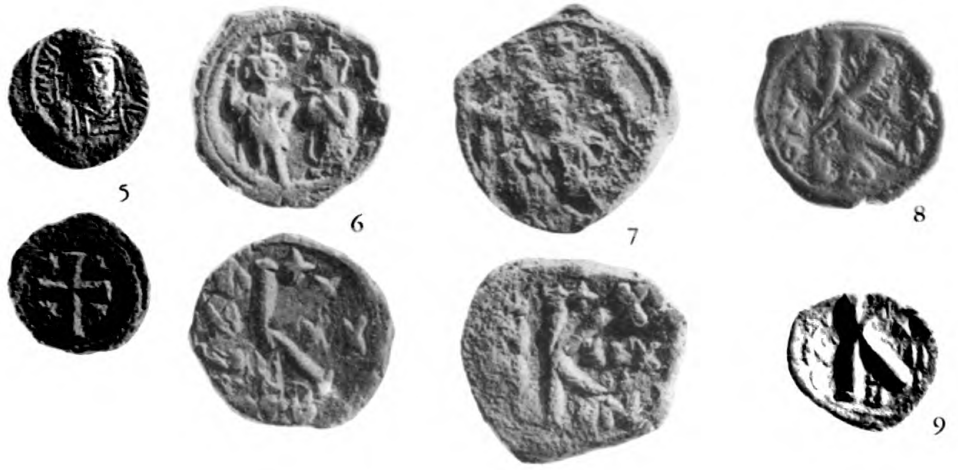
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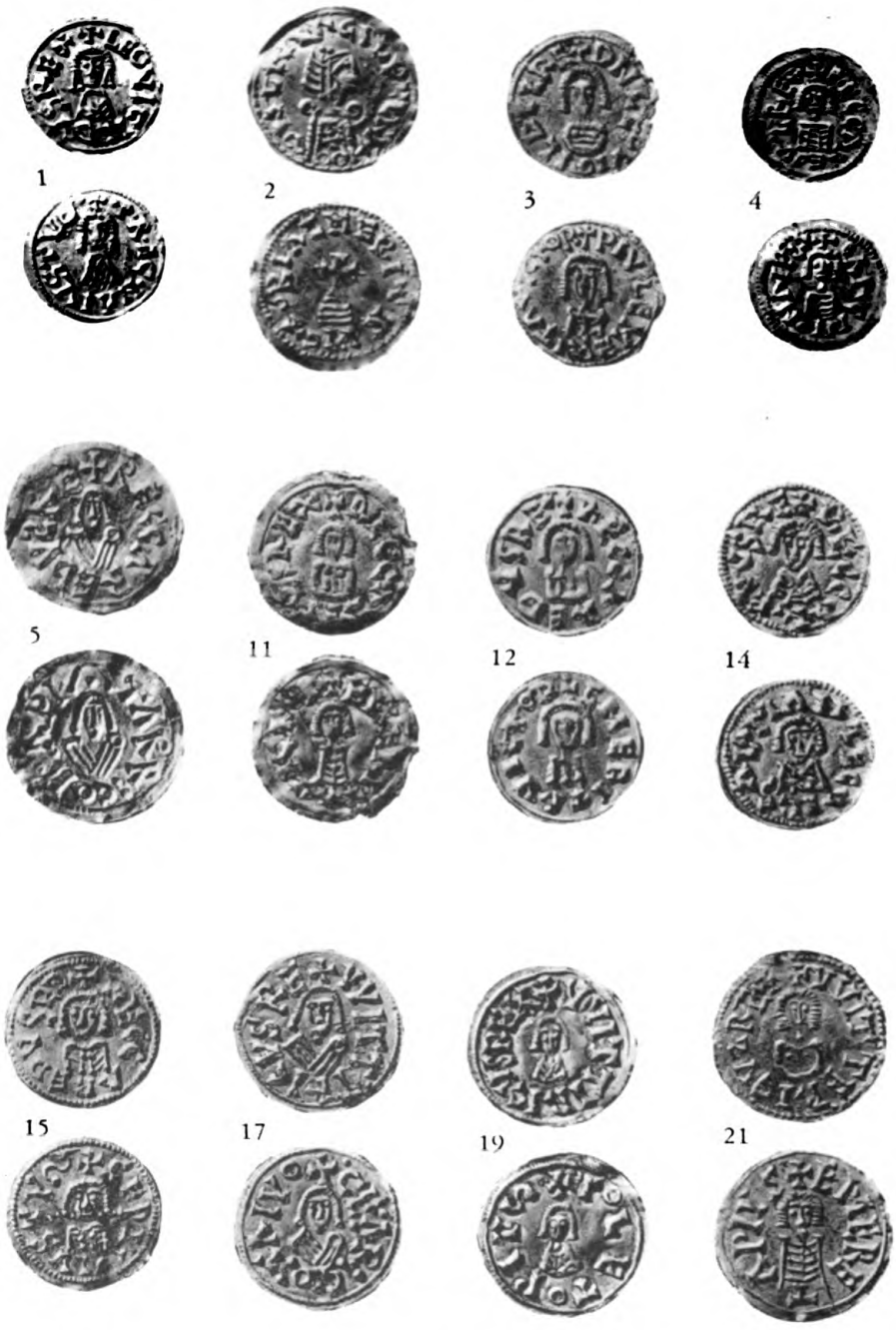
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FERREIRA COLLECTION



FORGERY 2



FORGERY 4



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SUPPLEMENTARY

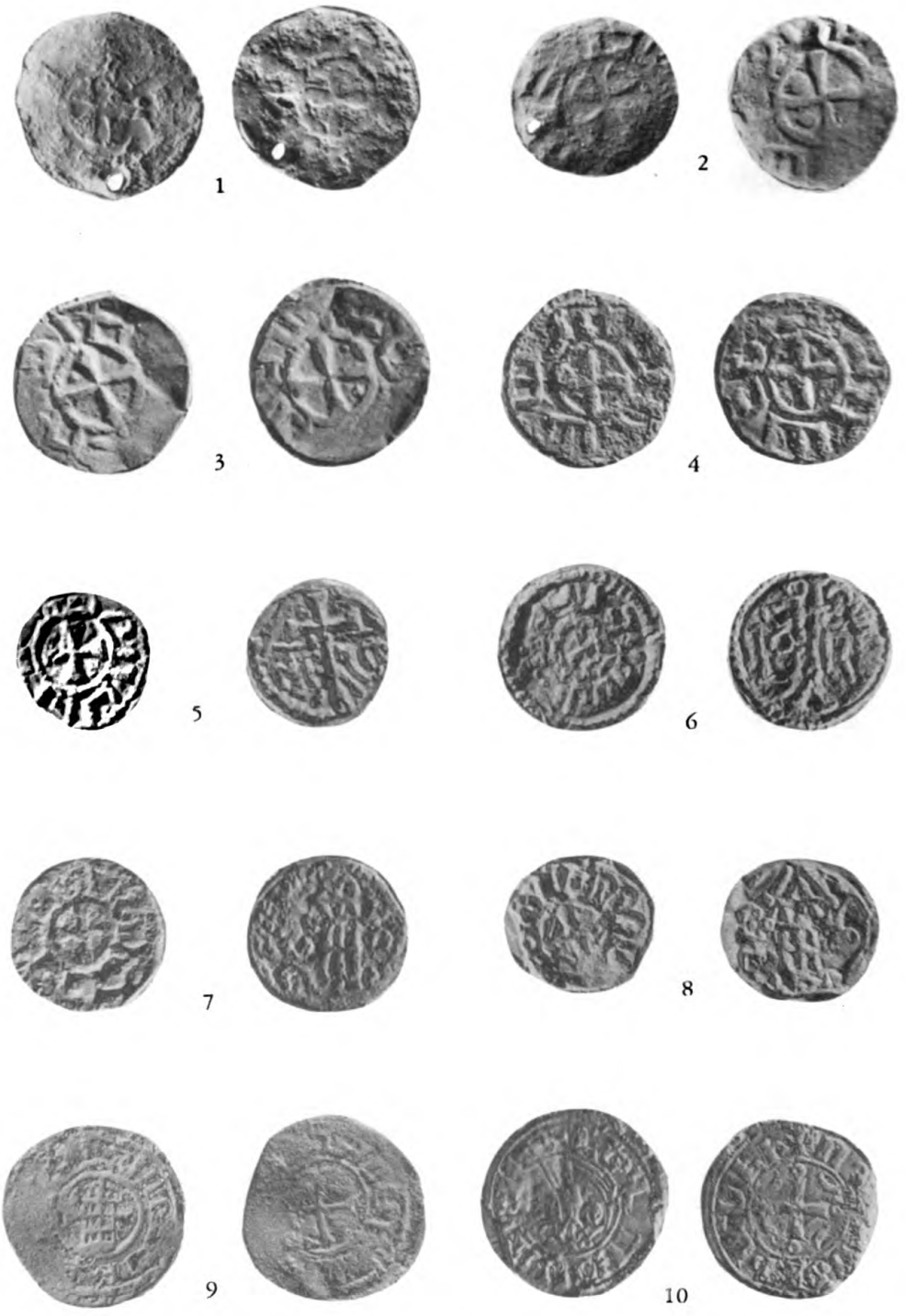
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XLI



BARONIAL PERIOD OF CILICIAN ARMENIA

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DONALD J. ROGASNER COLLECTION

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XLV



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DONALD J. ROGASNER COLLECTION



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UMAYYAD HOARD FROM KHURĀSĀN

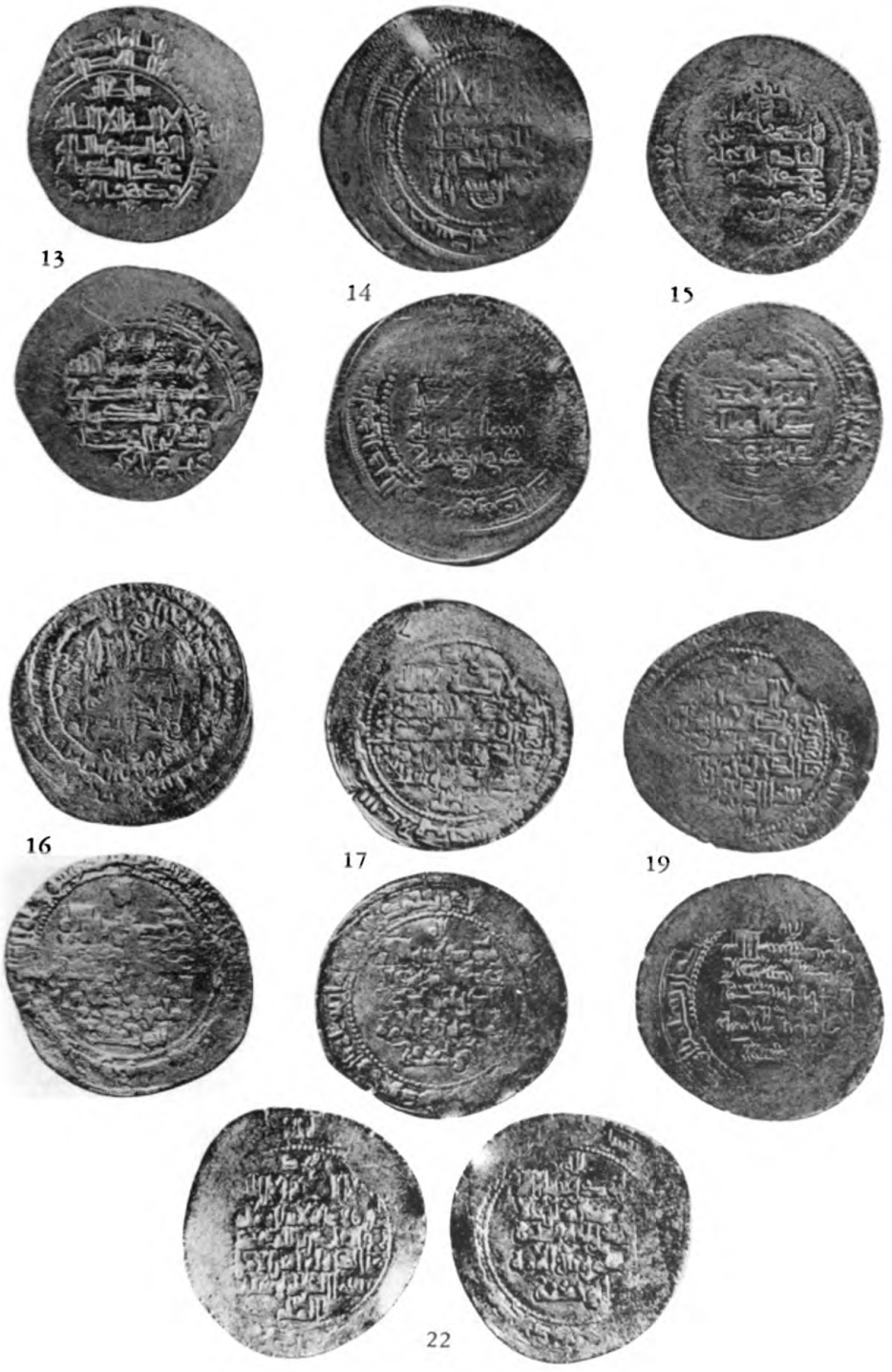
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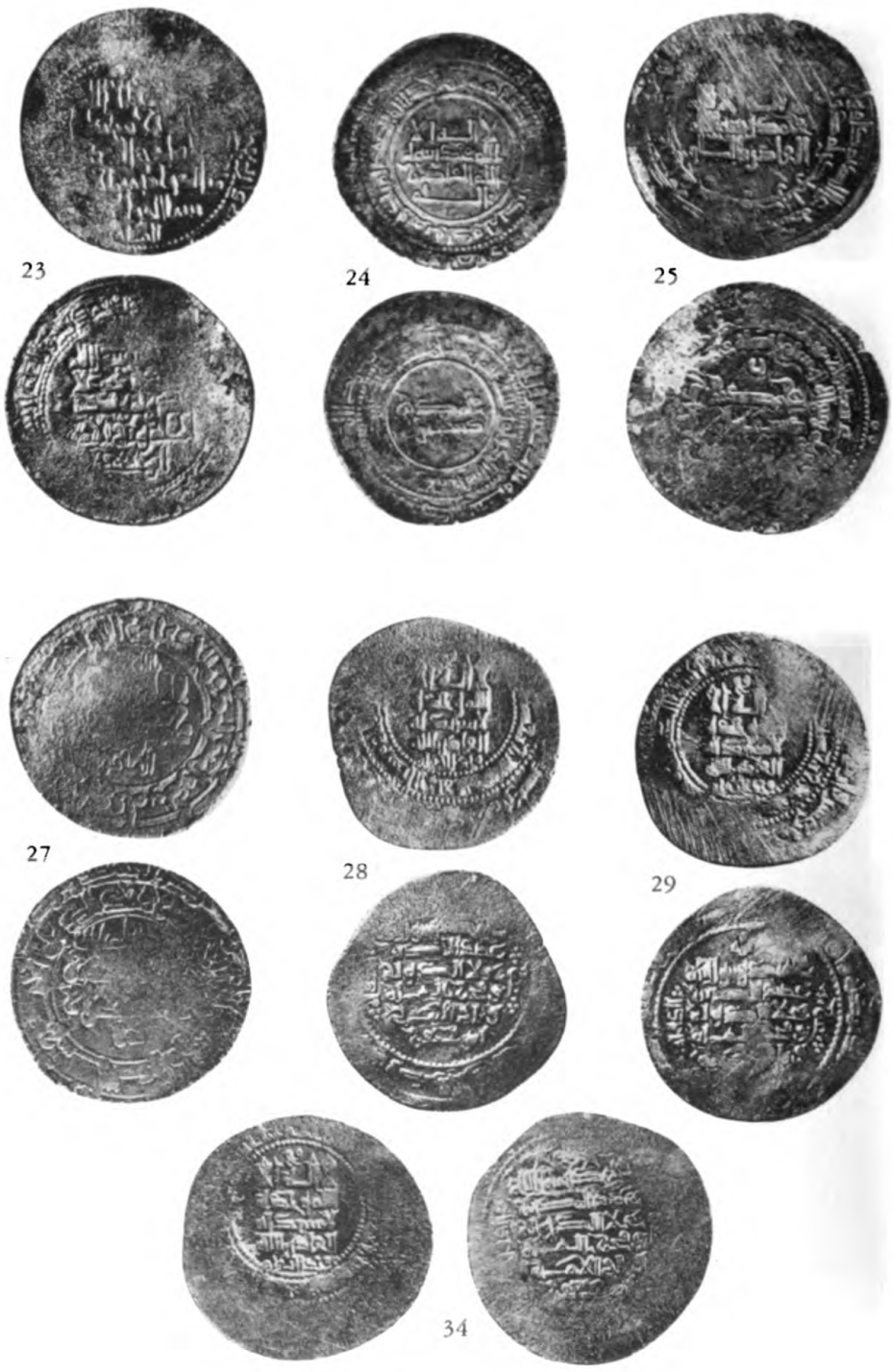
KĀKWAYHID HOARD

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KĀKWAYHID HOARD

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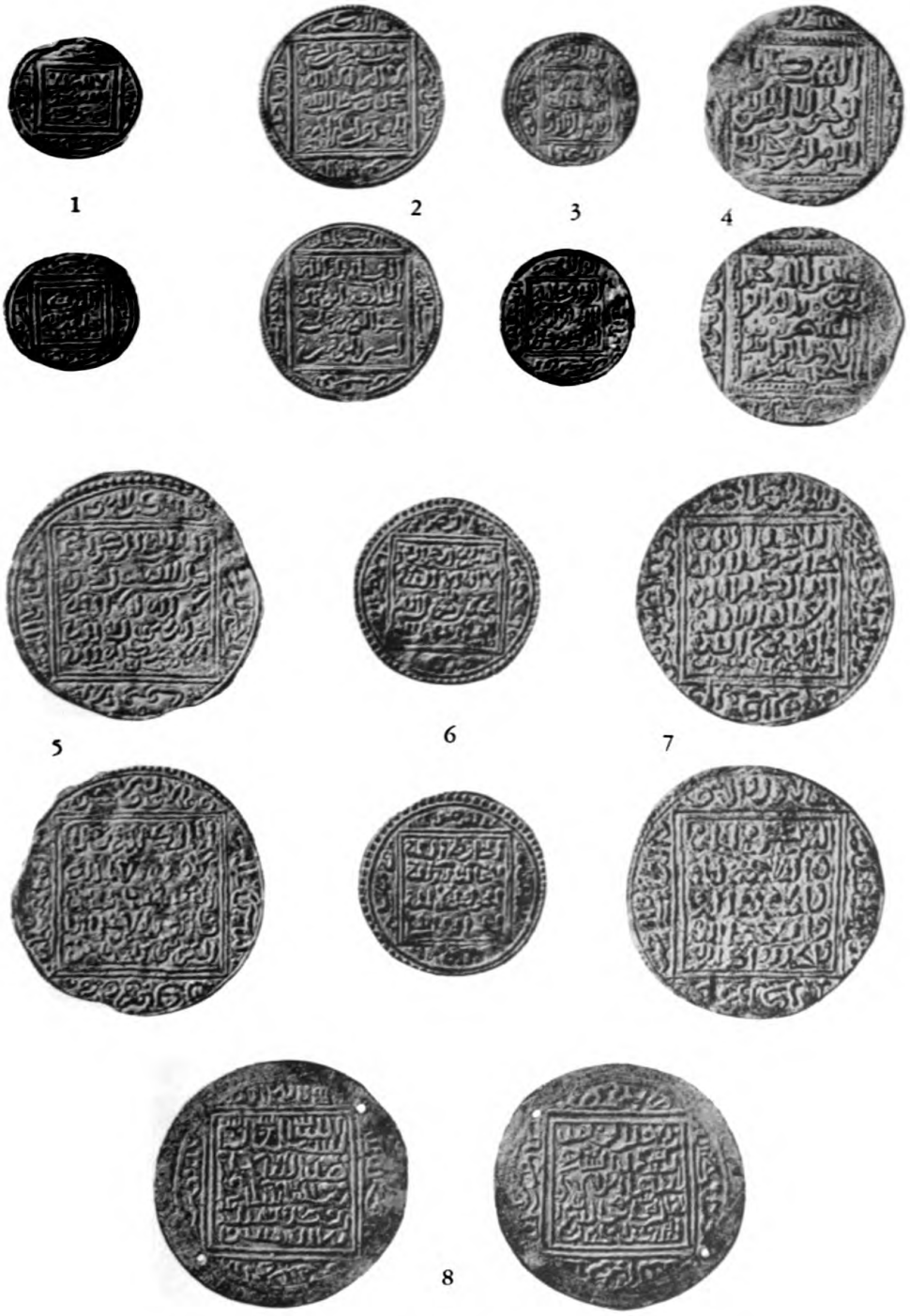
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LATE MEDIAEVAL NORTH AFRICA

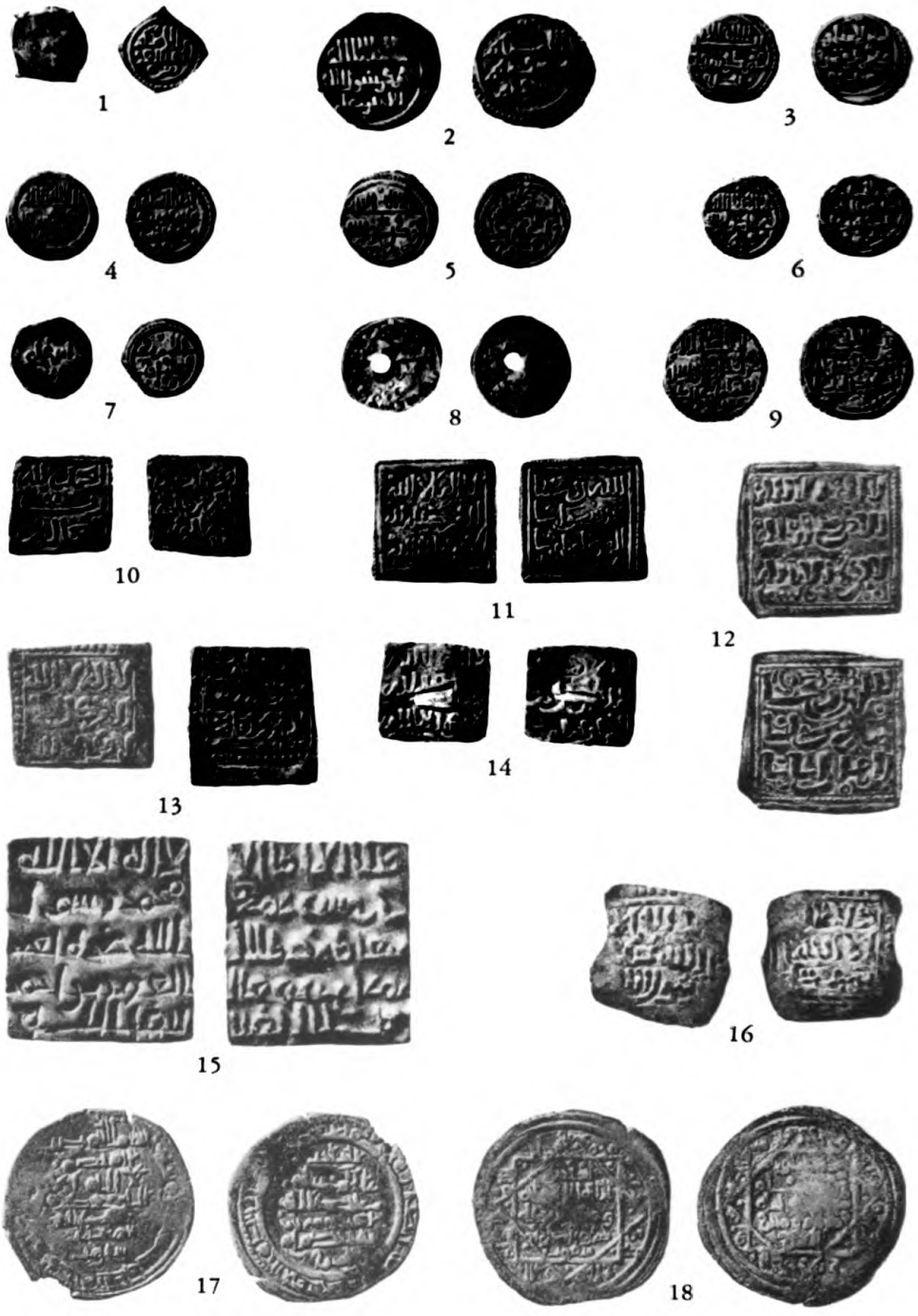
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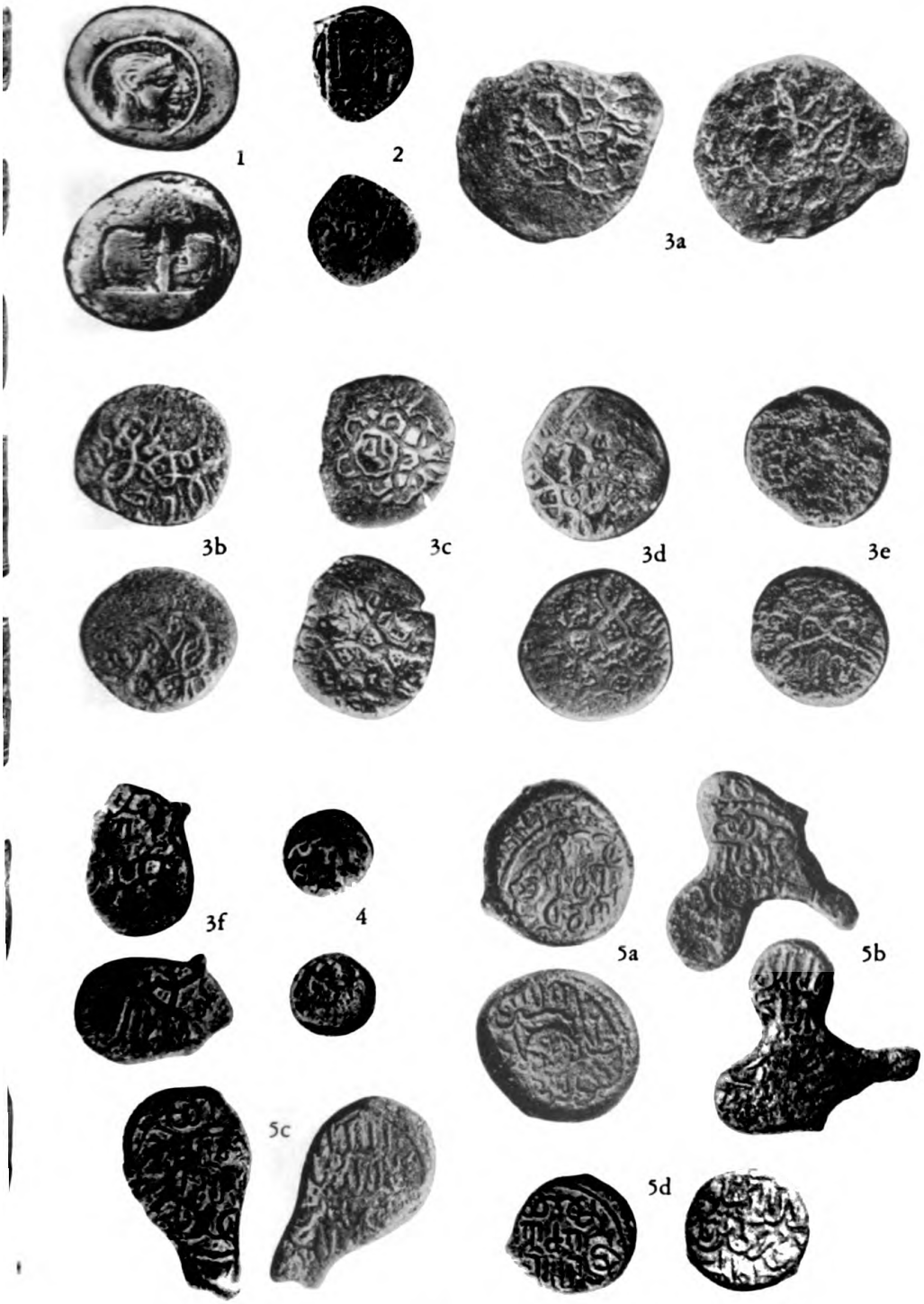
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GEORGIA IN TRANSCAUCASIA

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GEORGIA IN TRANSCAUCASIA

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18a 18b 18c 19



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GEORGIA IN TRANSCAUCASIA

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THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

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THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Founded 1858 Incorporated 1865

BROADWAY BETWEEN 155TH & 156TH STREETS
NEW YORK, N.Y., 10032

PURPOSES: The Society was founded for the collection and preservation of coins, medals, decorations and paper money and for the investigation of their history and other subjects connected therewith.

MEMBERSHIP: Applications for membership are welcomed from all interested in numismatics. Inquiries regarding membership should be addressed to the Secretary of the Society.

DUES: The annual dues for an Associate Membership are $10.00. Issues of the *Notes and Monographs*, *Museum Notes*, *Hispanic Numismatic Series* and *Numismatic Literature* are distributed to all members.

PUBLICATIONS: The *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* consist of separately issued publications, each on a single topic, of which usually several appear each year. *The American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* is a publication, irregular in appearance, consisting of brief notes and papers, principally on items in the Society's collections. *Numismatic Literature*, published twice each year, lists current numismatic publications with abstracts of their content. *Numismatic Studies* is a series accommodating works in a larger format. The *Hispanic Numismatic Series*, published in cooperation with the Hispanic Society of America, consists of publications devoted to the coinage of the Iberian Peninsula, and is based on the collections of the Hispanic Society.

MUSEUM: The Society maintains a museum located in uptown Manhattan, New York City, which houses its offices, collections and library. Collections embrace coins of all periods from their inception to modern times, medals and decorations. Selections from its cabinets are on display in an exhibition. The library, consisting of about 20,000 volumes, covers all branches of numismatics.

The museum is open to Members and the public from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays. In addition, the public exhibition is open on Sundays from 1 to 4 P.M. The museum is closed on Mondays and the following holidays: New Year's Day, Lincoln's Birthday, Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, Independence Day, Election Day, Thanksgiving Day and Christmas Day.

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NEW YORK
1967

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CONTENTS

GREEK

ORESTES H. ZERVOS. The Early Tetradrachms of Ptolemy I 1

VIRGINIA JOYCE HUNTER. A Third Century Hoard from Serbia and its Significance for Celtic History 17

G. K. JENKINS. A Hellenistic Hoard from Mesopotamia 41

JAMES A. DENGATE. The Triobols of Megalopolis 57

ROMAN AND BYZANTINE

BRUCE W. FRIER. Augural Symbolism in Sulla's Invasion of 83 111

JOAN M. FAGERLIE. The First Gold Issue of Anastasius 119

ALFRED R. BELLINGER. Byzantine Notes 123

PHILIP GRIERSON. The Gold and Silver Coinage of Basil II 167

MEDIAEVAL

GEORGE C. MILES. Some Hoards of Crusader Bezants 189

ISLAMIC

GEORGE C. MILES. The Earliest Arab Gold Coinage 205

MODERN

THEODORE V. BUTTREY, JR. Central America Under the Mexican Empire, 1822–1823 231

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THE EARLY TETRADRACHMS OF PTOLEMY I

(PLATES I–IV)

ORESTES H. ZERVOS

This study, based on some 530 coins, casts and photographs available at the American Numismatic Society, represents an attempt to arrange the early tetradrachms of Ptolemy I in chronological sequence on the evidence of die linkage, style and hoards.[1] As will be noted from Charts I and II, which summarize the results of the investigation, the new order differs in some important respects from the earlier studies of Svoronos,[2] Newell[3] and Emmons.[4] Its most significant feature is the chronological overlapping of two distinct

[1] The present article is the result of work done during a seminar in Greek Numismatics offered by Columbia University in the Spring of 1965 and held at the American Numismatic Society under the direction of Miss Margaret Thompson. I take this opportunity to thank Miss Thompson for her guidance in the pursuit of this study.

Sources for the illustrations accompanying this article are as follows: ANS: 1–7, 9–11, 16, 19–21, 22, 24–26; BM: 8 (cast); Svoronos, pl. I, 18, 17, 14, 16: 12, 13, 17, 18; *ANSMN* 9, pl. IV, 4: 14; Hirsch 32 (1912), 593: 15; Münz. u. Med., Nov. 17, 1962, 483: 23.

[2] J. Svoronos, Τὰ νομίσματα τοῦ κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων (Athens, 1904–1908). Svoronos's chronology has, to some extent, been invalidated by later hoard evidence and his arrangement of the issues within a sequence needs revision on the basis of die linkage.

[3] E. T. Newell, *Alexander Hoards II: Demanhur, 1905* (New York, 1923), p. 64.

[4] B. Emmons, "The Overstruck Coinage of Ptolemy I," *ANSMN* 6 (1954), pp. 69–84. Although the reduction of standard of the later tetradrachms of Ptolemy I had been known, we owe to Miss Emmons the discovery that these reduced coins were often overstruck on earlier specimens. This discovery not only provided a valuable check on the relative chronology but also added to the earlier coins a new issue of which traces were visible on one of the overstrikes. Miss Emmon's chronology, however, does not take into account the overlapping of the two earliest series of the coinage. The chronology of the present paper is closer to that of E. T. Newell (*The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes* [London, 1927], p. 40 and n. 52), O. E. Ravel ("Corinthian Hoard of Chiliomodi," *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress, 1936* [London, 1938], p. 105) and G. K. Jenkins ("An Early Ptolemaic Hoard from Phacous," *ANSMN* 9 [1960], p. 35).

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series, a phenomenon first noted by Jenkins,[5] which is explored more fully in the course of this paper.

The coins are arranged in four series (A-D) denoting the distinctive changes in obverse or reverse types. In the beginning (ca. 326 B.C.) the head of Herakles with lion scalp and the seated Zeus Lykaios[6] were used as obverse and reverse types (PLATES I, 1–7, II. 8–11 and Chart II). From about 322 to 316 B.C., these issues seem to have coexisted with those of Series B, which have the new obverse type of the deified Alexander[7] with elephant scalp and horns of Ammon (PLATES II, 12–13, III, 14–18). In the following year (315 B.C.) an aegis with a scaly texture makes its appearance in an isolated issue (Series C, PLATE III, 19) and this rendering continues throughout the extensive Series D, in combination with the new reverse type of Athena Alkidemos[8] (PLATES III, 20, IV, 21–26). No detailed analysis of this last series with its complicated pattern of monograms has been made here; for the period ca. 310–300 B.C. Jenkins' general arrangement of the issues has been adopted on Chart II.

Series A and B are quite similar. The head, with lion or elephant scalp is the standard representation on the obverse. On the reverse, besides the seated Zeus with the eagle perched on his extended hand, there is a symbol under the outstretched arm and letters or a monogram under or between the legs of the throne. The sole exception to this arrangement of the reverse occurs in Issue I (OP) which has no symbol (PLATE I, 1). This issue also has an unusual stylization of the locks under the ear of the obverse. That is, the locks are in the shape of a crescent curving in the same direction as the ear; in their evolved form, a few issues later, they appear as S-shaped. Issue I would seem to have been struck from only one obverse die, judging from its Marriott ratio of 7,[9] and it may be the smallest issue of

[5] *ANSMN* 9, pp. 28–9.

[6] For a discussion of this type of Zeus, see A. R. Bellinger, *Essays on the Coinage of Alexander the Great* (New York, 1963), p. 22.

[7] Bellinger, *Essays*, p. 18.

[8] This reverse type, probably used then on Ptolemy's coinage for the first time, is discussed by Brett, "Athena Alkidemos of Pella," *ANSMN* 4, (1950), pp. 55–72, esp. 60.

[9] Dr. Francis Marriott's statistical analysis has shown that if for a specific issue the ratio of the number of coins preserved to the number of known obverse dies ranges from 6 to 8, then, in all probability, we have a complete

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series A (see Chart I). In view of the unusual features of Issue I, a place at the beginning of Series A seems appropriate.

Issue II (Rose and ΔIO[10] PLATE I, 2, 3) is a large issue, represented by twelve obverse dies, and is surely complete since it has a Marriott ratio of 16. The crescent-shaped locks from the OP issue carry over to the first obverse of the new issue (PLATE I, 2). The two issues are also related by the presence of both forepaws of the lion skin. In the later issues, the paw to the right is either completely eliminated, as in Issue III (PLATE I, 4), or sporadically present (PLATE II, 8, 9).

Of the Khnum- Δ issue, which follows, we seem again to have all of the obverses (eight in number with a Marriott ratio of 8). That these coins come after the Rose issue, as Newell suggests,[11] seems plausible because of their compact and crystallized style. Note that the locks below the lion's jaw are S-shaped as in the later Rose obverses (PLATE I, 3, 4).

The order of the next three issues appears to be Barley, Pegasos and Fulmen (PLATES I, 5, 7, II, 10). The Pegasos links with both Barley and Fulmen and, therefore, must be placed in the middle (see Chart II). The obverse links give no evidence of deteriorating dies so that it is not immediately apparent whether the sequence begins with Barley or Fulmen. Although Newell places the Fulmen first a position at the end seems preferable. The present arrangement cannot be justified in terms of style, which at this time had become crystallized and uniform, but rather depends on the relationship with the coinage of Series B and it will be discussed in connection with that sequence.

Issue A-IX Fulmen and ⋔ PLATE II, 11) is represented by one die, but originally there may have been others.[12] Here, as in Issue A-VI one finds for the first time the use of the fulmen as a standard symbol in different issues, each characterized by its own letters or monograms. Henceforth, the appearance of a fulmen on the coinage becomes a customary practice.

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record of the obverse dies. If, however, the ratio falls to 2 or 3, it becomes very likely that a number of obverse dies are missing from the record. For a summary of Marriott's study, see M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens* (New York, 1961), p. 711.

[10] According to Newell (*Demanhur*, p. 64), there are a few cases where the letters are ΔOI, but this probably would be a diecutter's error.

[11] *Demanhur*, p. 64.

[12] Marriott ratio, 3.

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In Series B (head with elephant scalp, seated Zeus) all reverses have the fulmen symbol with different letters or monograms for different issues (PLATES II, 13, III, 14–18). The sole exception is Issue B-V where the Pegasos is used as symbol (PLATE II, 12). Not without surprise one notices that three of these issues, B-V, B-VI, and B-IX (PLATE II, 12, III, 14, 16) have the same reverse type as issues A-V, A-VI and A-IX (PLATE II, 8, 10, 11) and identical symbols and lettering: Pegasos-  ,[13] Fulmen-  [14] and Fulmen-  . Moreover, as has been noted, Miss Emmons found traces of a new Series A issue in later overstrikes, a coin with —Y on the reverse below the throne.[15] If this is still another case of parallel issues, then the lettering of the original coin will have to be restored as either PY or AY (see Issues VII and XI on Charts I and II). No counterparts in Series A of the Fulmen-OP[16] and Fulmen-PA issues of Series B are known but it would not be surprising if they eventually turned up.

That Series B must overlap another series is suggested by the following tabulation:

Series	*Number of issues*	*Obverse dies*	*Number of specimens*
A	8	46	370
B	7	11	60
C-D[17]	5	33	102

[13] Svoronos (p. 16) dated the Pegasos issue of Series B, as well as that of Series A sometime before 306 B.C. when Ptolemy's occupation of Corinth ended, and attributed the issues to the mint of that city. On the other hand, he assigned Issue B-VIII, with the fulmen and OP, to the mint of Alexandria (p. 5, no. 24). Because the two issues are linked by an obverse die, one can be sure that both originated at the same mint. Besides, as Newell noted (*Demanhur*, p. 162 and n. 58), the Pegasos issue of Series A was included in the Demanhur hoard whose burial (318–317 B.C.) occurred long before Ptolemy extended his influence over Corinth.

[14] This is an unofficial contemporary forgery according to Jenkins (p. 28 and pl. 4, 4; here PLATE III, 14). The dies used, however, were official as the linkage of the coin with the PY issue B–VII indicates (PLATE III, 14, 15).

[15] Emmons, p. 83, No. 2, and her pl. 12, 2; she makes no mention of traces of a symbol.

[16] The possibility that Issue I, with monogram OP, and B–VIII, with Fulmen and OP, are parallel issues is slight since there is no symbol in the former issue.

[17] Only the first section of the Series D coinage is included.

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The comparative size of the Series B coinage is such that, unless an acute financial crisis had arisen in Egypt during the time of the Series B coinage or a large part of it was melted down, we would assume it to have complemented another coinage, here taken as having been the latter part of Series A because of the duplicate symbols and lettering. Newell lists issues II to A-VI as part of the Demanhur hoard, buried about 318–317 B.C.[18] It should also be noted that some coins of Series B are said to have been included in the same hoard;[19] and this would be in agreement with the overlap suggested in the chronological scheme of Chart II. On the premise that Series A and B overlap, it remains to determine the chronological order of the latter sequence.

Stylistically it is perhaps significant that on some fulmen issues of Series B the head tends to fill the flan (PLATE III, 18), a feature which becomes pronounced in Series C and D. Placing the Pegasos issue (B-V) at the beginning with the fulmen issues following gives a smooth transition from Series B into Series C and D which invariably show the eagle on a fulmen.

Two other factors that are also of help in determining the arrangement of the particular issues within Series B are die linkage and the relationship with Series A. The die-linked issues, B-V — B-VIII and B-VI — B-VII (PLATES II, 12, 13; III, 14, 15), as in the case of those of Series A, provide no indication of relative dating. It has been indicated, however, that on the basis of style the Pegasos of Series B should precede the Fulmen-ΔI of the same series. Their respective contemporary issues in Series A should, then, also be placed in that order so that the sequence of linked issues in Series A would be Barley, Pegasos, Fulmen.

The die linkage of Series B presents greater problems. Issue B-VII (Fulmen-PY) follows Issue B-VI (Fulmen-ΔI) but is is difficult to bring Issue B-VIII (Fulmen-OP) into juxtaposition with Issue B-V (Pegasos- 𐤀) with which it shares an obverse die. If issue B-VIII is placed immediately after B-V, then one must assume a minting gap between Issues A-V and A-VI which are also die-linked. If it is

[18] Demanhur, p. 145.
[19] So Newell cites Dattari. Newell included in his list of the hoard only those tetradrachms which he had personally inspected. (*Demanhur*, p. 147).

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placed immediately before B-V, then it becomes contemporary with Issue A-IV which not only has a different symbol but different lettering, Barley and AI. Moreover, such an arrangement would break the orderly sequence of fulmen issues in Series B. Unless one considers Series A and B as products of different mints, which is unlikely,[20] the answer would seem to be that the obverse die of the Pegasos issue was put aside for some reason or other and brought back into use a few years later to strike the Fulmen-OP coinage.

Since it consists of a single issue, Series C is not an actual series (PLATE III, 19). It has been placed by itself because of its transitional character: while the scaly aegis of the obverse, and the eagle on fulmen symbol of the reverse herald Series D, the seated Zeus of the reverse type clearly goes back to the antecedent series. The seated Zeus appears for the last time in Series C, but the eagle on fulmen is a hallmark not only of Series D, but also of the later Ptolemaic coinage.

Die linkage so far observed in Series D occurs only among the reverses and is, hence, of no value in this arrangement of the series. The low Marriott ratios for Issues XIII to XVI indicate that several obverses still may be missing from the record. Until the discovery of a sufficient number of links, the arrangement of the beginning of the series remains tentative. The criteria used for arranging the early issues of Series D are summarized on Chart III where the relative size of each issue has been indicated by a thick vertical line. Early in Series D double letters or monograms appear (Issues XV and XVI; PLATE IV, 23, 27); a departure from the previous practice of using only one set of markings which soon becomes standard procedure.

Another interesting feature of Series D is the Δ signature to the right of the elephant ear, perhaps that of the artist-engraver of the dies, which is first found in Issue XIII (PLATE III, 20). This signature appears throughout the following issue (XIV, PLATE IV, 21) and disappears at the beginning of Issue XV (PLATE IV, 23). After a

[20] Series B is certainly a coinage of Alexandria, as the name of Ptolemy in a few issues of the stylistically and iconographically related Series D shows (see p. 9 below). Svoronos assigns coins of our Series A to the same mint mainly on the basis of the Egyptian symbol of the Khnum, and of the high incidence of discovery of certain issues such as A–VI, with Fulmen – ΔI, on Egyptian soil (Svoronos, pp. νβ′–νγ′ and also Newell, *Demanhur*, p. 144).

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temporary absence from the coinage of Issue XVI (PLATE IV, 24) it reappears sporadically in issues with the ♠ monogram (PLATE IV, 25) either alone or in combination with other monograms. The Δ signature is found in later issues, but at a slightly different location (PLATE IV, 26) or as a countermark on the cheek. The Athena wearing a bracelet and holding a shield with an elaboration rim (these two seem to go together) appears temporarily in issue XIV (PLATE IV, 21). These features reappear in later issues where they become canonical (PLATE IV, 25, 26). The bracelet also appears on a satrapal coin struck at Sidon (monogram ΣΙ and date mark X, PLATE IV, 22) contemporary with Issue XIV and discussed below.

The examination of Series D ends with Issue XVII (ca. 310 B.C.) at which time the reduction of standard occurs.[21] Tetradrachm strikings of the last decade of the century are discussed by Jenkins in his publication of the Phacous Hoard. His classification is based on Brett's evidence for the change of weight standard, which she dates ca. 310 B.C.[22] and on the evidence of the Chiliomodi hoard buried ca. 306 B.C. which contained a few tetradrachms of reduced weight. These coins form Jenkins's Groups (a) to (d). After these he places Groups (e) and (f), on the basis of style. Groups (a)-(f) must, in any case, be dated prior to 305 B.C. because, as Jenkins notes, none of the issues of these groups have corresponding gold issues with Ptolemy's head (these latter being dated after 305 B.C.). Those tetradrachms

[21] Jenkins considers 312 B.C. a more likely date for the reduction of standard; he also suggests that experimentation for this change may have started as early as Issue XIII.

[22] A. Brett, "The Aphlaston Symbol of Naval Victory . . . , "*Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress, 1936* (London, 1938), p. 26. Brett bases her date on the evidence of a tetradrachm similar to those of Series D struck at the mint of Sidon. The coin is dated 312/311 B.C. by the dating mark X, the twenty-second year of the Alexandrian era. This date coincides with Ptolemy's short occupation of the city after his victory at Gaza and his subsequent retreat less than a year later. Brett considers the style of the coin from Sidon to be a trifle earlier than that of the Issue XVII tetradrachms of Attic weight. Another coin of Series D which bears the same monogram but also an *aphlaston*, appears to have been struck on the new reduced standard. The possibility that the *aphlaston* (a symbol of naval victory) commemorated Ptolemy's conquest of Cyprus in 310 B.C., together with the stylistic indications mentioned, induced Brett to date the change of standard about 310 B.C. Emmons rejects this date in favor of 305 B.C. which is also Svoronos's date.

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which go with the gold issues he designates as Group (g) and dates to after 305 B.C. (see Chart II).

The chronological outline of Chart II is based on the assumption of an annual rotation of the magistrates at Alexandria. No specific evidence has been adduced, but in the absence of indications to the contrary, and in the light of the practice at other Greek mints, it is a reasonable assumption.

A check on the chronology is perhaps provided by the reference of Svoronos to a gold coin bearing the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ and marked with Fulmen-ΔΙ combination.[23] The inscription refers to Philip III Arrhidaeus who reigned 323–317 B.C. We may assume that this gold issue was contemporary with the tetradrachm issues A-VI/B-VI which are also characterized by Fulmen-ΔΙ. The date 321 B.C., derived independently for these issues, is comfortably within the termini imposed by the historical evidence.

Our chronology is also in harmony with the evidence of a satrapal tetradrachm struck at Sidon which is dated exactly 312/311 B.C. (PLATE IV, 22; see n. 22). Both obverse and reverse of this coin are stylistically close to that of a specimen of Issue XIV (PLATE IV, 21) and they are probably contemporary issues. The iconography and style of the Sidonian coin is, of course, based on the Alexandrian issues, since Sidon was at that time a vassal city of Ptolemy. What is significant here is that on both coins Athena wears a bracelet. As our coin is among the earliest having a bracelet, it can be dated on the basis of the coin from Sidon no later than 312/311 B.C. Its date of 313 B.C., derived independently, is reasonable.

This preliminary survey of the early silver of Ptolemy I leaves many problems unsolved, notably the relationship between the gold and the silver. For example, the gold with Khnum symbol, like the silver, uses monogram Δ, but the Rose on the gold appears with A, ΔΙ, E or EY but not with ΔΙΟ, the combination found on the tetradrachms. How can these monograms be accommodated? Moreover, unlike the silver, the gold coins occasionally combine the same monogram with a number of different symbols. In the small silver

[23] Svoronos, p. 3, No. 10, and pl. I, 9; but on the gold coin the fulmen is placed horizontally.

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denominations and in the later gold (before 305 B.C.), there seems to be a better correspondence of symbols and monograms with the tetradrachms.

A few comments on the inscriptions are perhaps in order here. The inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ is the one used predominantly in this coinage. Although Bellinger states that the name of Philip Arrhidaeus does not appear at all,[24] this inscription may have been used temporarily.[25] Such deviations from the standard ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ inscription are not unknown, but the brevity of these occurrences is always characteristic. In the Fulmen-PY issue of Series B the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ appears in the exergue with ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ in the usual vertical position to the right of Zeus's spear.[26] On another coin from the same obverse die the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is missing.

A similar occurrence is noted twice in Series D. At the beginning of Issue XIII, on two coins struck from the same obverse, we can see on the reverse of one the ambitious inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ ΓΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ[27] while on the other coin there is merely the cononical ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ[28] All the remaining coins of this large issue have the short inscription. Later in the same series, in Issue XV, an identical obverse die links reverses reading ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ (PLATE IV, 23) and ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ[29]

Can these short-lived inscriptions be interpreted as an economically unsuccessful show of independence and separatism on the part of Ptolemy I? The climate in the years following 323 B.C. increasingly favored such tendencies among the successors ruling their "spear-won" territories. It seems, however, that these manifestations of independence appeared in Egypt long before they did elsewhere in the loosely-held Empire. The reason may perhaps be sought in the nature of the circulation of Ptolemy's coinage. The fact that hoards found outside of Egypt seldom contain early Ptolemaic issues indicates that this coinage remained for the most part on Egypt.[30]

[24] *Essays*, p. 82.
[25] See p. 8 and n. 23, above.
[26] Svoronos, pl. I, 12.
[27] Svoronos, pl. 2, 10–11.
[28] Sotheby 190 (O'Hagan Coll.), No. 761.
[29] Morgenthau 405 (Oct. 5, 1939), No. 818.
[30] It may be, of course, that the known hoards give a somewhat inaccurate

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Ptolemy may have thought that there was little danger in the occasional use of an ambitious inscription on his isolated coinage.

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picture of the true circulation of Ptolemy's coinage. We know that Egypt was not a self-sufficient country and that sizable imports entered the land from Greece, Asia Minor, Syria and Phoenicia (*CAH*, vol. 7 [1928], p. 133). Payment must have been made, in part at least, in metal currency.

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Issue	*Obverse Type*	*Reverse Type*	*Reverse Symbol*	*Reverse Lettering*	*Reverse Inscription*	*No. of Specimens*	*No. of Obv. Dies*	*Marriott Ratio*	*Remarks*
SERIES A									
I	Head with Lion Scalp	Seated Zeus	NONE	OP	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	7	1	7	
II			ROSE	ΔΙΟ		186	12	15^{+}	
III			KHNUM	Δ		64	8	8	
IV			BARLEY	ΑΙ		12	3	4^{+}	Issues IV-V obv. linked. (Combined no. of obv. dies, 5)
A-V			PEGASOS	𐤀		17	5		
A-VI			FULMEN	ΔΙ		80	18	5^{-}	Issues V-VI obv. linked.
A-VII?			?	(P?)Y	[ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ]	1	—	—	Overstrike on Series A coin
A-VIII?	--	—	FULMEN?	(OP?)	—	—	—	—	Postulated issue
A-IX	Head with Lion Scalp	Seated Zeus	FULMEN	𐤄	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	2	1	2	
A-X?	—	—	FULMEN?	(PA?)	—	—	—	—	Postulated issue
A-XI?	Head with Lion Scalp	Seated Zeus	?	(A?)Y	[ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ]	(1)	—	—	Same overstrike as in Issue A-VII

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Chart I

Issue	*Obverse Type*	*Reverse Type*	*Reverse Symbol*	*Reverse Lettering*	*Reverse Inscription*	*No. of Specimens*	*No. of Obv. Dies*	*Marriott Ratio*	*Remarks*
SERIES B									
B-V	Head with Elephant Scalp	Seated Zeus	PEGASOS	Α	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	1	1		
B-VI			FULMEN	Δ Ι		1	2	13	Phacous forgery Issues B-VI–VII obv. linked.
B-VII				ΡΥ	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ or ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ	26			
B-VIII				ΟΡ	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	9	1	10	Combined ratio with Issue B-V
B-IX				Η		20	5	4	
B-X				ΡΑ		2	1	2	
B-XI				ΑΥ		1	1	1	

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CHART I

Issue	*Obverse Type*	*Reverse Type*	*Reverse Symbol*	*Reverse Lettering*	*Reverse Inscription*	*No. of Specimens*	*No. of Obv. Dies*	*Marriott Ratio*	*Remarks*
SERIES C									
XII	Elephant scalp, scaly Aegis	Seated Zeus	EAGLE ON FULMEN	Δ	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	8	2	4	
SERIES D[31]									
XIII	Elephant scalp, scaly Aegis	Fighting Athena	EAGLE ON FULMEN	ΔΙ	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ ΓΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ or ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	32	13	2^+	
XIV				ΕΥ	ΑΔΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	39	14	3^-	
XV				⍋ ΕΥ	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ or ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	19	6	3^+	
XVI				Φ ΕΥ	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	3	1	3	

[31] Only the first few issues of Series D are here tabulated.

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CHART II

SERIES A		SERIES B			SERIES C	SERIES D
Lion	*Scalp/Seated Zeus*	*Elephant Scalp/Seated Zeus*			*Elephant Scalp Scaly Aegis/ Seated Zeus*	*Elephant Scalp, Scaly Aegis/Fighting Athena*
ISSUE						
I	No Symbol-OP			326 B.C.		
II	Rose-ΔIO			325		
III	Khnum-Δ			324		
IV	Barley-AI			323		
A-V	Pegasos-Ⱨ	B-V	Pegasos-Ⱨ	322		
A-VI	Fulmen-ΔI	B-VI	Fulmen-ΔI	321		
A-VII?	Symbol?-(P?)Y	B-VII	Fulmen-PY	320		
A-VIII?	?	B-VIII	Fulmen-OP	319		
A-IX	Fulmen-Ⱨ	B-IX	Fulmen-Ⱨ	318 Demanhur		
A-X?	?	B-X	Fulmen-PA	317 Hoard		
A-XI?	Symbol?-(A?)Y	B-XI	Fulmen-AY	316		
				315	XII Eagle on Fulmen-Δ	
				314		XIII Eagle on Fulmen-ΔI
				313		XIV Eagle on Fulmen-EY

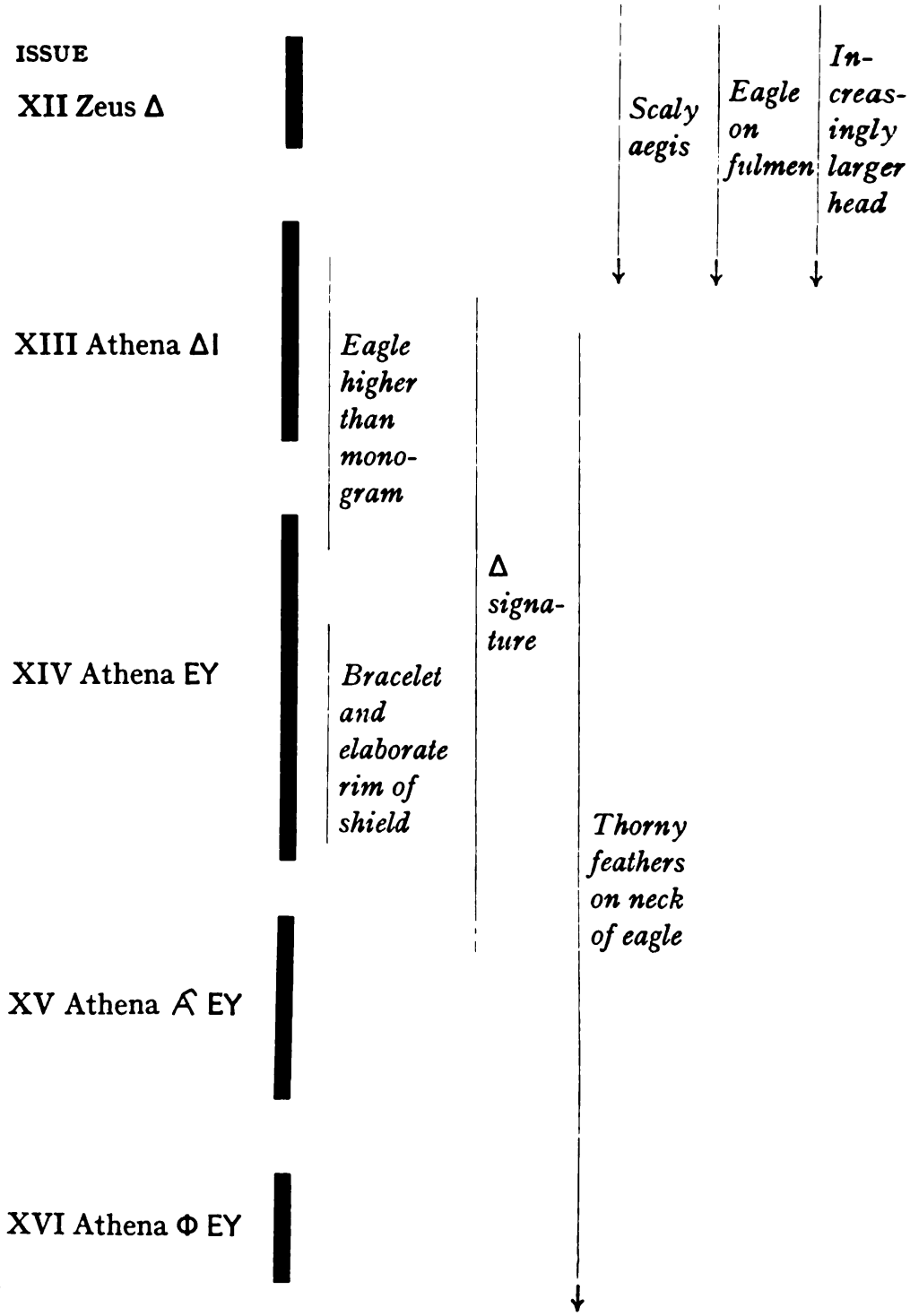
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CHART II

	SERIES A	SERIES B		SERIES C		SERIES D	
Lion	*Scalp/Seated Zeus*	*Elephant Scalp/Seated Zeus*		*Elephant Scalp Scaly Aegis/ Seated Zeus*		*Elephant Scalp, Scaly Aegis/Fighting Athena*	
			312		XV	Eagle on Fulmen- A EY	
			311		XVI	Eagle on Fulmen- Φ EY	
			310		XVII	Eagle on Fulmen- ⏃ (Attic)	
						Eagle on Fulmen- ⏃ (Reduced)	
				Jenkin's Sequence			
			310–305	Chiliomodi		Groups (a)-(d) (Chil. Hd.)	No Gold
				Hoard (36)		Groups (e)-(f)	
			305–300	Phacous and Kuft Hoards (305)		Group (g)	With Gold

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CHART III



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A THIRD CENTURY HOARD FROM SERBIA AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR CELTIC HISTORY[1]

(PLATES V–XII)

VIRGINIA JOYCE HUNTER

In 1951 nine heavy plaster blocks reached the American Numismatic Society from Yugoslavia. Embedded in these blocks were casts of 71 coins,[2] the Belgrade Museum's portion of a hoard unearthed in Serbia in 1924 and subsequently known only as "South Serbian." Other details surrounding the find were lacking.[3] The casts supplemented 36 coins from the same hoard acquired by E. T. Newell from a European dealer in 1926. Among Newell's papers was a note describing the small group as a "find from Zemun," a site located not in South Serbia but rather on the north bank of the Save River just opposite Belgrade. While the source of Newell's information is unknown, it is probably reliable. Indeed, it corroborates two arguments in favour of a northern provenance. First, of the Celtic imitations in which this hoard was particularly rich one type predominated by far: the so-called *Eselsohrtyp* attributed by Karl Pink to Northern Serbia.[4] Secondly, in the late third century (the proposed date of burial of the hoard), Belgrade (then Singidunum) was the centre of a flourishing branch of Celtic civilization — the tribe of the Scordisci. What could be more reasonable than to find a plentiful

[1] The writer wishes to thank Miss Margaret Thompson for her kind assistance and encouragement in the preparation of this paper.

[2] 32 tetradrachms and 39 drachms, all of the Alexander type.

[3] S. P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, 2nd. ed. (New York, 1937), p. 959. The find was first reported by B. Saria in "Numismatischer Bericht aus Jugoslawien," *NZ* 1927, p. 11. The only details he records are "aus Südserbien" and "unbekannten Fundortes."

[4] According to Pink, *Die Münzprägung der Ostkelten und ihrer Nachbarn* (Budapest, 1939), p. 61, at least 88 coins of this type (see below, nos. 96–104) went to Belgrade from this hoard. Although the Society received casts of none, they have been taken into account in the conclusions of this paper.

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deposit of local currency in the immediate vicinity of their capital, possibly their mint? Zemun, then, I accept as the find spot.

Whether because of the worn condition of the coins or because of the method of reproduction, the casts from Belgrade proved extremely difficult to identify. In many cases the monograms and symbols had been partially, or even totally obliterated. Style provided some clues to attribution. Often, when the casts were compared with specimens from the same mint in the ANS collection, precise identification resulted through the discovery of an identical obverse die. In other cases, the coins were so worn that not even mint identification could be made.

The condition of individual coins varies, ranging from extremely worn — even illegible — to fine. Overall, they are poor; further, the majority are marred by the slash of a test punch.

CATALOGUE OF THE COINS

Alexander III of Macedon

Obv.: Head of young Heracles to r.
Rev.: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Zeus aetophor seated to l. on throne. Distinguishing marks as noted. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ as noted.

AMPHIPOLIS

1. Tetradrachm. 318–315
Rev.: In l. field, EAR OF CORN. Beneath throne, Γ.
E. T. Newell, *Reattribution of Certain Tetradrachms of Alexander the Great* (New York, 1912), LIV.

2. Tetradrachm. 318–315
Rev.: In l. field, ACROSTOLIUM. Beneath throne, Γ.
Newell, *Reattribution*, LX.

3. Tetradrachm. 318–297
Rev.: In l. field, Λ, TORCH. Beneath throne, BEE.
G. K. Jenkins, "An Early Ptolemaic Hoard from Phacous," *ANSMN* 9 (1960), p. 19.

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4. Tetradrachm. 318–297
Rev.: In l. field, Λ, TORCH. Beneath throne, STAR.
Jenkins, *ANSMN* 9, p. 19.

5. Tetradrachm. 318–297
Rev.: In l. field, Λ, TORCH. Beneath throne, Δ.
Jenkins, *ANSMN* 9, p. 19.

PELLA

6. Tetradrachm. 277
Rev.: In l. field, HELMET. Beneath throne, Ɛ
In exergue, ⊀⌐.

7. Tetradrachm. 277
Rev.: In l. field, HELMET. Beneath throne, ⋈.
In exergue, ⊀.

8. Tetradrachm. 277
Rev.: In l. field, HELMET. Beneath throne, ⌐.
In exergue, ⊀.

Nos. 6, 7, and 8 are part of a series arranged together in the ANS collection and attributed by Newell to Pella. Their symbol is the Macedonian helmet. ⊀ is the most common monogram in the series (found on 12 of 20 coins). The same magistrate's mark appears also on an early issue of Antigonus Gonatas, an Alexander type struck in his own name (PLATE V, A).[5] Soon after, Gonatas, like the "Successors" before him, adopted a distinctive, personal coinage with Pan-head obverse.[6] Its symbol is the Macedonian helmet. One of the Pan-head series also bears the monogram ⋈ found on no. 7 (PLATE VI, B).

On the basis of these common symbols and monograms I would date the helmet series of Alexanders to ca. 277, being the first coinage struck by Gonatas immediately after his assumption of power. Soon afterward, while the same magistrate was in office, a series

[5] E. T. Newell, *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes* (London, 1927), p. 14, n. 1 has shown that this series of tetradrachms was struck very early in Gonatas' reign.

[6] See Irwin Merker, "The Silver Coinage of Antigonos Gonatas and Antigonos Doson," *ANSMN* 9 (1960) for hoard evidence dating the Pan-head series to Gonatas' reign. In Merker's view it was struck in commemoration of the battle of Lysimachia.

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followed in Gonatas' own name; then came the Pan-heads. Possibly the lesser magistrate ⋈ on no. 7 (Ɛ is the controlling monogram) assumed full authority later and was responsible for the Pan-head bearing that mark.

This sequence corresponds well with historical events. From 294 Macedon had been ruled first by Demetrius Poliorcetes (294–288) and then by Lysimachus (288–281), both of whom issued a personal coinage. After Corupedium, anarchy prevailed and there was a succession of rulers, Ptolemy Ceraunus, Meleager, Antipater, and finally the general Sosthenes. The country was thrown into further disorder by Gallic invasions. In 277, after his defeat of the Gauls, Gonatas was made legitimate king of Macedon; but in the years between 281 and 277 central government broke down completely and probably the mint at Pella struck no coins at all during these four years.

The helmet series in the Alexander tradition would inspire confidence and emphasize the legitimacy of Gonatas' claim to the throne. Once firmly in power he could and did issue his own personal coinage.

SICYON

9. Tetradrachm. 290
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. In l. field, APHLASTON. Beneath throne, Δ Ε.
S. P. Noe, *The Alexander Coinage of Sicyon* (New York, 1950), p. 30.

EUBOEA

10. Drachm. early 3rd cent.
Rev.: In l. field, APLUSTRE.
M. Thompson and A. R. Bellinger, "A Hoard of Alexander Drachms," *YCS* XIV (1955), p. 42, 94.

LAMPSACUS

11. Drachm. 322
Rev.: In l. field, Ƨ. Beneath throne, ⍓.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 32, 3a.

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12. Drachm. 321
Rev.: In l. field, 2. Beneath throne, ⏃.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 13, 9.

13. Drachm. 310
Rev.: In l. field, FOREPART OF PEGASUS. Beneath throne, Ν.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 33, 6e.

14. Drachm. 309
Rev.: In l. field, ΚΙ. Beneath throne, ΜΕ.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 33, 7a.

15. Drachm. 309
Rev.: In l. field, ΚΙ. Beneath throne, Ν.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 33, 7b.

16. Drachm. 309
Rev.: In l. field, ΚΙ (?).
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 13, 15.

ABYDUS

17. Drachm. 310
Rev.: In l. field, Μ. Beneath throne, IVY LEAF.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 34, 19b.

18. Drachm. 300
Rev.: In l. field, FOREPART OF LION, Μ.
Beneath throne, GRIFFIN HEAD.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 34, 25b.

SARDES

19. Drachm. 320
Rev.: In l. field, ΤΙ, BIRD.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 39, 80b.

20. Drachm. 310
Rev.: In l. field, RACE TORCH. Beneath throne, Α.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 27, 14.

21. Tetradrachm. 309–306
Rev.: In l. field, STAR. Beneath throne, Α (?).
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 27, 16.

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22. Drachm. 309–306
Rev.: In l. field, ?. Beneath throne, A.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 27.

TEOS

23. Drachm. 324
Rev.: In l. field, BRANCH.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 18, 1.

COLOPHON

24. Drachm 314
Rev.: In l. field, CRESCENT, LION'S HEAD. Beneath throne, N.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 20, 12.

25. Drachm. 313
Rev.: In l. field, CRESCENT, LION'S HEAD. Beneath throne, Γ.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 36, 39a.

26. Drachm. 313
Rev.: In l. field, Φ. Beneath throne, Γ.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 36, 39c.

27. Drachm. 313
Rev.: In l. field, CRESCENT. Beneath throne, Γ.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 36, 39d.

28. Drachm. 313
Rev.: In l. field, CRESCENT. Beneath throne, ?.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 36, 39.

29. Drachm. 310
Rev.: In l. field, ϰ. Beneath throne, CRESCENT.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 36, 41b.

30. Drachm. 300
Rev.: In l. field, FOREPART OF LION, CRESCENT. Beneath throne, STAR.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 36, 46b.

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MAGNESIA

31–32. Drachms. 307
Rev.: In l. field, Ⓐ E. Beneath throne, Ⓐ.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 23, 24.

33. Drachm. 306
Rev.: In l. field, LION running l. Beneath throne, Ⓐ.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 37, 61.

MILETUS

34. Drachm. 323
Rev.: In l. field, THUNDERBOLT. Beneath throne, ⊕.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 38, 69.

35. Tetradrachm. 295
Rev.: In l. field, ⊠. Beneath throne, BIPENNIS.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 38, 72.

36. Tetradrachm. ca. 290
Rev.: In l. field, ⋔, STAR, LION (head turned back). Beneath throne, ⊕.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 25, 19.

In 294 Demetrius Poliorcetes' control of Miletus was either ended or seriously weakened. The city immediately issued an autonomous coinage with the monogram ⋔. The latter is discussed by Newell and dated to 293.[7] No. 36 of this hoard was struck sometime after 293 when Miletus had added two symbols (lion and star) to the original ⋔. The two series, illustrated by Newell's pl. IV, 23 and our no. 36, show so little difference in style that only a few years can separate them. I would suggest ca. 290 as the date of no. 36.

SIDE

37. Tetradrachm. 326–318
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. In l. field, ΦΙ. Beneath throne, ΛΣ.
E. T. Newell, *Alexander Hoards II: Demanhur, 1905* (New York, 1923), 1969.

[7] *CDP*, pp. 59f.

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TARSUS

38. Tetradrachm. 333–328
Rev.: Beneath throne, B.
Newell, *Demanhur*, 2096.

SALAMIS

39. Tetradrachm. 330–320
Rev.: In l. field, BOW (?).
Newell, *Demanhur*, 2445.

DAMASCUS

40. Tetradrachm. ca. 316–310
Rev.: ΦΙΛΙΓΓΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. In l. field, ΔΑ✱. Beneath throne, I.

In Newell's tray a specimen of no. 40 is labelled "Damascus (?), certainly copy of Aradus." The posture of enthroned Zeus, in the older style with parallel legs, and the inscription ΦΙΛΙΓΓΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ suggest that an early issue was imitated. Between 319 and 316 Aradus did strike such a series in the name of Philip Arridaeus.[8] Not only is the style of the Aradian obverse strikingly similar to that of no. 40, but the same monogram I appears beneath the throne. This was certainly the issue copied. ΔΑ, moreover, was the inscription which appeared at this period on Damascus' own Alexander coinage, which was plentiful as befitted a flourishing commercial centre. The copy was probably made between 316 and 310, scarcely later in view of the coin's worn condition.

ARADUS

41. Tetradrachm 330–319
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. In l. field, Δ (or ΣΩ). Beneath throne, 𐤀.
Newell, *Demanhur*, 3405 or 3427.

42. Tetradrachm. 330–319
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. In l. field, CADUCEUS (?). Beneath throne. 𐤀.
Newell, *Demanhur*, 3467.

[8] E. T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III* (New York, 1941), p. 192.

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43. Tetradrachm. 319–316
Rev.: ΦΙΛΙΓΓΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. In l. field, PROW, ΛΥ. Beneath throne, Ι.
Newell, *WSM*, p. 192.

44. Tetradrachm. 316–301
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. In l. field, ANCHOR, 𐤑. Beneath throne, Α.
Newell, *WSM*, p. 192.

45. Tetradrachm. 250–240
Rev.: In l. field, PALM TREE. Beneath throne, 𐤑. In exergue?
J. Rouvier, "Numismatique des Villes de la Phénicie," *JIAN* III (1900), pp. 70 and 71.

The exergue of no. 45 is completely worn away, making it impossible to date the coin with any certainty. Comparisons made with specimens in the trays of the ANS, both undated (259–240) and dated (240–190), all with palm-tree and 𐤑, failed to turn up any die links. Also, the style of the head and the palm-tree of no. 45 are unlike any of the known specimens. Since, however, the hair has not yet taken on the ray-like appearance characteristic of the later period (ca. 220 and later), I would suggest, on stylistic grounds, a mid-century dating, ca. 250–240. A really firm date must await the discovery of a similar obverse with exergue intact.

MARATHUS

46. Tetradrachm. 316–301
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. In l. field, ANCHOR, 𐤀. Beneath throne, 𐤋.
Newell, *WSM*, p. 194.

BYBLOS

47. Tetradrachm. 320–315
Rev.: In l. field, 𐤑.

A coin struck from the same obverse die as no. 47 was part of the Angora Hoard buried ca. 295. On the basis of its wear, which was considerable (the legend was almost obliterated), this issue can be dated early in the last quarter of the fourth century, ca. 320–315.

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SIDON

48. Tetradrachm. 309–308
Rev.: In l. field, A/M. Beneath throne, ΣΙ.
E. T. Newell, *Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake* (New Haven, 1916), p. 65.

BABYLON

49. Tetradrachm. 329–326
Rev.: In l. field, M. Beneath throne, 𐤊.
Newell, *Demanhur*, 4331.

50. Tetradrachm. 316–306
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. In l. field, ⊛. Beneath throne, MI.
Jenkins, *ANSMN* 9, p. 23.

51. Tetradrachm. 316–306
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. In l. field, MI. Beneath throne, ⊛.
Jenkins, *ANSMN* 9, p. 23.

52. Tetradrachm. 316–306
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. In l. field, ⊛. Beneath throne, 𐤓.
Jenkins, *ANSMN* 9, p. 23.

53. Tetradrachm. 316–306
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. In l. field, ⊛. Beneath throne, 𐤀.
Jenkins, *ANSMN* 9, p. 23.

54. Tetradrachm. 316–306
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. In l. field, MI, BEE (?). Beneath throne, ⊛.
Jenkins, *ANSMN* 9, p. 23.

ECBATANA

55. Tetradrachm. 311–303
Rev.: In l. field, 𐤔, FEEDING HORSE.
E. T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III* (New York, 1938), p. 165.

UNCERTAIN MINTS

56. Tetradrachm.
Rev.: In l. field, BUNCH OF GRAPES, 𐤐.

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57–67. Tetradrachms.
Rev.: Monograms and symbols illegible.
68. Drachm.
Rev.: In l. field, LION'S HEAD (?). Beneath throne, BIPENNIS.
69. Drachm.
Rev.: In l. field, M. Beneath throne, M.
70. Drachm.
Rev.: In l. field ?. Beneath throne, N.
71–82. Drachms.
Rev.: Monograms and symbols illegible.

With the exception of no. 56, all the unidentified coins are plaster casts. The majority are so smooth with wear that their date must be in or close to the fourth century. Several appear to be barbarous but have no distinguishing marks to allow a clear designation as such. None of the group is late enough to affect the proposed date of the hoard.

Demetrius Poliorcetes

Obv.: Diademed and horned head of Demetrius r.
Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ downward l. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ downward r. Poseidon standing l. with trident, resting r. foot on rock.

PELLA

83. Tetradrachm. 289–288
Rev.: In outer l. field, Ɛ. In outer r. field ⊬.
Newell, *CDP* 90.

Lysimachus

Obv.: Horned head of Alexander r.
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ downward r. ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ downward l. Athena l. with shield and Nike in outstretched r. hand.

LAMPSACUS

84. Tetradrachm. 297–281
Rev.: In outer l. field, STAR. In inner l. field, ⊬.

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UNCERTAIN MINTS

85. Tetradrachm. posthumous
Rev.: In inner l. field, ⋉.
86. Tetradrachm. posthumous
Rev.: In inner l. field, ⋈.

From a specimen similar to no. 84 found in the Armenak Hoard buried ca. 280, it can be firmly dated to Lysimachus' lifetime, ca. 297–281.

According to Newell's tentative arrangement of his coin trays, no. 85 is a posthumous striking of Lysimachus attributed to the region of the Propontis between Chalcedon and Cius. In style and fabric (it is thick and has a small flan), it retains the qualities of lifetime issues suggesting an early posthumous date. Since no. 85 is considerably more worn than no. 92, an Attalid tetradrachm of ca. 240–235, it must have been struck about the middle of the century, ca. 260–250.

No. 86 seems to be the latest coin of the hoard and, though circulated, is in excellent condition. While somewhat thin and of wide flan, it does retain the thick fabric characteristic of a third century coin. The Lysimachus type continued into the second century in Byzantium, but the coins are strikingly different from no. 86. In fabric they are extremely thin and of wide flan, and in style degenerate. On some the legend is difficult to read, while others show a heavy Alexander with snake-like hair. The ANS collection contains a group of coins very close to no. 86 in size, fabric, and style. They are third century issues from Byzantium dated ca. 250. Two of them were part of the Büyükçekmece hoard buried ca. 220.[9] Tentatively, then, I would suggest a date ca. 250–225, probably closer to the latter in view of the coin's fresh condition.

Athens

87. Tetradrachm. late 4th or early 3rd cent.
Obv.: Athena head to r.

[9] M. Thompson, "A Countermarked Hoard from Büyükçekmece," *ANSMN* 6 (1957), pp. 11–34.

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Rev.: Owl facing r. In l. field, olive sprig and crescent moon. On right, A Θ E.
J. N. Svoronos, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes* (Munich, 1923–1926), pl. 20.

Seleucus I

Obv.: Head of Zeus laureate r.
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ downward l. ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in exergue.
Athena with shield in outstretched l. holding javelin in r., standing in chariot drawn by two horned elephants r.

SUSA

88. Tetradrachm. 300–298
Rev.: Above shield, SPEARHEAD. To r. of elephants, HELIOS BUST. In exergue, Ⱥ AP.
Newell, *ESM* 307a.

SELEUCIA AD TIGRIM

89. Tetradrachm. 294–293
Rev.: Chariot drawn by four horned elephants r. Above, ANCHOR. Ⱳ, AP off flan in exergue.
Newell, *ESM* 53.

Antiochus I

Obv.: Diademed head of Antiochus r.
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ downward r. ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ downward l. Apollo seated l. on omphalos. In outstretched r. an arrow.

SELEUCIA AD TIGRIM

90. Tetradrachm. 274–270
Rev.: In outer l. field, Ⱥ. In outer r. field, ⱨ
Newell, *ESM* 149.

Eumenes I

Obv.: Diademed head of deified Philetaerus r.
Rev.: ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ r. Athena l. on throne. Rests outstretched right arm on shield in front of her. Left arm encircles spear.

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PERGAMUM

91. Tetradrachm.
Rev.: On throne, A. In inner l. field, IVY LEAF. In outer r. field, BOW.
U. Westermark, *Das Bildnis des Philetairos von Pergamon* (Stockholm, 1961), V.XIII, R. 3a.

Attalus I

Obv.: Diademed head of deified Philetaerus r.
Rev.: ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ l. Athena l. on throne holding wreath with which she garlands name. Spear behind her, shield at l. side.

PERGAMUM

92. Tetradrachm. 240–235
Rev.: In outer l. field, IVY LEAF. In inner l. field, A. In field r., BOW.
Westermark, V.LIII, R.1.b.

Adhering to the original scheme of Imhoof-Blumer,[10] Ulla Westermark attributes this issue to Attalus I. Though she does not give it a precise date within his reign (241–197), from the relative position in her catalogue it is evident she considers it one of Attalus' earliest strikings. A firmer date is possible based on the Homs hoard (Noe, 487) which contained an Attalid tetradrachm similar to no. 92 together with three coins of Antiochus II. Newell dated this hoard ca. 240[11] on the basis of the three Seleucid coins, the latest of which was issued between 256 and 247. It was in excellent condition and scarcely more worn than the Attalid coin found with it. No. 92, then, has a firm date of ca. 240–235.[12]

[10] *Die Münzen der Dynastie von Pergamon* (Berlin, 1884).
[11] Noe, 487 gives ca. 250 but Newell's original record indicated 240.
[12] See D. H. Cox, *A Third Century Hoard of Tetradrachms from Gordion* (U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1953). In describing this hoard, which was buried ca. 205 (see below, n. 26), Miss Cox lists a coin similar to no. 92 (her no. 76). She assigns it to the early years of the reign of Attalus I.

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Barbarous Imitations

Type of Larissa

Obv.: Head of fountain nymph of Larissa facing with flowing locks.

Rev.: Rider l. Behind rider, WREATH. Under horse, TWIG.

93–94. Tetradrachms.

Pink, 226 and 227.

Type of Philip II of Macedon

Obv.: Head of Zeus laureate r. Eyes of three dots.

Rev.: Rider l.

95. Tetradrachm.

Pink, 102.

Obv.: Head of Zeus laureate r.

Rev.: Rider l. Behind rider, WREATH. Under horse, TWIG.

96–104. Tetradrachms.

Pink, 156.

Type of Alexander III

Obv.: Head of young Heracles r.

Rev.: Zeus aetophor seated l. on throne. ΦΙΛΙΓΓΟΥ downward r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in exergue.

105. Tetradrachm.

Rev.: In l. field, ⊛, ⋕. Beneath throne, I.

Pink, 580.

106. Tetradrachm.

Rev.: Blundered Alexander legend. In l. field, BUNCH OF GRAPES. Beneath throne, ⌒⌒.

Nos. 96-104 are copies of the tetradrachm of Philip II, extensively imitated by the Celtic tribes in the Danube area to the north of Macedon. While the obverse is easily recognizable as Zeus laureate, the head is crude and lifeless with hair and beard of stringy lines. The reverse, of even more inferior workmanship, shows a bulky horse set on ill-formed, stick-like legs. The body of the rider, two

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heavy lines, seems to emanate like donkey ears from the horse's head. For this reason, Pink named the group *Eselsohrtyp*. Beneath the horse is a twig, possibly in imitation of certain posthumous coins struck at Amphipolis in Philip's name down to ca. 300. In fabric the coins are thick and dumpy and of a light weight (between 13.13 and 12.70 grams), again like Philip's tetradrachm, which was a light coin on the Phoenician standard.

According to Pink, our hoard contained the largest known find of this type, about 100 examples in all. If Pink's figure is correct, it is of supreme importance to a study of Celtic coinage. It means that one-half the coins from this hoard were local imitations.

Four of this group are in the Society's possession. Five others (purchased privately) were examined by Newell and returned to their owner. The nine accounted for are all from the same obverse die. Moreover, the five specimens seen by Newell had identical reverses. The large number found together and the evidence (even if incomplete) of close die linkage which they furnish should surely indicate that the coins were indigenous to the area in which they were found. Any possibility of undisturbed consignment is excluded by the nature of this currency. It is local, struck to supplement scarce Greek issues. Only in the most unusual circumstances would it stray far from its source. None of the survivors was tested in its own day for silver content. Obviously, their owner knew and trusted the series.[13]

No. 95 is also an imitation of the tetradrachm of Philip II. In style it has a certain individuality which distinguishes it from nos. 96–104, but in general execution is on a par with that group.[14]

Nos. 93 and 94 belong to a group which Pink calls *Apollokopf*,[15] probably in reference to an issue of Amphipolis (424–358) with Apollo facing (PLATE XII, D). The nymph of Larissa, found on a more common Thessalian series ca. 400–344, has also been suggested as a prototype.[16] Stylistically, it is difficult to choose between the two. Both Apollo and the nymph are three-quarter facing with the wide,

[13] Pink, p. 61, attributes this type to Northern Serbia.
[14] Pink, p. 51, attributes this type to South Serbia.
[15] Pink, p. 68.
[16] See R. Forrer, *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donaulande* (Strassburg, 1908), p. 162 and Peter La Baume, *Keltische Münzen* (Braunschweig, 1960), p. 48.

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flat nose, thick lips, and flowing hair crudely represented on nos. 93 and 94. However, a specimen of this Celtic type in the ANS collection has an obverse similar to that of nos. 93 and 94, while its reverse is an excellent imitation of the mounted spearman found on a Larissan didrachm (PLATE XII, E). Quite evidently, this was the type copied. The reverses of nos. 93 and 94 show a rider l. with wreath behind and twig beneath his horse. They are the same as nos. 96–104. The weight of the coins (13.75–12.52) is based on Philip's light tetradrachm, and so is the dumpy fabric. It is, in fact, a kind of composite issue. One explanation is that the moneyer knew and imitated Philip's coinage but preferred a distinctive obverse.

One of this pair is in especially good condition, with little wear even to its finest detail. It is the most recent of the imitations. The provenance of the type is South Rumania along the Danube between Belgrade and Giurgiu.[17]

No. 105 is a direct copy of an early coin from Aradus (319–316).[18] Though barbaric in general appearance, it reveals an amazing faithfulness to the original in detail of hair and features. On the reverse beneath the throne is the same monogram and the legend ΦΙΛΙΓΓΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, only one letter of which is blundered. The barbarian craftsman tried unsuccessfully to duplicate in left field a circle with monogram inset. His monogram is unique, as is the second monogram set below the circle. This must have been a large issue judging from the number of specimens in the ANS collection. No. 105 is the best copy and seems to be based directly on the original.

According to Pink, barbaric tetradrachms of Alexander type are not indigenous to the middle Danube region but to an area further east. The most extensive finds have been made in Bulgaria.[19] Possibly it is a type struck by the Gauls of Tylis who conquered and inhabited Thrace after Lysimachus' death.[20] It is to be noted that no. 105 bears

[17] Pink, p. 66.
[18] Newell, *WSM*, p. 192.
[19] Pink, pp. 116f.; cf. Pink, *Einführung in die Keltische Münzkunde, Arch. Austriaca* 6 (Vienna, 1950), p. 28, where he states, "Dieses umfasst hauptsächlich den Osten, also Bulgarien und Ostrumänien und das Schwarze Meer."
[20] Forrer, pp. 175–177 (fig. 340) illustrates a tetradrachm with the type of Alexander bearing the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΥΑΡΟΥ. Cavarus was king of the Gauls of Tylis during the last quarter of the third century until ca. 193 when they were conquered by the Thracians; see Polybius IV. 46 and 52.

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the mark of a test punch. It was not, perhaps, a coinage known and trusted in the immediate area of its owner.

No. 106 bears the blundered Alexander legend but otherwise is a good imitation of the Alexander tetradrachm. It is probably from the same general area as no. 105 but a somewhat earlier issue, since its condition is considerably more worn. It too bears the mark of a test punch.

There remains one coin which has not been recorded in the catalogue, an extremely wide-flanned issue of Mesembria. Though its obverse bears the usual Alexander type, a young Heracles, the style is florid and so degenerate as to be almost unrecognizable. On the reverse is a crude Zeus aetophor and the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in letters which are somewhat difficult to decipher (PLATE XII, F). In style and size the coin is about 100 years later than the rest of the hoard, and must be regarded as an intrusion. It was among the casts from Yugoslavia and might have been added to the hoard by accident there. Significantly, it bears no punch-mark like the majority of the coins but has a small round hole on one side as if for a chain.

DATE OF BURIAL

The latest accurately datable issue is the tetradrachm of Attalus I struck between 240 and 235. While its condition is good, it is certainly not mint-fresh, and so indicates that the hoard cannot have been buried before 230 and may be as late as 215. The proposed date is ca. 220. A comparison between our no. 36 and a coin from the Büyükçekmece hoard (PLATE VIII, C) buried at approximately the same time provides corroboration for this burial date. Both are issues of Miletus struck ca. 290. Apart from the countermark on no. 44 from Büyükçekmece, the wear on the two coins is identical.

The Celtic imitations have a natural place in this hoard. All are worn. While it is difficult to estimate with accuracy the condition of a barbarous striking, some of the coins, e.g., the *Eselsohrtyp*, show a great deal of wear and may predate considerably the latest Greek issues. The latter seem to be contemporaneous with the fresher imitations. It is quite evident that there is no gap between the Greek coins and the imitations but, rather, a natural sequence.

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Celtic Coinage

For the numismatist the significance of this hoard rests in its rare combination of Greek and Celtic coins. Similar finds have been reported before, but none has been systematically studied. Based on the date 220, a chronology can be established which seriously challenges previous theories concerning Celtic coinage. According to Karl Pink the East Celts began to strike coins only after the battle of Pydna, ca. 150 B.C.[21] Pink bases his date on metrology and style, not on hoard evidence. His reconstruction may be summarized as follows.

The silver tetradrachm of Philip II proved so popular with the Celtic tribes to the north that until 168 Macedon continued to strike it posthumously for use in commercial relations with her barbarian neighbours and for the payment of mercenaries. The main mint was Amphipolis. Only after Pydna, when Macedonian coinage ceased, did this special issue (*Auslandsgeld*) come to an end. As soon as the scarcity began to be felt, the East Celts were forced to strike coins of their own. Their model was naturally Philip's silver tetradrachm, with which they were most familiar. The imitations can be dated relatively by their deterioration in style, the earliest being very close to the original. The approximate dates at which individual types were begun are ca. 110–90 for the nymph of Larissa and the *Eselsohrtyp* and ca. 120–100 for the tetradrachm with the types of Alexander.[22] Altogether, independent Celtic coinage lasted about 100 years until it came under Roman influence.

Generally, the historian has accepted Pink's chronology[23] although a few have had doubts, among them M. Rostovtzeff[24] and more

[21] *Einführung*, pp. 6 and 29.
[22] *Münzprägung*, pp. 121–125.
[23] Including H. Hubert, *Les Celtes depuis l'Époque de la Tène et la Civilisation Celtique* (Paris, 1932); Jan Filip, *Celtic Civilisation and its Heritage* (Prague, 1960); and La Baume's *Keltische Münzen*.
[24] *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford, 1941), III, p. 1510, n. 30, where Rostovtzeff expresses his conviction that the "posthumous silver tetradrachms of Philip II ceased to be coined after the beginning of the third century B.C., and that it was at this time that the East Celtic and Thracian imitations of them began" and further that "I consulted Dr. E. T. Newell, who has informed me that while posthumous gold Philippi were coined by

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recently J. Moreau.[25] On the basis of this hoard at least three distinct types of East Celtic coins can be dated before 220; some can be dated a number of years earlier, judging from the amount of wear and also from their style which has not yet degenerated drastically from the original.

The Gordion hoard which was buried ca. 205 also contained a number of Celtic imitations, all of the Alexander type.[26] Although Miss Cox did not comment on the chronological discrepancy, she did express some amazement at their eastern appearance and preferred to assign the coins to the Galatians in Asia Minor. The present hoard from Serbia contradicts this attribution. If it is typical, the majority of Alexanders circulating in the Danube area were from Eastern mints. How the imitations found at Gordion reached Asia Minor is not known, but there seems no reason to doubt that they are East Celtic. Possibly they originated in Tylis like our no. 105, which was a direct copy of an Aradian coin. At any rate, the Gauls of Asia Minor did not imitate coins with the type of Alexander. Their prototypes were coins of Tarcanus of Tarsus (380–360) and Euthydemus I of Bactria (222–187).[27] This earlier hoard evidence from Gordion serves to corroborate our own findings.

Since "Philippi" from Amphipolis ceased ca. 300, a probable date for the beginning of an independent Celtic coinage is about a quarter of a century later. To judge from our hoard, by 220 it was already the predominant local currency.

A brief glance at the summary reveals that two-thirds of the identified tetradrachms were issued before 300. If the drachms are taken into consideration, the preponderance of well-circulated coins is truly striking. A second point immediately obvious is the mint distribution, particularly of the older coins. Almost half of the tetradrachms are from eastern mints including five from Aradus, six from

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some Greek cities as late as the second century B.C., the issue of silver tetradrachms came to an end after the reign of Cassander. It is natural, he thinks, that the barbaric imitations of these coins should have begun in the Balkan peninsula as soon as their issue was suspended in Macedonia."

[25] *Die Welt der Kelten* (Stuttgart, 1958), p. 96.

[26] *TCHT*, see especially p. 7. The date of burial given as ca. 210 in *TCHT* has been revised to ca. 205, Cox, *ANSMN* 12 (1966), p. 51.

[27] Forrer, pp. 238–240.

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Babylon, two from Seleucia, and one each from Susa and Ecbatana. Fifteen of this group were issued before 300, most of the others in the first quarter of the third century.

SUMMARY OF MINTS REPRESENTED BY THE TETRADRACHMS[28]

	Type of Alexander ca. 333–300	after 300	*Autonomous Issues* ca. 310–225
Amphipolis	5		
Pella		3	1
Sicyon		1	
Athens			1
Lampsacus			1
Pergamum			2
Sardes	1		
Miletus		2	
Side	1		
Tarsus	1		
Salamis	1		
Uncertain			2
Damascus	1		
Aradus	4	1	
Marathus	1		
Byblos	1		
Sidon	1		
Seleucia			2
Babylon	6		
Ecbatana	1		
Susa			1
TOTAL	24	7	10

[28] The drachms have not been included in the summary for two reasons. They are all early (before 290) and, with a single exception, are issues from one area only – Asia Minor. Thompson and Bellinger, p. 6, point out that there were certain Anatolian mints which provided small silver for all parts of the empire and their issues are to be found in any hoard of Alexander drachms, no matter where buried. Thus, only the tetradrachms are a real indication of mint distribution.

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	Macedonia and Greece	*Asia Minor*	*The East*
Before ca. 300	6	4	15
After ca. 300	5	7	4
TOTAL	11	11	19

Celtic History

Archaeological evidence shows that the Celts, or Gauls as they were generally called, first began to occupy the Danube valley about the end of the fifth century, gradually spreading south and east through the Balkans as far as Thrace and Dacia during the next two centuries.[29] The earliest ancient author to mention the Celts is Xenophon, who refers to them as mercenaries of Dionysius I of Sicily.[30] In 335 Alexander crossed the Danube in order to assert Macedon's authority in the Balkans. During his campaign a delegation of Celts visited him seeking friendship.[31] Again in 324/3, on entering Babylon, he was greeted by envoys from the Celts.[32]

Whatever agreements were concluded then were short-lived. After Alexander's death, relations between Macedon and its northern neighbours deteriorated and barbarian invasions were constant. In Thrace Lysimachus held them in check for a time but with his death in 281 a really large expedition was set in motion. Descending in three divisions the Gauls created chaos in Macedon. Spurred on by their successes the major part proceeded through Thessaly under the leadership of Brennus. Winning the pass of Thermopylae they continued on to Delphi, where they were repulsed by the Aetolians.[33] What remained of their army returned north. Part overran Thrace and set up the kingdom of Tylis, which extracted tribute from its neighbours until its demise in 193;[34] a second group returned to the general region whence they had come and established a centre at the junction of the Save and the Danube near Mt. Scordus from which

[29] Moreau, p. 35 and V. Parvan, *Dacia* (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 111f.
[30] *Hellenica* VII.1.20.
[31] Strabo VII.3.8 and Arrian, *Anabasis* I.4.6.
[32] Arrian, *Anabasis* VII. 15.4.
[33] Pausanias I. 4 and X. 19–23.
[34] Polybius IV. 46.

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they derived their name, the Scordisci.[35] Although Gallic invasions and migrations as far east as Asia Minor continued throughout the third century, the Scordisci seem to have found a permanent home. Its capital was Singidunum — present-day Belgrade. For well over a century their civilization flourished, being especially noted for its metalwork.[36]

Throughout their entire history the Celts served as mercenaries without discrimination. In his work on Hellenistic mercenaries Griffiths states that along with the Thracians the Gauls were the most generally employed of barbarian mercenaries.[37]

The following is a reconstruction of events based on the evidence of our hoard. The early drachms and tetradrachms were originally paid to Celtic mercenaries serving partly under Alexander and later under his successors. Their service seems to have been mainly in the East. After their campaigns many returned with their fortunes to their homes in the Balkans. Whether some of them also participated in the Gallic invasions of Greece in 280 is not known. Possibly whole tribes moved south in migration as was common among barbarian peoples.[38] One group, the Scordisci, later returned to the Danube area. While it is possible that they brought back some coined money with them as plunder, a scarcity of fresh coinage would ultimately be felt. Supplies from Macedon through trade were cut off during these decades of hostility. Not long after their arrival, perhaps about 270, the Scordisci began to strike their own coins. They certainly had the skill and also possessed the resources in their territory.[39] The coins they struck were in imitation of Philip's silver tetradrachms which appear to have been the accepted coinage of the area. The *Eselsohrtyp* found in large number at Zemun in the immediate vicinity of their capital Singidunum is the most logical choice as their coinage. This imitation circulated locally together with whatever early Greek issues they still retained.

[35] Justin XXXII.3.7 and Ptolemy III.9.3.
[36] Filip, p. 116 and Parvan, pp. 121–128.
[37] *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World* (Cambridge, 1935), p. 252; see also Hubert, p. 107, "Le service mercenaire était une véritable industrie celtique et qui payait bien."
[38] See W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (Oxford, 1913), p. 143.
[39] Pink, pp. 126–128.

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The most recent coins of the hoard (after 270) are also interesting. They are from Thrace, the Euxine, and Pergamum and seem to indicate that trade relations were in that direction. The Danube was, of course, the most natural avenue of trade. In his study of Dacia, Parvan has described the posts established along its banks by exporters from Rhodes, Cnidos and Thasos. [40] Bringing wine and oil for sale, they monopolized the trade far inland. Their main emporium was Axiopolis. How far west these traders ventured, we do not know. Perhaps the inland peoples, the Scordisci among them, travelled east to exchange commodities. Certainly they had products desired by the Greek world — skins, honey, slaves. Although our hoard seems to be constituted mainly of local currency (imitations and well-worn Alexanders), the few new pieces suggest that commerce was eastward employing the currency of the Euxine and Pergamum.

As to the circumstances of burial, no attempt has been made to speculate about the hoard's former owner and the events which impelled him to conceal his moderate fortune.

[40] Parvan, pp. 94–101.

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A HELLENISTIC HOARD FROM MESOPOTAMIA

(PLATES XIII–XIX)

G. K. JENKINS

"Dunne's Hoard," unearthed in Mesopotamia during the 1914–18 war, had first been shown at the BM in the early 1920's. Later it appeared in the sale room in London, and is very briefly described in the catalogue of Glendining, Aug. 1, 1934, 77–95. Part of the hoard, amounting to thirty-nine pieces, was secured by E. S. G. Robinson and presented by him to the BM. Of the rest, some, including most of the remaining coins of Lysimachus, were subsequently acquired by E. T. Newell. Although it was never possible to secure casts of all of the coins, nor to trace some of them afterwards, the catalogue here presented is made possible because Robinson prepared a list of the essential details of the rest of the coins at the time.[1]

The hoard is unquestionably worthy of record,[2] although it is unlikely that any very new conclusions are now to be drawn from it. Nevertheless it does provide useful confirmation of other evidence in several respects. In general composition, this hoard is similar to a number of other such finds from Anatolia, Syria and Mesopotamia, showing the wide circulation within the Seleucid empire of other coins on the Attic standard — notably in the present case coins of Lysimachus, both of the lifetime and posthumous issues.[3]

[1] Note that the total of the hoard is exactly 100 coins; for this round number compare the Babylon hoard (Noe 116), with the same total. So far as is known, the present hoard was complete; nothing however is known of its precise find-spot or of the circumstances of finding.

[2] Previous mentions of this hoard have been made by J. Allan in *BMQ* X (1936), pp. 127f.; E. T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III* (New York, 1938), p. 67, n. 113; M. Rostovtzeff, "Some remarks on the monetary and commercial policy of the Seleucids and Attalids," *Anatolian Studies Presented to W. H. Buckler*, pp. 277ff. (esp. pp. 285f.); S. P. Noe, *Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1937), no. 681; G. K. Jenkins in *Iraq* XX.2 (1958), p. 162.

[3] For the attributions of the lifetime Lysimachus coins, see Margaret Thompson, "The Mints of Lysimachus," *Essays in Greek Coinage Presented to Stanley Robinson*, pp. 163ff.

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In the *Iraq* article cited above, I stated that the date of burial of this hoard must be before 197 B.C.; but now, in the light of a recent reattribution made by Otto Mørkholm,[4] the latest coin in the hoard (no. 100), if rightly to be placed at Soli in Cilicia, must in fact be after 197 B.C. since it was in that year that Antiochus III gained possession of Soli. The change involved is however not a large one, and we may still confidently put the date of burial quite soon after — say ca. 195/90 B.C. It may be noted that this hardly alters the position relative to the dating of the Pergamene coins in the hoard, none of which was so fresh as the latest Seleucid pieces, and which therefore must all be before the time of Eumenes II, as has recently been established by Ulla Westermark.[5] In fact our hoard confirms other evidence precisely on this point. Another point on which it confirms the showing of other hoards is the matter of the dated Alexanders of Pamphylia, which, whatever the precise dating now to be followed, must clearly be well before the old date of 180 B.C.[6] A few comments are included in the catalogue, but on the whole little discussion seems called for.

CATALOGUE OF THE COINS

Alexander III (lifetime and posthumous)

AMPHIPOLIS

1. Tetradrachm. (BM cast) 16.93 ↑ W. ca. 318
   Rev.: In l. field, DOLPHIN. Beneath throne, Γ.
   E. T. Newell, *Reattribution of Certain Tetradrachms of Alexander the Great* (New York, 1912), LVII.
2. Tetradrachm. (BM cast) plated ↑ W. ca. 318
   Rev.: No symbol or letters (closely similar to no. 1).

LAMPSACUS

3. Drachm (BM cast) ↖ W. 322
   Rev.: In l. field, 2. Beneath throne, Ⱥ.

[4] "Seleucid Coins from Cilicia ca. 220–150 B.C.," *ANSMN* 11 (1964), pp. 58ff.
[5] *Das Bildnis des Philetairos von Pergamon* (Stockholm, 1961).
[6] See Henri Seyrig, "Monnaies hellénistiques," *RN* 1963, pp. 38ff.

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M. Thompson and A. R. Bellinger, "A Hoard of Alexander Drachms," *YCS* XIV (1955), p. 32, 3a.

ABYDUS

4. Drachm. (BM) 4.00 ↗ F. 310
Rev.: In l. field, ᛗ. Beneath throne, I.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 34, 19c.

COLOPHON

5. Drachm. (BM cast) ↑ W. 325
Rev.: In r. field, SPEARHEAD. Beneath throne, BARLEY GRAIN.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 35, 32b.
6. Drachm. (BM cast) ↑ W. 314
Rev.: In l. field, CRESCENT (almost effaced). Beneath throne, N.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 20, 12.
7. Drachm. (BM) 4.19 ↗ F. 313
Rev.: In l. field, ᚴ. Beneath throne, ᚴ.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 20, 13.

MILETUS

8. Drachm. (BM) 3.99 ↗ W. 320
Rev.: In l. field, ᚺ.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 25, 6.

TEOS

9. Drachm. (BM) 4.00 ↑ W. 307
Rev.: In l. field, ᛏ.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 18, 13.

SARDES

10. Drachm. (BM cast) ↑ W. 319
Rev.: In l. field, TORCH. Beneath throne, A.
Thompson-Bellinger, p. 27, 13.

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SALAMIS

11. Drachm. (BM cast) ↖ W. 330–320
Rev.: In l. field, BOW.
E. T. Newell, *Alexander Hoards II: Demanhur, 1905* (New York, 1923), 2436–89.

UNCERTAIN MINT

12. Drachm. (BM cast) ↑ W. ca. 325–300
Uncertain details.

IONIA, UNCERTAIN MINT

13. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.90 ↑ F. late third century
Rev.: In l. field, 𐤑.

MYTILENE

14. Tetradrachm. (BM cast) 16.86 ↑ F. late third century
Rev.: In l. field, 𐤐 over LYRE.

ASPENDUS

15. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.87 ↑ V. G. 213/12
Rev.: In l. field, ΑΣ over ⊙.

On the era of Aspendus and other mints in this area, see now Seyrig, *RN* 1963, pp. 38ff. (era dating from 221 B.C.).

Lysimachus (lifetime and posthumous)

PELLA

16. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.87 ↙ W. 286–281
Rev.: Inner l. field, 𐤓.
SNG Copenhagen, 1121 (same obv. die?).

CASSANDREIA

17. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.81 ↑ W. 286–281
Rev.: Inner l. field, 𐤕. Outer r. field, 𐤐.

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Same obv. die as *SNG Copenhagen*, 1131 and two specimens in the BM, all with different rev. monograms. The piece is doubtless Macedonian in any case, whether or not it is to be assigned to Cassandreia, since the style is related to that of Amphipolis, e.g., Nav. 5, 1715.

AENUS

18. Tetradrachm (ANS) 16.69 ↖ F. ca. 280–250
Rev.: Inner l. field, HERM ON CHAIR.
The mint identification here seems straightforward; however there exists a variety having both herm on chair and lion's head symbols, the latter being normal for Lysimacheia, e.g, Hirsch 13, 707.

LYSIMACHEIA

19. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.75 ↑ W. 297–281
Rev.: Inner l. field, ⋀. In exergue, LION'S HEAD.
20. Tetradrachm. (ANS) 16.81 ← V. G. 297–281
Rev.: Inner l. field, ⍓. On throne, ⏀.
Though this lacks the lion's head symbol, the attribution is certain since the same monogram on throne also occurs with a lion's head symbol (e.g., *Coll. Jameson*, 1078) and the style is that of this mint.
21. Tetradrachm. (ANS) 17.04 ↓ W. ca. 280–250
Rev.: Inner l. field, LION'S HEAD over ⋀Β. In exergue, ⋵.
Same obv. die as Hamburger, May 27, 1929, 189.
22. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.66 → V. G. ca. 280–250
Rev.: Inner l. field. ⍲ over LION'S HEAD. In exergue, ⍲.
Same obv. die as coin in the BM (Inner l. field, ⍱ over LION'S HEAD. In exergue, Ⓚ.) Both nos. 21 and 22 correspond to Lysimacheia issues which appear in the posthumous section of Newell's trays. The mint seems to have continued striking copiously after the death of Lysimachus until the town was captured by Antiochus II, ca. 250. The later posthumous styles are thus not represented among its coins.

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BYZANTIUM

23. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.86 ↑ W. ca. 250
Rev.: Inner l. field, Δ. On throne, ϑ.

24. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.84 ↑ F. later third century
Rev.: Inner l. field, Ξ. On throne, ϑ.
Same obv. die as *SNG Copenhagen*, 1135; cf. Cox, *TCHT*, 68.

25. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.84 ↑ F. later third century
Rev.: Inner l. field, Α. In exergue, ΠΥ.
It is impossible to say whether the mint signature in fact appeared on this specimen, but it is certainly present on another coin (BM) which shares the same obv. die. The surface of the hoard coin is too battered in the relevant area to make anything visible.

26. Tetradrachm. (ANS) 16.95 ↑ V. G. end of third century
Rev.: Inner l. field, ΑΤ. On throne, BY.

27. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.90 ↑ V. G. end of third century
Rev.: Inner l. field, Η. On throne, BY.
On the Hellenistic series of Byzantium, see now Seyrig's article.[7] On his dating, the autonomous types of Byzantium and Calchedon interrupt the pseudo-Lysimachus series between ca. 235 and 220 B.C. Our nos. 24–27 would then date from the last twenty years of the century. It is to be noted that the later Byzantium series, with trident in exergue, had not, on the evidence of the present hoard, started by 200 B.C. This fact raises a question in regard to the pseudo-Lysimachus stater of Rhodes (e.g., *Coll. de Luynes*, 1812) which has the name of the Rhodian magistrate Aristoboulos. This must be the same man who signed Rhodian tetradrachms not only of autonomous type, but also of Alexander type, both of which must be dated close to 200 B.C. or somewhat earlier. In fact there are also gold staters of Byzantium of the Lysimachus type showing that the trident appears on the gold before it does so on the silver, e.g., *NC* 1925, pl. I, 15, where we have the trident with the name of the mint written ΠΥ. This mint signature was replaced

[7] "Le monnayage Hellenistique de Byzance et Calcedoine," *Essays in Greek Coinage Presented to Stanley Robinson*, pp. 183 ff..

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near the end of the third century by BY on the silver (as nos. 36, 37 of this hoard). On the question of the earlier issues of Lysimachus type at Byzantium, if any, see below, no. 49.

CALCHEDON

28. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.84 ↑ F. ca. 250?
Rev.: Inner l. field, ⊓. In exergue, ⍓ on CORN EAR. On throne, ☊.

29. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.91 ↑ F. later third century
Rev.: Inner l. field, ⍓. In exergue, CORN EAR. On throne, ☊.
The coinage of Calchedon runs closely parallel to that of Byzantium. No. 28 is very similar to no. 23 of Byzantium, and no. 29 to no. 24. The ☊ decoration on the throne is common to both mints. The Calchedon coin, Nav. 6, 896, is surely by the same engraver as our no. 27.

LAMPSACUS

30–1. Tetradrachms. (ANS) 16.82 ↑ F., (BM cast) 16.80 ↓ F. 297–281
Rev.: Inner l. field, RACE TORCH. On throne, Ⓐ.

32. Tetradrachm. (BM cast) 17.00 ↑ F.
Rev.: Inner l. field, ⊢Ρ. In exergue, CRESCENT.
Same obv. die as Nav. 13, 687.

33–4. Tetradrachms. (BM casts) 16.77 ↑ F., 16.68 ↑ F.
Rev.: Inner l. field, ⋈ over CRESCENT.
Both same obv. die as Nav. 5, 1711.

35. Tetradrachm. (ANS) 16.46 ↑ F.
Rev.: Outer l. field, HERM.
Same obv. die as Helbing 70, 561.

36. Tetradrachm. (ANS) 17.02 ↑ F.
Rev.: Outer l. field HERM. Inner l. field, ⋔.
Same obv. die as Nav. 15, 602 (Crescent).

37–8. Tetradrachms. (BM cast) 16.39 ↑ W. (ANS) 16.80 ↗ W.
Rev.: Outer l. field, HERM. Inner l. field, ⍋.
No. 37 same obv. die as *SNG Aberdeen*, pl. XII,118 (with crescent and same monogram).

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On the question of the attribution of the large series to which these specimens belong, we have to bear in mind the fact that there is an issue with the winged horse symbol die-linked to one with crescent and ⛤. This is the only such indication in the series of Lysimachus type; but in the preceding series of the Alexander type, going back as far as 329 B.C., there is a fairly frequent occurrence of the pegasus forepart as a symbol.[8]

CYZICUS

39. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.93 ↑ V. G. ca. 250 or later?
Rev.: Inner l. field, 𐤀. In exergue, TUNNY.
The fresh condition of this specimen argues for a comparatively late date. Another similar piece was in hoard 5 from Susa.[9] The Cyzicus coin in the Gordion hoard (Cox, *TCHT*, 64) appears to be an earlier issue.

CIUS

40. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.62 ↑ W. 288–281
Rev.: Outer l. field, 𐤑. Inner l. field, 𐤌 over 𐤊. In exergue, CLUB.
41. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.21 ↗ F. ca. 280–250
Rev.: Inner l. field, 𐤋. In exergue, BOW.
Same obv. die as Brandis specimen (Canessa, May 22, 1922, 403) with H in l. field and bow case and 𐤀 in exergue, linking no. 41 to nos. 42–4.
42. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.88 ↑ F. ca. 280–250
Obv.: In exergue, 𐤄.
Rev.: Outer l. field, CLUB. Inner l. field, 𐤎. In exergue, BOW CASE and 𐤀.
43. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.82 ↑ F. ca. 280–250
Rev.: Outer l. field, CLUB. Inner l. field, 𐤋. In exergue, BOW CASE and 𐤀.
44. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.71 ↑ F. ca. 280–250
Rev.: Outer l. field, CLUB. Inner l. field, 𐤋. In exergue, BOW CASE and 𐤀.

[8] See Thompson-Bellinger, p. 13.
[9] Le Rider, *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes* (Paris, 1965), no. 632.

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It seems unlikely that the posthumous issues of Cius extend beyond ca. 250 B.C. There was a piece very similar to nos. 43–4 in the Sparta hoard (Noe 1004) which, though dated later by Wace,[10] must have been buried not long after the middle of the third century. Wace's no. 74, identified as of Antiochus III, is really of Antiochus II as *WSM* 1142, and there seems to be nothing in the Sparta hoard which is later.

N.W. ASIA MINOR

45. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.58 ↑ W. before 281?
Rev.: Inner l. field, ⋔.

46. Tetradrachm. (ANS) 16.92 ↑ F. before 281?
Rev.: Inner l. field, ⊠.

47–8. Tetradrachms. (BM) 16.83 ↑ F., (ANS) 16.92 ↗ F. before 281?
Rev.: Inner l. field, BOW CASE.
Both specimens are from the same obv. die.
The group to which these coins belong shows some general similarity to the style of Lampsacus and Cius. In Newell's arrangement the group is placed between Calchedon and Cius, and is included in the "posthumous" series. From the style it might be suggested that these pieces are rather of Lysimachus' lifetime.

ALEXANDRIA TROAS

49. Tetradrachm. (BM cast) 16.50 ↑ W. 297–281
Rev.: Inner l. field, Ⱥ over BEE. In exergue, ⋔.
Probably the same obv. die as Head, *BMGuide* IV.A.16. The group to which this belongs has been summarized by Bellinger[11] and more recently by Margaret Thompson in *Essays to Robinson*. The full reasons for the attribution to Alexandria Troas are perhaps still not altogether clear, and it seems at first sight disturbing that in this group of issues we have several instances of the monogram that has in the past been taken as the mint

[10] A. J. B. Wace, "A Hoard of Hellenistic Coins," *BSA* 1908. The specimen is no. 1, p. 149.
[11] A. R. Bellinger, *Troy, the Coins* (Cincinnati, 1961), pp. 79ff.

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mark of Byzantium. This mark ΓΥ occurs as the initial of the mint both on earlier autonomous coins and on later ones of the Lysimachus type (e.g., those mentioned in connexion with nos. 24 and 25 above). However this apparently attractive equation has been rejected by Zograph[12] and more recently by Seyrig[13] on the ground that Byzantium was a free city in Lysimachus' lifetime. Was it always impossible that a free city might strike coins for a king? It is certainly not likely, and to this may be added the observation that if the above mentioned monogram were that of Byzantium, it would be the only mint monogram to appear as such on coins of Lysimachus' lifetime.[14] It is rather tantalizing that the Troy excavations did not provide more evidence in the form of corresponding bronze coins which might have put the attribution of the silver (and gold) on a firmer basis.

PERGAMUM

50. Tetradrachm. (BM) 17.45 ↑ F. 287–282
Rev.: Inner l. field, STAR (?) or flower over M.
Same obv. die as that of a specimen in the ANS with the same marks plus a herm symbol in the outer l. field. The features of the fairly plentiful group of coins of the Pergamum mint were outlined by Newell.[15]

MAGNESIA ON THE MAEANDER

51. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.93 ↑ W. 297–282
Rev.: Outer l. field, FILLETED TORCH. Inner l. field, ΠΡ.
The connexion with Magnesia is furnished by other specimens where the same marks are accompanied by the maeander pattern; there are specimens of both, sharing the same obv. die, in the BM.

[12] A. Zograph, "The Tooapse Hoard," *NC* 1925, p. 49, n. 37.
[13] "Parion au 3e siècle avant notre ère," *ANSCent. Publ.*, p. 614, n. 53.
[14] Mint initials or monograms are present on the Alexander coinage (such as at Citium, Aradus, Sidon, Damascus) which shows that such indications are not inherently impossible at this period.
[15] *The Pergamene Mint Under Philetaerus* (New York, 1936).

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UNCERTAIN MINTS

52. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.82 ↑ V. G. after 250
Rev.: Inner l. field, A.

53–4. Tetradrachms. (ANS) 16.60 ↑ F., (BM) 16.41 ↑ F. ca. 250
Rev.: No symbols or letters.
Nos. 53 and 54 are from the same obv. die.
There is perhaps a slight resemblance to the posthumous issues of Byzantium (e.g., our no. 23).

Attalus I (241–197 B.C.)

PERGAMUM

55–6. Tetradrachms. ↑ F., ↑ F.
Rev.: Outer l. field, IVY LEAF. Inner l. field, A. In r. field, BOW. Noted by Robinson as BMC 35. Westermark V.XXXVIII–LXIII.

57–8. Tetradrachms. ↑ W., ↑ W.
Rev.: Outer l. field, GRAPES. Inner l. field, A. In r. field, BOW. Noted by Robinson as *BMC* 36. Westermark V.LXIV–LXXXVIII.

59–60. Tetradrachms. ↑ W., ↑ W.
Rev.: No distinguishing marks visible.
Noted by Robinson as "Attalos I or Eumenes II." This is now to be considered as meaning "not later than Attalos I" on Westermark's chronology.

61–2. Tetradrachms. ↑ F., ↑ W.
Rev.: Outer l. field, BEE. Inner l. field, M. In r. field, BOW. Noted by Robinson as *BMC* 43 ("Eumenes II"). Westermark V.CIII:B-R.3–V.CXI.
It is unfortunate that none of the Pergamene specimens were available for casting at the time when Robinson examined the hoard, nor have they proved traceable subsequently. For this reason, the essential details as given here are taken verbatim from Robinson's original list, in order to give some idea of comparative wear in relation to the other coins of the hoard. The variety which is the latest represented in the hoard is shown from a non-hoard coin (PLATE XIX, A).

4*

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Antiochus I (280–261 B.C.)

SELEUCIA-AD-TIGRIM

63. Tetradrachm. ↖ F.
ESM 152
64–8. Tetradrachms. ↗ F., ↓ W., ↑ W., ↓ W., ↑ W.
ESM 155.
69. Tetradrachm. ↘ F.
ESM 157
70. Tetradrachm. 16.88 ↘ W.
ESM 162

Antiochus II (261–246 B.C.)

SELEUCIA-AD-TIGRIM

71. Tetradrachm. ↗ W.
ESM 178
72. Tetradrachm. (BM cast) 16.76 ↖ W.
ESM 188
73–4. Tetradrachms. ↙ W. (BM cast) 16.74 ↓ W.
ESM 189
75. Tetradrachm. (BM cast) 16.83 ↙ W.
ESM 190

ANTIOCH

76. Tetradrachm. ↑ F.
WSM 972
77. Tetradrachm. ← F.
WSM 976

SARDES

78. Tetradrachm. ↑ F.
WSM 1406

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Interregnum (246–244 B.C.)

APAMEA

79–80. Tetradrachms. (BM casts) ↑ F., ↑ F.
WSM 1144
Both from the same obv. die — that of *WSM*, pl. XXXIV, 8.

Antiochus Hierax (246–227 B.C.)

ILIUM

81. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.78 ↑ W.
WSM 1596–7 ("Sigeum")
For the reattribution from Sigeum to Ilium, see Bellinger, *Troy*, pp. 18f.; the question is settled by the occurrence of a distinctive monogram both on the Seleucid silver and on the local bronze.

Seleucus III (226–223 B.C.)

SELEUCIA-AD-TIGRIM

82. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.89 ↑ W.
ESM 217

Antiochus III (223–187 B.C.)

SELEUCIA-AD-TIGRIM

83. Tetradrachm. (BM cast) ↓ W. 220–215
ESM 230
Same obv. die as *ESM*, pl. XVIII, 11 (no. 229).

SUSA

84. Tetradrachm. (BM) 17.07 ↑ F. 220–212
Rev.: In l. field, 𐡀. In r. field, 𐡓.
Cf. *ESM* 388. Another specimen, in Paris, is mentioned by Le Rider, *Suse*, p. 53 and *RN* 1959/60, p. 12, 13 and pl. I.

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SUSA OR MESOPOTAMIA

85. Tetradrachm. (BM) 17.15 ↑ V. G. 212–204
ESM 403 (obv. die A9)

86. Tetradrachm. (BM) 17.13 ↑ F. 212–204
ESM 403A
This coin = *WSM*, pl. II, 23.

87. Tetradrachm. (BM) 17.00 ↑ F. ca. 210–200?
WSM 1682 ("Uncertain")
Nos. 85 and 86 belong to a group attributed by Newell to Susa (*WSM*, p. 372) though he had thought also of Nisibis (*ESM*, p. 148). Le Rider, *Suse*, p. 25, has now considered the problem anew and is in favour of Nisibis. It is not clear however whether he would include *WSM* 1682 in the same category; Newell (*WSM*, p. 372) considered that this issue should go with his "Susa" group *ESM* 403, etc. The date for our no. 87 must be provisional, therefore, but to judge by the style of the portrait it should be approximately right. It is not the oldest version of Antiochus III's portrait and should be well before the end of the reign.

NISIBIS

88. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.82 ↑ W. 209–200
WSM 845
This coin = *WSM*, pl. X, 3.

ANTIOCH

89–91. Tetradrachms. (BM cast) 16.84 ↑ F., (BM) 16.96 ↑ F., (BM cast) 16.91 ↑ F. 223–213
WSM 1044
All three from the same obv. die as *WSM* 1044 (*WSM*, pl. XXVII, 11)

92. Tetradrachm. (BM cast) 16.90 ↑ F.
WSM 1051
Same obv. die as *WSM*, pl. XXVII, 1.

93. Tetradrachm. (BM cast) 16.96 ↑ F.
WSM 1051
Same obv. die as *WSM*, pl. XXVII, 3.

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94. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.96 ↑ V. G. 213–208
WSM 1073

APAMEA

95–96. Tetradrachms. ↑ F., ↑ F. 223–208
WSM 1186

TARSUS

97–98. Tetradrachms. ↑ F., ↑ V. G. ca. 223–213?
WSM 1252 ("Tyre")

99. Tetradrachm. (BM) 17.19 ↑ V. G. ca. 223–213?
WSM 1253 ("Tyre")
Mørkholm's recent reattribution to Tarsus from Tyre is here followed; it seems fully convincing.[16] As a result, our no. 99, which would otherwise have been almost the latest coin in the hoard, can be put back to a date more suited to its portrait.

SOLI

100. Tetradrachm. (BM) 16.83 ↑ V. G. after 197
WSM 1284 ("Coele-Syria")
This coin = *WSM*, pl. XLVII, 3.
Here again Mørkholm's recent reattribution is, provisionally, followed, but in this case with less change of date. Because Antiochus III was not in control of Soli until 197 B.C., this gives a terminus post quem for the coin, which incidentally is the latest in the hoard.

Appendix

The following gives a brief account of the specimens acquired by the BM in 1924 and 1925 from the important Urfa hoard (Noe 1147), which has never been published but which was mentioned briefly by Newell (*ESM*, p. 76 and n. 110). The hoard was, as he there states, "widely dispersed." He mentioned some of the BM specimens as being from the hoard (viz. *ESM* 847, 848, 854, 1228) and also

[16] *ANSMN* 11, pp. 53 ff.

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others (viz. *ESM* 223, 243, 1143). But the lots acquired by the BM were in fact more extensive than that, and therefore it seems worth detailing them here, in order to give a slightly better idea of the hoard's contents. Each lot was acquired from the dealer Edjzadjian of Aleppo.

BM reg. no. 1924.10.18.

N. 159, 190, 260, 392, 393, 393, 394, 396, 398, 831, 847, 862, 976, 1048, 1051, 1235, 1261, 1307, 1406, 1682, 1696 var.

BM reg. no. 1925.1.7.

N. 181, 221, 233, 234, 240, 240, 329 var., 392, 396, 403, 845, 946, 850, 854, 1044, 1049, 1051, 1051, 1053, 1683.

Alexanders: Aspendus, years 24, 25; Perga, years 2, 3, 16, 17, 21, 29, 32; Heraclea Bith. (A) club); Mytilene, as Müller 976.

BM reg. no. 1925.3.3.

N. 1135, 1186, 1228, 1232, 1236.

Also Seleucus III, of uncertain mint; an Antiochus III, early portrait of uncertain mint; Bithynia, Prusias I var. (monogram not in Receuil)

BM reg. no. 1925.5.8.

N. 386, 401, 832, 833, 848, 1266, 1682, 1683.

A summary of the Seleucid coins from the above lots gives the following:

Antiochus I — Seleucia, 1.
Antiochus II — Antioch, 1; Apamea, 1; Tarsus, 1; Sardes, 1.
Seleucus III — Uncertain, 1.
Antiochus III — Seleucia, 6; Susa, 12; Nisibis, 10; Antioch, 7; Laodicea, 4; Apamea, 1; Tarsus, 1.

The latest Seleucid coin was N. 260, Antiochus III of Seleucia, dated by Newell 203–187; but the Alexander of Perga, year 32, should be of 190/89 (Seyrig, *RN* 1963, p. 42, era dating from 221 B.C.). Presumably, therefore, the Urfa hoard was buried at about the same date as the Mesopotamian hoard described above, which forms the pretext for including this appendix.

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THE TRIOBOLS OF MEGALOPOLIS[1]

(PLATES XX-XXVIII)

JAMES A. DENGATE

Megalopolis was founded after 370 B.C. as the capital of a Pan-Arcadian league.[2] The inspiration for the league seems to rest with the Arcadians, but the credit for the location of the capital city belongs to Epameinondas who saw the strategic importance of the site as part of a system of fortresses extending from Messene to Argos in order to enclose Sparta. This fact contributes much to the understanding of Megalopolis' history, for it helps to explain her continued opposition to Sparta. The city was also the meeting place of the Myrioi, the Arcadian popular assembly, although the southern location of Megalopolis with respect to the rest of Arcadia was less convenient for a popular assembly of all the Arcadians than a more central location would have been. Forty villages were completely or partially abandoned to populate the Great City.

The Arcadian league was destined to a short and stormy existence. In 362 B.C. a large section of Arcadia, including Mantineia, deserted the league. The battle of Mantineia, following shortly thereafter, found Arcadians fighting on opposing sides. Many of the constituent villages of Megalopolis took advantage of a clause in the treaty made after the battle to desert the city, but they were compelled to return by the Thebans. All of Arcadia except Megalopolis opposed Macedonia. Megalopolis withstood a siege in the interest of Macedonia, and her losses were repaid by a fine of 120 talents levied on the vanquished cities in 331 B.C.[3] Undoubtedly, it was opposition to Sparta that encouraged Megalopolis to remain an ally of Macedonia, and, as

[1] I wish to express my gratitude to Miss Margaret Thompson whose constant guidance was indispensible for the preparation of this study. Also I want to thank the many curators of coin collections who so kindly provided material for the catalogue.

[2] The early history of Megalopolis and the Arcadian league here derives from the accounts of Pausanius (Bk. 8) and Diodorus (Bk. 15).

[3] Aeschines, *Kata Ktesiphon*, 165.

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Freeman says, "selfish interests may have made the position of a powerful city in close alliance with Macedonia appear preferable to that of a Federal capital of Arcadia."[4]

Scholars once believed that formal dissolution of the league, which in fact had been extinct in everything but name for a long time, was the work of Alexander, who supposedly dissolved all leagues in 324 B.C. This opinion was based upon the evidence in Hyperides' speech against Demosthenes,[5] but it is disproven by Tarn[6] and Aymard[7] who find support in Polybius.[8] Thus it seems probable that the Arcadian league was not formally dissolved but continued to be recognized, if only in name, at Megalopolis. During the period of Macedonian alliance, Megalopolis was ruled by a series of tyrants supported by Macedonia. The last tyrant, Lydiadas, resigned his position and made Megalopolis a member of the Achaian league in 235 B.C.

The assumption by Gardner[9] that the coinage of the league consisted in large measure of an extensive series of triobols with seated Pan type and, in some cases, an A monogram, was a reasonable one in the light of the information available at the time. It has since been challenged on the evidence of hoards. Crosby and Grace published a small hoard from Arcadia[10] containing Arcadian triobols and Achaean league triobols in closely comparable condition. The authors concluded that the two coinages were contemporary and that this use of Arcadian league was a "manifestation of 'national consciousness' " on Megalopolis' part. The late dating of the Arcadian triobols is also supported by the western Greece hoard (Noe 802), published by Margaret Thompson.[11]

One explanation for Megalopolis' failure to produce an extensive coinage during the fourth and third centuries may lie in the fact that she was at that time an important source of mercenaries for other

[4] E. A. Freeman, *A History of Federal Government in Greece and Italy*, 2nd Ed. by J. D. Bury (London, 1893), p. 161.
[5] 1.18–19.
[6] "The Constitutive Act of Demetrius' League of 303," *JHS* 1922, p. 205.
[7] *REA* 1937, pp. 5–28.
[8] 2.41.9.
[9] *BMC Pelop.*, pp. ixff. The coins are dated 363–234 B.C.
[10] *An Achaean League Hoard* (New York, 1936), pp. 6–12.
[11] "A Hoard of Greek Federal Silver," *Hesperia* 1939, pp. 142ff.

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Greek cities and states.[12] If foreign money were available in quantity, there would be little need for an autonomous coinage.

On occasion she did strike. A small issue of silver tetradrachms of Alexander type on the Attic standard dates from the third century.[13] Silver staters struck on the Aeginetan standard were also minted before Megalopolis entered the Achaean league, and some bronze issues were probably produced for local circulation before 235 B.C. These do not appear to have been extensive issues minted at regular intervals but, rather, sporadic coinages.

Megalopolis was an important member of the Achaean league and the home of a number of its generals, including such outstanding figures as Philopoimen, Lycortas, and his son, Polybius. Yet Polybius' history has been taken to support the dating of the so-called Arcadian league coinage to the period before 235 B.C. For Polybius says that the cities of the Peloponnesus under the Achaean league "used the same laws, weights, measures, and coins, and in addition the same magistrates, *bouleutai*, and judges, and almost the whole Peloponnesus only failed of being like one city because its inhabitants did not dwell within a single wall."[14] On the evidence of the surviving coins, this has long been considered an overstatement;[15] it seems that the league

[12] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 7.1.23; see also, G. T. Griffith, *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World* (Cambridge, 1935), p. 135.

[13] Noe, "The Corinth Hoard of 1938," *ANSMN* 10 (1962), p. 40, tentatively dates the Megalopolis Alexanders to the period between the tyrannies of Aristodemos and Lydiades, 251 to 241 B.C. He based these dates on the assumption that Megalopolis was issuing the Arcadian league triobols during the time of the tyrannies. If, however, no triobols were issued that early, the alternative dating, rejected by Noe, seems preferable. These Alexanders were probably issued during the tyranny of Lydiades, 241 to 235 B.C., and this chronology is consistent with the amount of wear shown by the coins in the hoards found at Corinth, Sophikon and Megalopolis. (See Noe's article for bibliographies for these hoards.)

[14] Polybius 2.37.10–11.

[15] *IG* 5.2.345.3.21–22 requires money to be paid [ἐπ' ἀργυρί]ου συμμαχικοῦ δραχμαῖς. That all surviving Achaean league silver coins are triobols and struck for the league in the name of the various constituent cities probably indicates that the inscription is specifying the amount. See Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* (Oxford, 1957), 2.8. An inscription of Dyme, Dittenberger, *SIG*[3] 530, dated there to the third century, condemns a group of men who robbed a temple and coined money of bronze.

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only insisted on the standard of the money.[16] The issuing cities were allowed to place symbols and letters, indicating the minting authority, on their coins, and many important cities continued to strike autonomous coinages after their incorporation into the league. Scholars have long recognized that Megalopolis, too, issued a late autonomous coinage having the Arcadian league type and the inscription ΜΕΓ;[17] but that all her Arcadian triobols were minted after 235 B.C. was a possibility that was never seriously considered because of the existence of an Achaean league coinage of Megalopolis. As we shall see later, this is an argument for rather than against a contemporary autonomous series. Megalopolis' Achaean league coinage was so small that it represents little more than a token expression of her relationship with the league.

Independent evidence for a national awareness among the Arcadians after their incorporation into the Achaean league may be found in reference to "Arcadians" in inscriptions dated to the Achaean league period. A dedication from Magnesia on the Meander, dated 205 B.C., is subscribed by 18 cities introduced as "other Arcadians."[18] The decree concerning the burial of Philopoimen in 183 B.C. also refers to the Arcadians.[19] It is evident that this sense of national identity would have been encouraged by Megalopolis, the capital of Arcadia, and we may assume that her Arcadian type coinage was motivated by a desire to emphasize the Arcadian tradition.

The Catalogue

The coins have been divided into three groups which correspond to changes in type. In chronological order these are: the so-called Arcadian league triobols, the Achaean league triobols attributed to Megalopolis, and the Arcadian type triobols with ΜΕΓ. Further subgroups have been distinguished where significant changes in the symbols or control letters occur. When die breaks are present on

[16] Aymard, *Les Assemblées de la conféderation achaienne*, (Bordeaux, 1938), pp. 167f.; Walbank, *Commentary*, 1. 218–219.
[17] *BMC Pelop.*, p. lxii.
[18] *IG* 5.2 xxv; see Crosby and Grace, *Achaean League Hoard*, p. 8.
[19] *IG* 5.2.432.

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linked examples, these are indicated and the order of the coins in the catalogue attempts to approximate the original order of minting.

An Arabic numeral is employed for each obverse die; the various reverses found in conjunction with it are distinguished by lower case letters. An asterisk before an entry means that the coin is illustrated.

The catalogue does not presume to be exhaustive, but includes only those coins readily available through the resources of the American Numismatic Society and other major collections.

GROUP I. THE SO-CALLED ARCADIAN LEAGUE ISSUES

Head of Zeus Lykaios, l., crowned with laurel wreath. Ⱥ, Pan, sometimes horned, nude, seated l., lagobolon in l. arm, r. arm outstretched; on rock pile, sometimes syrinx or cloak.

Period I. No eagle on knee of Pan. (195–182 B.C.)

Issue 1. On obverse, keraunos; on reverse, NΩ

1.
a. *ANS Newell, 1.49 g. →
b. Ratto (Feb. 8, 1928), 487, 2.76 g. ↓
c. ?Vienna, 2.45 g. ↗ (badly worn)

Issue 2. On obverse, I; on reverse, I

2.
a. Schlesinger (Hermitage 2), 1025, 2.70 g.; Egger 40 (Prowe), 1147, 2.76 g; London, 2.72 g. ↑; *ANS Newell (AE core stamped from AR dies) 2.07 g. ↓
b. Oxford, 2.73 g. →

3.
a. Same reverse die as 2a. Weber Coll. 4266, 2.81 g.; Munich, 2.76 g. ↗; *Berlin, 2.78 g. ↗

4. No I visible on obverse.
a. Same reverse die as 2a. *Glendining (1927), 633, 2.84 g. (die break on reverse)

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5.
a. Cahn 60, 640 = Cahn 65, 185, 2.80 g. (reverse double struck)
b. Naville 5, 2248, 2.80 g.; Cambridge (Grose 6939), 2.75 g. ←
c. Helbing 28, 312, 2.80 g.
d. *ANS Newell, 2.70 g. ↓; Hamburger 98, 799, 2.83 g.
e. Copenhagen (*SNG* 192), 2.83 g. ↑
f. Same reverse die as 2b. Cambridge (Grose 6938), 2.73 g. →

6.
a. Same reverse die as 5b. Cambridge (*SNG* 3854), 2.72 g. →
b. London (*BMC* 173, 53), 2.65 g. ↗
c. Same reverse die as 2b. *Berlin, 2.79 g. ↘
d. Same reverse die as 5e. Vienna, 2.55 g. ↓
e. Same reverse die as 5d. London, 2.38 g. ↖

7. No I visible on obverse.
a. Same reverse die as 5c. *Cambridge (*SNG* 3852), 2.55 g. ←

8.
a. Same reverse die as 6b. ANS Newell, 2.65 g. ←; Cambridge (Grose 6940), 2.74 g. →; Leningrad, 2.70 g. →
b. *Agrinion Hd., 2.76 g. ↑; Glasgow (Macdonald 157, 7), 2.79 g.; London, 2.78 g. ↓
c. Ball 8, 2026, 2.80 g.; Oxford, 2.73 g. ←
d. London (*BMC* 174, 52), 2.79 g.; Noe 802, 144, 2.43 g.
e. Oxford, 2.76 g. ↘

9.
a. Same reverse die as 6b. *Berlin, 2.78 g. ←

10.
a. Same reverse die as 8b. *ANS* Berry, 2.81 g. ↙
b. Same reverse die as 8d. *ANS, 2.74 g. ↘; Jameson 3, 2113 = Feuardent 286, 2.83 g. = Boston MFA (Warren Coll. 948); ANS cast of coin in trade; Platt (March 28, 1933) 583; Cambridge (*SNG* 3855), 2.70 g. ↗
c. Same reverse die as 5d. Hamburger 98, 800, 2.82 g.; London (*BMC* 173, 51), 2.77 g. ↑
d. Berlin, 2.85 g. ↗; 2.77 g. ←; Paris, 2.81 g. ←

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11.
a. Same reverse die as 8b. Helbing (1930) 293, 2.75 g. = Cahn 84, 325; *Olympia Hd. 1

Issue 3. On reverse, X

12.
a. ANS Berry, 2.74 g. ←
b. London (*BMC* 174, 54), 2.71 g. ←; Paris, 2.61 g. →
c. *Berlin, 2.67 g. ↘; Metropolitan Mus. (Ward Coll. 562), 2.68 g.; Hanover, 2.57 g. ←

13.
a. *Vienna, 2.45 g. ↑; 2.30 g. ↓

14.
a. *Vienna, 2.70 g. ↗

Issue 4. On reverse, I

15.
a. Cambridge (Grose 6941), 2.80 g. ↑; *Paris, 2.68 g. ↑

16. ? No I visible on reverse.
a. *Berlin, 2.70 g. ↘

Issue 5. On reverse, H

17.
a. London (Weber Coll. 4265), 2.48 g. ↘
b. Yale = Arcadia '29 Hd. 161, 2.39 g; *Berlin, 2.56 g. ↙
c. Paris, 2.64 g. ↓; Berlin, 2.52 g. ↘
d. London, 2.74 g. ↖
e. Copenhagen (*SNG* 193), 2.61 g.
f. Cambridge, 2.33 g. ↓

Issue 6. On reverse, M

18.
a. Cambridge (*SNG* 3856), 2.66 g. ↓; *Vienna, 2.60 g. ↓
b. Oxford, 2.56 g. →

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19.
a. Same reverse die as 18b. *Glasgow (Macdonald 157, 8), 2.79 g.

20.
a. Same reverse die as 18b. *Paris, 2.27 g. ↙

Issue 7. On reverse, Δ

21.
a. ANS Newell, 2.74 g. ↗
b. *Agrinion Hd., 2.74 g. ↓; Copenhagen (*SNG* 191), 2.83 g. ←; Berlin, 2.68 g. ↑; Paris, 2.55 g. ↗
c. Naville(Pozzi Coll. 1932), 2.72 g.
d. London, 2.70 g. ↘
e. London (*BMC* 173, 50), 2.68 g. ↙

22.
a. Same reverse die as 21b. Cambridge (Grose 6942), 2.72 g. ↓
b. *Oxford, 2.85 g. ↗

23.
a. *ANS, 2.76 g. ↗; Glasgow (Macdonald 157, 5), 2.80 g.

24.
a. Same reverse die as 23a. Vienna, 2.45 g. ↓
b. Glasgow (Macdonald 157, 6), 2.80 g.; Munich, 2.53 g. ↖
c. Hague, 2.69 g. →
d. *Leningrad, 2.69 g. ↑
e. Oxford, 2.76 g. →

25.
a. Same reverse die as 24e. *ANS Newell, 2.72 g. ↑

26.
a. *Agrinion Hd., 2.54 g. ←
b. Naville 17, 508, 2.81 g.
c. Ratto (1927) 1601, 2.72 g.

27. ? No Δ visible on reverse.
a. *Berlin, 2.38 g. ↗

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Period II. Eagle on knee of Pan

A. Miscellaneous letters on reverse. (195–182 B.C.)

Issue 1. Σ|Π/Ι

1.

a. *Agrinion Hd., 2.43 g. →

Issue 2. Κ|Α/Ι

2.

a. London (*BMC* 176, 85), 2.38 g. ↙; Berlin, 2.39 g. ↓
b. *Agrinion Hd., 2.41 g. ←; ANS Newell, 2.38 g. ↖; Cambridge (Grose 6949), 2.17 g. ↓; Berlin, 2.41 g. ←
c. Agrinion Hd., 2.46 g. ←; Noe 802, 215, 2.30 g.

3.

a. *ANS Newell, 2.46 g. ↗; Olympia Hd. 2; Frankfurt, 2.41 g. ↗

Issue 3. Α|Δ

4.

a. Olympia Hd. 5;
b. Agrinion Hd., 3.13 g. ↑; 2.19 g. ↙ (coin broken)
c. *Agrinion Hd., 2.36 g. ←

5.

a. Same reverse die as 4c. *Agrinion Hd., 2.43 g. ↑; 2.27 g. ↖; 2.39 g. ↓ (die breaks on reverses)
b. Agrinion Hd., 2.41 g. ←; Olympia Hd. 4
c. Agrinion Hd., 2.58 g. ↓

Issue 4. Α/|Ξ

6.

a. *Olympia Hd. 3; Munich, 2.32 g. ↙

Issue 5. Π (?)

7.

a. *Olympia Hd. 28

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B. Δ Λ or Δ on reverse. (182–168 B.C.)

Issue 1. A/Ξ

1.
a. *Agrinion Hd., 2.33 g. ←; 2.30 g. ← (both double struck); Glendining (1927) 634, 2.40 g.; London (*BMC* 176, 84) 2.35 g. ↘
b. Agrinion Hd., 2.49 g. ←
c. Agrinion Hd., 2.27 g. ↑; Yale, 2.34 g. ↑
d. Berlin, 2.46 g. ←
e. Copenhagen (*SNG* 194), 2.25 g. ↓

2.
a. Agrinion Hd., 2.37 g. ↓; 2.28 g. ←
b. Agrinion Hd., 2.37 g. ↓
c. Agrinion Hd., 2.33 g. →
d. Same reverse die as 1d. ANS Newell, 2.46 g. ↙
e. Agrinion Hd., 2.34 g. ↓
f. Olympia Hd. 20
g. *Agrinion Hd., 2.34 g. ↑; Stockholm, 2.40 g. ↖
h. Leningrad, 2.24 g. ← (die break on reverse)
i. Agrinion Hd., 2.34 g. ↑
j. Glasgow (MacDonald 158, 10), 2.45 g.

3.
a. Agrinion Hd., 2.35 g. ↑; 2.36 g. →; ANS Newell, 2.42 g. ↗; Munich, 2.34 g. ↗
b. Agrinion Hd., 2.33 g. ←
c. Same reverse die as 2c. Yale = Arcadia '29 Hd. 180, 2.42 g. ↙ (die break on reverse)
d. Agrinion Hd., 2.36 g. →; 2.41 g. ↓; *2.29 g. ↓
e. Agrinion Hd., 2.33 g. ←
f. Agrinion Hd., 2.31 g. ↓
g. Same reverse die as 2g. Agrinion Hd., 2.45 g. ↑ (die break on reverse)
h. ANS Newell, 2.44 g. ↘; Leningrad, 2.41 g. ↑
i. London (*BMC* 188, 9), 2.13 g. →

4.
a. Agrinion Hd., 2.23 g. ↑; ANS Newell, 2.41 g. ↖
b. *Agrinion Hd., 2.26 g. ↑

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c. Paris, 2.41 g. ↑
d. Agrinion Hd., 2.46 g. ↗
e. Agrinion Hd., 2.30 g. ↓
f. Olympia Hd. 18
g. Naville 5, 2251, 2.44 g.; Helbing (1928) 4020, 2.40 g.; Oxford, 2.47 g. ↖
h. Same reverse die as 2 h. Agrinion Hd., 2.38 g. ↓ (die break on reverse)

5.
a. Agrinion Hd., 2.29 g. ↙; 2.25 g. ↖; Vienna, 2.25 g. → (small o punched in reverse)
b. *Agrinion Hd., 2.28 g. ↓

6.
a. Same reverse die as 2 i. *Munich, 2.14 g. ↓

7.
a. *Agrinion Hd., 2.32 g. ↙

8.
a. *Vienna, 2.95 g. ↗

9.
a. *Agrinion Hd., 2.22 g. →
b. Same reverse die as 8 a. Noe 802, 174, 2.35 g. ↗

10.
a. Same reverse die as 9 a. Agrinion Hd., 2.27 g. ←; London (Weber Coll. 4264), 2.42 g.
b. Same reverse die as 8 a. Agrinion Hd., 2.26 g. ↑
c. Agrinion Hd., 2.36 g. ←; Vienna, 2.35 g.↑
d. Agrinion Hd., 2.29 g. →
e. Agrinion Hd., 2.26 g. ←
f. Agrinion Hd., 2.27 g. ↑; Berlin, 2.25 g. ↖ = Caserta Hd. 148
g. Agrinion Hd., 2.44 g. →
h. Agrinion Hd., 2.24 g. →; *2.20 g. ↑ (small o punched by left arm of Pan)
i. Agrinion Hd., 2.32 g. ↓
j. Munich, 2.32 g. ↘

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k. Oxford, 2.15 g. ↗
l. Oxford, 2.34 g. ↙

11.
a. *Rosenberg 72, 505, 2.40 g.

12.
a. *Olympia Hd. 19

13.
a. *Paris, 2.08 g. ↑

14
a. *Olympia Hd. 22

15.
a. *Cambridge (Grose 6946), 2.16 g. ↓ (no Λ visible)

16. See under Issue 2.
a. *Agrinion Hd., 2.35 g. →; John Hopkins (Garrett Coll.), 2.31 g.
b. Agrinion Hd., 2.36 g. → (double struck); Olympia Hd. 30
c. Olympia Hd. 23
d. Noe 802, 198, 2.58 g.

17. See under Issue 2.
a. *ANS Newell = Arcadia '29 Hd. 179, 2.36 g. ↗

18. See under Issue 2. Die breaks on obverse.
a. Agrinion Hd., 2.44 g. ↓; Berlin, 2.40 g. ↙
b. Agrinion Hd., 2.42 g. →; *2.43 g. →; Berlin, 2.29 g. ↗
c. Olympia Hd. 21; London (*BMC* 176, 82), 2.35 g. ↗
d. Naville 7, 1285, 2.46 g. ↗
e. Yale, 2.38 g. →

19. See under Issue 3.
a. Olympia Hd. 16
b. Olympia Hd. 17
c. *Agrinion Hd., 2.26 g. ←
d. Vienna, 1.90 g. ↓

20. See under Issue 3.
a. *Agrinion Hd., 2.24 g. ↑

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21. See under Issue 3.
    a. ANS Newell, 2.16 g. ↖; Brussels (Hirsch 1375), 2.39 g. ↓
    b. ANS Newell, 2.47 g. ↗
    c. Cambridge (*SNG* 3862), 2.15 g. ↓
    d. Cambridge (*SNG* 3863), 2.30 g. ↙
    e. Agrinion Hd., 2.23 g. ←
    f. Agrinion Hd., 2.28 g. ↓
    g. Agrinion Hd., 2.28 g. ↓
    h. *Agrinion Hd., 2.38 g. ↗; ANS Newell, 2.32 g. ↗

Issue 2. Λ|Δ

16. See under Issue 1.
    a. *Olympia Hd. 24; Cambridge (Grose 6947), 2.34 g. ↓

22.
    a. *Berlin, 2.45 g. ↙ (die breaks on reverse)
    b. Brussels (Hirsch 1376), 2.37 g. ↓ (die break on reverse)
    c. Naville 5, 2250, 2.33 g.

17. See under Issue 1. Die breaks on obverse.
    a. Same reverse die as 22b. Agrinion Hd., 2.33 g. ↑ (die breaks on reverse)
    b. Same reverse die as 22a. ANS Newell, 2.37 g. ↓; Agrinion Hd., *2.45 g. ↓; 2.35 g. ↓; ANS Newell, 2.48 g. ↘; Berlin 2.33 g. ↘; 2.40 g. ↘; (die breaks on reverses)
    c. London (*BMC* 176,80) 2.39 g. ↑
    d. Vienna, 1.80 g. ↓

18. See under Issue 1. Die breaks on obverse (from mouth, beard, nose and behind head).
    a. Same reverse die as 22a. Leningrad, 2.17 g. ↑; *Agrinion Hd., 2.26 g. ↑ (die breaks on reverse)

23.
    a. *Noe 802, 213, 2.49 g.

Issue 3. Ƒ|Δ, (Ƒ|Ƒ)

19. See under Issue 1. Die breaks on obverse (back of head).
    a. Noe 802, 161, 2.03 g.

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b. Olympia Hd. 13
c. *Agrinion Hd., 2.27 g. ↑
d. Yale, 2.63 g. ↑
e. London (*BMC* 176, 83), 2.37 g. ↗
f. Oxford, 2.34 g. ↘

20. See under Issue 1. Die breaks on obverse.
a. Agrinion Hd., 2.33 g. ↗; 2.18 g. →; ? (obverse worn) Cambridge (Grose 6950), 2.26 g. ↗ (all double struck)
b. Agrinion Hd., 2.26 g. ↗ (double struck)
c. Same reverse die as 19c. ANS Newell, 2.32 g. ↑
d. *Agrinion Hd., 2.36 g. →
e. Same reverse die as 19e. ANS Newell, 2.42 g. ↑
f. Agrinion Hd., 2.29 g. ↗ (double struck)
g. Agrinion Hd., 2.29 g. →
h. Yale, 2.24 g. ↗
i. Same reverse die as 19f. ANS Newell = Arcadia '29 Hd. 176, 2.45 g. →; Yale, 2.35 g. ↑ = Arcadia '29 Hd. 177
j. Agrinion Hd., 2.29 g. ↗ (double struck)
k. Cambridge (Grose 6948), 2.30 g. ↑
l. ANS cast of coin in trade 1964, 2.41 g. →
m. Oxford, 2.29 g. ↓

21. See under Issue 1. Die breaks on obverse.
a. Same reverse die as 20a. Agrinion Hd., 2.35 g. ←
b. Same reverse die as 20b. *Agrinion Hd., 2.28 g. ←
c. Agrinion Hd., 2.37 g. ←
d. Olympia Hd. 12
e. Agrinion Hd., 2.39 g. ← (die breaks on reverse)
f. London (*BMC* 176, 90) 2.39 g. ↑

24.
a. Same reverse die as 21c. Munich, 2.31 g. ↑
b. Same reverse die as 21e. Agrinion Hd., 2.20 g. ↓; *2.23 g. ↓ (die breaks on reverses)

25.
a. Same reverse die as 21e. *Agrinion Hd., 2.29 g. ←; Berlin, 2.25 g. ↓ = Caserta Hd. 149 (die break on reverses)

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26. See under Issue 4.
    a. ? (obverse badly worn) Same reverse die as 19d. Copenhagen (*SNG* 195), 2.17 g. ←
    b. Same reverse die as 21e. Agrinion Hd., *2.32 g. ←; 2.31 g. ↗; Paris, 2.29 g. ← (die breaks on reverse)

27.
    a. *Olympia Hd. 14

28.
    a. *Olympia Hd. 15

29. See under Issue 4.
    a. Noe 802, 162, 2.26 g.
    b. *Berlin, 2.20 g. ↖ (ΑΡ|ΑΡ on reverse)

Issue 4. A|Δ

26. See under Issue 3. Die breaks on obverse.
    a. Agrinion Hd., 2.25 g. ←; 2.26 ↑; Paris, 2.35 g. ←
    b. *Agrinion Hd., 2.30 g. ↓
    c. Agrinion Hd., 2.32 g. ↑; 2.40 g. →
    d. Agrinion Hd., 2.31 g. ↑; 2.38 g. →; London, 2.51 g. ↙
    e. ANS, 2.08 g. ↘
    f. Agrinion Hd., 2.32 g. ←
    g. Agrinion Hd., 2.29 g. →
    h. Agrinion Hd., 2.37 g. ↓
    i. Agrinion Hd., 2.29 g. ↙
    j. Agrinion Hd., 2.28 g. ←
    k. Olympia Hd. 6; Vienna, 2.35 g. ←
    l. Olympia Hd. 7
    m. Noe 802, 200, 2.49 g.
    n. Agrinion Hd., 2.31 g. ↑
    o. Hanover, 2.32 g. →
    p. ANS Newell, 2.41 g. ↙
    q. Cambridge (*SNG* 3861), 2.33 g. ↘
    r. Leningrad, 2.18 g. ↑
    s. Leningrad, 2.20 g. ←

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t. Leningrad, 2.32 g. ↖
u. Leningrad, 2.13 g. ↑

30.
a. Same reverse die as 26n. *Agrinion Hd., 2.45 g. ↑
b. Agrinion Hd., 2.24 g. ↓; Hague, 2.15 g. ↓
c. Olympia Hd. 10
d. Agrinion Hd., 2.26 ↑

31.
a. *Agrinion Hd., 2.29 g. ↙; Olympia Hd. 11; Glasgow (Macdonald 158, 9), 2.44 g.
b. ANS Newell, 2.33 g. ↘; Stockholm, 2.36 g. ↗
c. Leningrad, 2.45 g. ↖

29. See under Issue 3.
a. Agrinion Hd., 2.27 g. ↖; John Hopkins (Garret Coll.), 2.11 g. (die breaks on reverses)
b. Agrinion Hd., 2.23 g. ↘
c. *Agrinion Hd., 2.28 g. →

32.
a. *Agrinion Hd., 2.39 g. →
b. Agrinion Hd., 2.34 g. ↑

33.
a. *Agrinion Hd., 2.37 g. →
b. ANS Newell, 2.32 g. ↙
c. Agrinion Hd., 2.28 g. ↑; 2.39 g. ↑; Munich, 2.25 g. ↙
d. Same reverse die as 29a. Agrinion Hd., 2.34 g. ↓; 2.26 g. →; Arcadia '29 Hd., 167, 2.44 g. ↑ = Yale
e. Agrinion Hd., 2.40 g. →
f. Agrinion Hd., 2.29 g. ↓; London (*BMC* 176, 79) 2.44 g. ↖
g. Agrinion Hd., 2.34 g. ↓
h. Olympia Hd. 8
i. Olympia Hd. 9; Leningrad, 2.41 g. ↑
j. London (*BMC* 176, 78), 2.18 g. ↘
k. Berlin, 2.34 g. ↗ = Caserta Hd. 147
l. Agrinion Hd., 2.27 ↓
m. Oxford, 2.43 g. ↗

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34.

a. *ANS Newell, 2.12 g. ↗

35.

a. Cambridge (*SNG* 3860), 2.31 g. ↓; Berlin, 2.40 g. ↑
b. Cambridge (*SNG* 3858), 2.45 g. ↙
c. Cambridge (*SNG* 3859), 2.41 g. ↑
d. *ANS Newell, 2.33 g. ↓

Period III. No control marks on reverse. (182–168 B.C.)

1.

a. Agrinion Hd., *2.38 g. →; 2.40 g. ↑; Munich, 2.39 g. ←; Leningrad, 2.45 g. ↘

2.

a. Same reverse die as 1a. Hamburger (1929) 245, 2.32 g.
b. Agrinion Hd., 2.38 g. →; 2.37 g. →; *2.31 g. ↑; ANS Newell, 2.45 g. ↗ (die breaks on reverses)
c. Agrinion Hd., 2.39 g. →; 2.40 g. ←; Olympia Hd. 26; Arcadia '29 Hd. 162, 2.46 g. ↙ = Yale; Paris, 2.44 g. ↗
d. Berlin, 2.56 g. ↘

3.

a. Same reverse die as 2b. Agrinion Hd., 2.36 g. →; 2.40 g. ↓ (obverse off flan); 2.40 g. ← (reverse double struck); 2.43 g. ←; *2.42 g. ↓; 2.41 g. ↑; ANS, 2.39 g. ↓; Ratto (1927), 1598, 2.37 g.; Helbing 70 (1932) 650, 2.40 g.; Cambridge (*SNG* 3857), 2.33 g. ↙; Oxford, 2.38 g. → (die breaks on reverses)
b. Agrinion Hd., 2.35 g. →
c. Agrinion Hd., 2.37 g. →
d. Cambridge (Grose 6945), 2.43 g. →
e. Vienna, 2.30 g. ↗
f. Agrinion Hd., 2.43 g. ↓

4.

a. Same reverse die as 3b. Agrinion Hd., *2.40 g. ↑; 2.39 g. ↓; 2.29 g. ↓; 2.41 g. ↓; ANS Newell, 2.42 g. ↘; Olympia Hd. 29; Vienna, 2.47 g. ←; Berlin, 2.30 g. ↑

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b. Agrinion Hd., 2.43 g. →
c. Agrinion Hd., 2.38 g. ↑; Cambridge (Grose 6940), 2.40 g. →
d. Agrinion Hd., 2.40 g. ↓; Brussels (Hirsch, 1377), 2.22 g. ↗; Berlin, 2.40 g. ↗
e. Cambridge (Grose 6943), 2.35 g. ↙
f. London, 2.30 g. ↗
g. Leningrad, 2.28 g. ↖

5.
a. Same reverse die as 3b. ANS Newell, 2.32 g. →; Agrinion Hd., *2.20 g. ←; 2.35 g. ←; 2.47 g. ↓; Paris, 2.34 g. ↗; London (*BMC* 176, 77), 2.13 g.; Berlin, 2.35 g. ↓

6.
a. *Agrinion Hd., 2.35 g. ↓; Hague, 2.49. ↘
b. Agrinion Hd., 2.44 g. ↑; 2.42 g. ↑; 2.32 g. →; London, 2.31 g. →; Glasgow (Macdonald 157, 9), 2.40 g.
c. Olympia Hd. 25

7.
a. Agrinion Hd., *2.30 g. ↓; 2.41 g. ←; Olympia Hd. 27; London (*BMC* 176, 70), 2.39 g.
b. Agrinion Hd., 2.42 g. →; 2.35 g. ↑; Yale, 2.38 g. ↓; 2.43 g. ↘

GROUP II. THE ACHAEAN LEAGUE ISSUES

Head of Zeus, r., sometimes letter below head.

✖ Achaean league monogram, with symbol and various letters, surrounded by laurel wreath.

Issue 1. Lagobolon. (182–168 B.C.)

1.

K Δ
M

a. Agrinion Hd., *2.40 g. ↓; 2.39 g. ↘; Oreus Hd. 50 (pl. XI 4); Cambridge (Grose 6488), 2.51 g. ←; Noe 802, 407, 2.42 g.; Berlin, 2.39 g. ↙; 2.43 g. ↓; London, 2.43 g. ↗; Clerk 204

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b. Agrinion Hd., 2.40 g. ↘; 2.44 g. ←; 2.44 g. ↑
c. ANS Newell, 1.77 g. ↑; Agrinion Hd., 2.45 g. ↘
d. ANS Newell, 2.46 g. ↖; Yale, 2.48 g. ↓ = Arcadia '29 Hd. 114

Issue 2. Syrinx. (182–168 B.C.)

2.

M
E Λ
B

a. *Agrinion Hd., 2.43 g. ←; Cambridge (*SNG* 3618), 2.33 g. ↗; Clerk 209

B
E Λ
M

b. Agrinion Hd., *2.39 g. ↘; 2.44 g. ↖; Olympia Hd. 2

B
E Λ
M

c. Agrinion Hd., 2.45 g. →; Yale, 2.29 gr. ← = Arcadia '29 Hd.; Berlin, 2.41 g. ↗; Munich, 2.22 g. ←; Paris, 2.49 g. ↙

B
E Λ
M

d. ANS Newell, 2.46 g. →; Agrinion Hd., 2.48 g. ←; 2.42 g. ←; Clerk 206 = London (*BMC* 10, 114), 2.25 g. ←; Berlin, 2.38 g. ↑

B
Λ E
M

e. *Agrinion Hd., 2.39 g. ↗; Clerk, 207 = London (*BMC* 10, 113), 2.39 g. ←; Noe 802, 384, 2.35 g.; Cambridge (Grose 6489), 2.37 g. ↓; Berlin, 2.33 g. ← = ? Caserta Hd. 89

B
Λ E
M

f. ANS Newell, 2.38 g. ↗; Berlin, 2.41 g. ↗

E Λ
M
B

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g. Olympia Hd. 1; Clerk 208 = London (*BMC* 10, 112), 2.39 g. ↘; Noe 802, 387, 2.50 g.; Cambridge (Grose 6490), 2.11 g. ↓; *London, 2.31 g. ↑; Paris, 2.31 g. ↘



h. Olympia Hd. 3; Munich, 2.40 g. ←



i. Olympia Hd. 4; London (Clerk 211), 2.35 g. ↗; Noe 802, 382, 2.44 g.



j. Clerk 210; Noe 802, 386, 2.40 g.; *Munich, 2.37 g. ↓

Issue 3. Keraunos. (167–155 B.C.)

3.



a. ANS Newell, 2.29 g. ↓; Olympia Hd. 6; Agrinion Hd., 2.35 g. ↘; 2.35 g. ↙; Cambridge (*SNG* 3619), 2.50 g. ↓; Glasgow (Macdonald 133, 47), 2.42 g.; Berlin, 2.40 g. ↖



b. Agrinion Hd., *2.44 g. ↘; 2.40 g. ↙; Berlin, 2.33 g. ↑; Munich, 2.44 g. ←; London, 2.24 g. ↑



c. Agrinion Hd., 2.42 g. ↘; 2.44 g. ↓

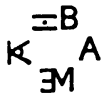


d. Agrinion Hd., 2.43 g. ↓; 2.43 g. ↙

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e. Agrinion Hd., 2.33 g. ↙; 2.37 g. ←; 2.40 g. ↗; 2.44 g. ↗; ANS Newell, 2.45 g. ↘; 2.42 g. ↙; Cambridge (Grose 6585), 2.24 g. ↓; Berlin, 2.35 g. ↓ = Caserta Hd. 94; Munich, 2.51 g. ↓; London, 2.26 g.; 2.42 g. ↓; Oxford, 2.33 g. ↖



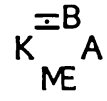
f. Agrinion Hd., 2.37 g. ←; 2.31 g. →; *2.32 g. ↘; Clerk 295 = London (*BMC* 7, 76), 2.46 g. ↘; Noe 802, 404, 2.30 g.; Berlin, 2.41 g. ↑



g. ANS Newell = Arcadia '29 Hd. 113, 2.44 g. ←; Agrinion Hd., *2.47 g. ↑; 2.43 g. ↘; Olympia Hd. 7; Weber Coll. 3994, 2.39 g; Cambridge (*SNG* 3620), 2.46 g. ↓; ANS Newell 2.18 g. ↖

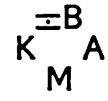


h. Agrinion Hd., 2.13 g. ↗



i. Noe 802, 395, 2.35 g.; Paris, 2.37 g. ↓

j. Olympia Hd. 5; Berlin, 2.43 g. ↙ = Caserta Hd. 94; Berlin, 2.38 g. ↗



k. Arcadia '29 Hd. 111, 2.44 g. ↓ = Yale; Clerk 294; Berlin, 2.17 g. ↘; Paris, 2.35 g. ↑



l. Copenhagen (*SNG* 286, 2.41 g. ↙)

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Issue 4. Syrinx (Bl on obverse).[20] (167–155 B.C.)

4.



a. *Agrinion Hd., 2.41 g. ↘; Olympia Hd. 12; Yale, 2.38 g. ↙ = ? Arcadia '29 Hd. 99



b. Agrinion Hd., 2.37 g. ↗



c. Agrinion Hd., 2.38 g. ↗



d. Agrinion Hd., 2.29 g. ↑; Cambridge (Grose 6493), 2.43 g. ←

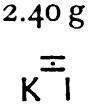


e. Agrinion Hd., 2.25 g. ↓; Berlin, 2.33 g. →; Cambridge (Grose 6491), 2.32 g. →; Munich, 2.28 g. ↘



f. Agrinion Hd., 2.42 g. ↘; 2.40 g. ↙; Clerk 212; Noe 802, 388 2.36 g.; Cambridge (*SNG* 2617), 2.46 g. ←; Cambridge (Grose 6494), 2.32 g. ↖

g. Agrinion Hd., 2.40 g. ↖



h. Agrinion Hd., 2.37 g. ←; 2.40 g. ↓; 2.36 g. ↓; 2.41 g. ↖; 2.46 g. ↑



i. Agrinion Hd., 2.45 g. ↖



[20] Clerk 213 shows a very crude head of Zeus facing left coupled with the standard reverse of this issue. It is a coin of the Athens Collection and should be checked to be sure that there is no error in the combination of obverse and reverse dies.

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j. Agrinion Hd., 2.37 g. ↖; Berlin, 2.32 g. ↑

K Ξ I

k. Agrinion Hd., 2.39 g. ↓; *2.38 g. ↑; 2.33 g. ↓; Olympia Hd. 9; Berlin, 2.39 g. ↑; 2.27 g. ↘ = Caserta Hd. 88; Munich, 2.37 g. ↖

K Ξ I

l. Agrinion Hd., 2.41 g. ↙; Yale, 2.25 g. ↘ = Arcadia '29 Hd. 103

K Ξ I

m. Yale, 2.42 g. ↖ = ? Arcadia '29 Hd. 98

K Ξ I

n. Cambridge (Grose 6492), 2.34 g. ↓

K Ξ I

o. Munich, 2.40 g. ↑

5.

K Ξ I

a. ANS Newell 2.25 g. ↘ (coin broken); Agrinion Hd., *2.45 g. ↘; 2.48 g. ←; 2.43 g. ↑; Olympia Hd. 8; London, 2.42 g. ↗ = Clerk 214; Noe 802, 393, 2.47 g.; Cambridge (Grose 6495), 2.39 g. ↑; Yale, 2.45 g. ↖ = Arcadia '29 Hd. 97; London, 2.45 g. ↑; Berlin, 2.42 g. →

K Ξ I

b. *Agrinion Hd., 2.36 g. ←; Yale, 2.41 g. → = Arcadia '29 Hd. 100

K Ξ I

c. ANS Newell, 2.45 g. ↑; Olympia Hd. 10

6.

K Ξ I

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a. *Agrinion Hd., 2.43 g. ↘; (then die recut, syrinx made larger and more obvious); *Agrinion Hd., 2.19 g. ←; Copenhagen (*SNG* 285), 2.32 g. ↑; London, 2.39 g. ↙

$\frac{\Xi}{K}$ I

b. Olympia Hd. 11; Paris, 2.36 g. →

GROUP III. THE ARCADIAN TYPE ISSUES WITH ΜΕΓ ON THE REVERSE AND VARIOUS CONTROL COMBINATIONS. (151–146 B.C.)

Issue 1. ΔI

1.
a. Olympia Hd. 32
b. Olympia Hd. 33; Noe 802, 223, 2.41 g.
c. London (*BMC* 188, 3), 2.53 g.
d. *ANS Newell, 2.22 g. ←

2.
a. *Olympia Hd. 34

3.
a. Weber Coll. 4311
b. *Berlin, 2.33 g. ↙
c. Leningrad, 2.47 g. ↓

4.
a. Berlin, 2.34 g. ↗, *2.34 g. ↗ = Caserta Hd. 151; Leningrad, 2.38 g. ↖

5.
a. Paris, 2.27 g. ↑
b. *Berlin, 2.35 g. ←

6.
a. *Munich, 2.48 g. ↙

7.
a. Munich, 2.32 g. ↙; *Oxford, 2.04 g. →

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8.
a. *Hague, 2.20 g. ↑

9.
a. *Berlin, 2.40 g. ↑ = Caserta Hd. 151

10.
a. *? London, 2.02 g. ↙

11.
a. Platt (March 28, 1922) 586

12.
b. Same reverse die as 11a. *London (*BMC* 188,4), 2.26 g. ←
c. Copenhagen (*SNG* 256), 2.41 g.

Issue 2. Ⱨ|Δ|

12.
a. *ANS Berry, 1.97 g. ↗; Olympia Hd. 45; Cahn 71, 193 = Cahn 84, 327, 2.31 g.

13.
a. *Berlin, 2.40 g. ↓ = Caserta Hd. 154
b. Copenhagen (*SNG* 258), 2.37 g. →

Issue 3. Δ|Δ

14.
a. Olympia Hd. 35
b. Munich, 2.31 g. ←
c. Glendining (1931) 1103, 2.40 g.
d. London (*BMC* 188, 1), 2.37 g. ↙
e. *Berlin, 2.34 g. ↓ = Caserta Hd. 150
f. Cambridge (*SNG* 3891), 2.39 g. ↙

15.
a. *London (*BMC* 188, 2), 2.36 g. ↗
b. Same reverse die as 14b. Paris, 2.34 g. ↓
c. Paris, 2.05 g. ↓
d. Cambridge (*SNG* 3890), 2.33 g. ↓

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16.
a. Metropolitan Mus. (Ward Coll. 564), 2.38 g.
b. Paris, 2.33 g. →
c. Same reverse die as 15c. *Berlin, 2.35 g. ↑

17.
a. *Olympia Hd. 36

18.
a. *ANS Newell, 2.34 g. ↖
b. Stockholm, 2.26 g. ↖
c. Oxford, 2.26 g. ↑

19.
a. *Berlin, 2.31 g. ↑

20.
a. *Munich, 2.06 g. ↓
b. Cambridge (*SNG* 3889), 2.42 g. ↖

21.
a. Copenhagen (*SNG* 255), 2.35 g. ↑

22.
a. *? Vienna, 2.33 g. ←

23.
a. Naville 5, 2257, 2.32 g.

24.
a. *Leningrad, 2.16 g. ↗

Issue 4. ΔΙ|ΔΕ

25.
a. *Olympia Hd. 43

26.
a. Olympia Hd. 44; London 2.29 g. ↑
b. Hague, 2.10 g. ↑; *Berlin, 2.32 g. ↓

27.
a. *Olympia Hd. 46

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28.
a. *ANS, 2.32 g. ↖
b. London (*BMC* 188, 5), 2.36 g. →
c. Paris, 1.82 g. ↑
d. Berlin, 2.05 g. ↑

29.
a. *ANS Newell, 2.32 g. ↘

30.
a. *Vienna, 2.28 g. ↖

31.
a. Cambridge (*SNG* 3892), 2.34 g. ↘

32.
a. *Berlin, 2.32 g. ↑

33.
a. *Leningrad, 2.27 g. ↘

Issue 5. Π

34.
a. *Olympia Hd. 37

35.
a. *Olympia Hd. 38

36.
a. *London (*BMC* 188, 11), 2.46 g.

37.
a. *London (*BMC* 188, 10), 2.13 g. →; Oxford, 2.17 g. ↗
b. Cambridge (*SNG* 3893), 2.43 g. ↗

Issue 6. ΑΜ

38.
a. *London, (*BMC* 188, 6), 2.43 g. ↓

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Issue 7. 8K

39.
a. ANS, 2.34 g. ↗
b. *ANS Newell, 2.15 g. →
c. Cambridge (*SNG* 3894), 2.32 g. ↗

40.
a. Olympia Hd. 40; Berlin, 2.37 g. ↗
b. Ratto (1927) 1609, 2.27 g.; *Stockholm, 2.40 g. ↓; Hess, (Feb. 18, 1936) 1078
c. London (*BMC* 188, 8), 2.39 g. ↑
d. Berlin, 2.07 g. ↓
e. Munich, 2.24 g. ↑

41.
a. *Olympia Hd. 41

42.
a. *Olympia Hd. 42
b. Paris, 2.43 g. ↑
c. Copenhagen (*SNG* 259), 2.37 g. →
d. Cambridge (Grose 6985), 2.35 →
e. Oxford, 2.27 g. ↖

43.
a. *Berlin, 2.32 g. ↗

44.
a. Paris (DeLuynes 2322), 2.47 g. ↗
b. Hess 202 (1930), 2522, 2.37 g.
c. Hague, 2.30 g. →
d. *?London (*BMC* 188, 9), 2.13 g. ↘

45.
a. Schulman 62, 282, 2.40 g.
b. *Hanover, 2.18 g. ↓

46.
a. Naville (Pozzi Coll. 1947,), 2.39 g.

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47.
a. Egger 40 (Prowe, 1912), 1159, 2.38 g.

48.
a. Jameson 3, 2111, 2.39 g.

49.
a. *London (Weber Coll. 4310), 1.94 g. ↑

50.
a. *London (*BMC* 188,8), 2.39 g. ↗

Issue 8. ΑΡΙΑ

51.
a. *Olympia Hd. 39

52.
a. *Vienna, 2.55 g. ↑

53.
a. *London, 2.29 g. ↖
b. Copenhagen (*SNG* 257), 2.37 g. ↑
c. Oxford, 2.28 g. ↑

54.
a. *Berlin, 2.48 g. ↑

55.
a. *Berlin, 1.99 g. ↑ = Caserta Hd. 153

56.
a. *London, 2.54 g. ↗

Issue 9. ΔΣ

57.
a. Olympia Hd. 50; ANS Newell, 2.13 g. ↑; *Oxford, 2.30 g. ↗

58.
a. *ANS Newell, 2.13 g. ↑

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59.
a. *Olympia Hd. 49.

60.
a. *Berlin, 2.15 g. ↓

Issue 10. Δ|H

61.
a. *ANS Newell, 2.10 g. ↓ (to r. of rocks)
b. Yale, 2.35 g. → (on rocks)
c. Paris, 2.43 g. → (on rocks)

Issue 11. Δ|Γ

62.
a. *Munich, 2.46 g. ↗

63.
a. *Berlin, 2.25 g. ↗

64.
a. *Vienna, 2.25 g. ←

65.
a. *Leningrad, 2.30 g. ↑

66.
a. *Oxford, 2.04 g. ↑

Issue 12. Δ ; Keraunos above

67.
a. Berlin, 2.25 g. ↗
b. *Leningrad, 2.32 g. ↑

Issue 13. Δ|W

68.
a. *Berlin, 2.19 g. ↑

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Issue 14. Ε

69.
a. Olympia Hd. 48; Reichmann 30, 674, 2.31 g.; *Berlin, 2.41 g. ↑; Cambridge (*SNG* 3895), 2.20 g. ↙

70.
a. *Munich, 2.39 g. ←

Issue 15. ϟ

71.
a. *Olympia Hd. 47

72.
a. *ANS Newell, 2.36 g. ↑; London, 1.92 g. ↗

73.
a. *ANS Newell, 2.41 g. ↑
b. Berlin, 2.35 g. →
c. Glasgow (Macdonald 160, 1), 2.38 g.
d. Oxford, 2.28 g. ↖

74.
a. *Leningrad, 2.37 g. →
b. London, 1.92 g. ↗

The following chart of die combinations summarizes the evidence collected in the catalogue. The ratio of coins per obverse die per issue indicates the relative completeness of the record of obverse dies for each issue, assuming that a total of six to eight examples means that most of the dies have survived while a lower ratio implies missing material.[21] The number of examples of each reverse is given in parentheses after the letters, if this is more than one. Bracketing indicates the transfer of obverse and reverse dies.

[21] See M. Thompson, *New Style Silver Coinage of Athens* (New York, 1961), p. 711, for a summary of the statistical survey of Francis Marriott on which these assumptions rest.

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CHART OF DIE COMBINATIONS

Group	*Period*	*Issue*	*Obv. Dies*	*Rev. Dies*						*Total Coins per Obv. die per Issue*
I	I	1 (N|Ω)	1	a.	b.	c.				3
		2 (I)	2	a.(4)						
			3	a.(3)						
			4	a.						
			5	a.	b.(2)	c.	d.(2)	e.	f.	
			6	b.	a.		e.	d.	c.	
			7			a.				
			8	a.(3)	b.(3)	c.(2)		d.(2)	e.	
			9	a.						
			10		a.		c.(2)	b.(5)	d.(3)	
			11		a.(2)					4.8
		3(X)	12	a.	b.(2)	c.(3)				
			13	a.(2)						
			14	a.						3
		4(I)	15	a.(2)						
			16	a.						1.5
		5(H)	17	a.	b.(2)	c.(2)	d.	e.	f.	8
		6(M)	18	b.	a.(2)					
			19	a.						
			20	a.						1.67

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Group	Period	Issue	Obv. Dies	Rev. Dies					Total Coins per Obv. die per Issue
		7(Δ)	21	a.	a. b.(4)	c.	d.	e.	
			22		a.				
			23	a.(2)					
			24	a.	b.(2)	c.	d.	e.	
			25					a.	
			26	a.	b.	c.			
			27	a.					3.14
	TOTAL	7	27	45					98 *coins*
IIA		1 (Σ|Π, Γ)	1	a.					1
		2 (K|A, I)	2	a.(2)	b.(4)	c.(2)			
			3	a.(3)					5.5
		3 (Α|Δ)	4	a.	b.(2)	c.			
			5			a.(3)	b.(2)	c.	5
		4 (Α|Ξ)	6	a.(2)					2
		5 (Π)	7	a.					1
	Total	5	7	12					25 *coins*

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Group	*Period*	*Issue*	*Obv. Dies*	*Rev. Dies*								*Total Coins per Obv. die per Issue*
	II B	1(Ⱥ|Δ/Λ)	1	a.(4)	b.	c.(2)	d.	e.				
			2	i a.(2)	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.	g.(2)	h. j.	
			3	a.(4)	b.	c.	d.(3)	e.	f.	g.	h.(2) i.	
			4	a.(2)	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.	g.(3)	h.	
			5	a.(3)	b.							
			6	a.								
			7	a.								
			8		a.							
			9	a.	b.							
			10	a.(2)	b.	c.(2)	d.	e.	f.(2) g. h.(2) i. j. k. l.			
			11	a.								
			12	a.								
			13	a.								
			14	a.								
			15	a.								
			16	a.(2)	b.(2)	c.	d.					
			17	a.								
			18	a.(2)	b.(3)	c.(2)	d.	e.				
			19	a.	b.	c.	d.					
			20	a.								
			21	a.(2)	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.	g.	h.(2)	
Total			21	71								105 *coins* 5.14

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| Group | Period | Issue | Obv. Dies | Rev. Dies | | |

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Group	*Period*	*Issue*	*Obv. Dies*	*Rev. Dies*						*Total Coins per Obv. die per Issue*
	4(A|Δ)	26	a.(3) b.	c.(2)	d.(3)	e.	f.	g.	h.	
			i. j.	k.(2)	l.	m.	n.	o.	p.	
			q. r.	s.	t.	u.				
		30					a.	b.(2)	c.	
		29	a.(2) b.	c.						
		31	a.(2)	b.(3) c.(2)	d.					
		32	a. b.							
		33	d.(3) a.	b.	c.(3)	e.	f.(2)	g.	h.	
			i.(2) j.	k.	l.					
		34	a.							
		35	a.(2) b.	c.	d.					
	Total	8	48					69 *coins*		8.63
Total	4	35	150					235 *coins*		6.71
	III	*No Marks*	1	a.(4)						
			2	a.	b.(4)	c.(5)	d.			
			3		a.(11)	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
			4			a.(8)	b.	c.(2)	d.(3)	e. f. g.
			5			a.(7)				
			6	a.(2)	b.(5)	c.				

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Group	*Period*	*Issue*	*Obv. Dies*	*Rev. Dies*							*Total Coins per Obv. die per Issue*
			7	a.(4)	b.(4)						
			8	a.							
	Total		8	21						*72 coins*	9
TOTAL	4	17	78	238						430 *coins*	
II		1	1	a.(8)	b.(3)	c.(2)	d.(2)				15
		2	2	(1)a.(3)	b.(3)	c.(5)	d.(5)	e.(5)	f.(2)	g.(6)	
				h.(2)	i.(3)	j.(3)					38
		3	3	a.(7)	b.(5)	c.(2)	d.(2)	e.(12)	f.(6)	g.(7)	
				h.	i.(2)	j.(3)	k.(4)	l.			52
		4	4	a.(3)	b.	c.	d.(2)	e.(4)	f.(6)	g. h.(5)	
				i.	j.(2)	k.(7)	l.(2)	m.	n.	o.	
			5	a.(11)	b.(2)	c.(2)					
			6	a.(4)	b.(2)						19.83
TOTAL		4	6	46						164 *coins*	
III		1(Δ1)	1	a.	b.(2)	c.	d.				
			2	a.							
			3	a.	b.	c.					
			4	a.(3)							

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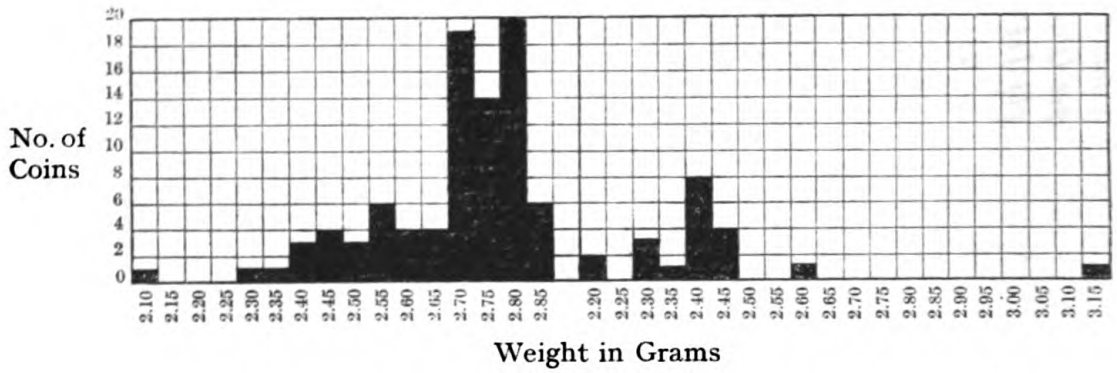
Group	*Period*	*Issue*	*Obv. Dies*	*Rev. Dies*							*Total Coins per Obv. die per Issue*
			5	a.	b.						
			6	a.							
			7	a.(2)							
			8	a.							
			9	a.							
			10	a.							1.92
			11	a.	c.						
			12	b.							
		2(𐤀𐤋)	12	a.(3)							
			13	a.	b.		c.	d.	e.	f.	2.5
		3(Δ|Δ)	14	a.	b.		c.	d.			
			15	a.	b.		c.				
			16	a.	b.						
			17	a.			c.				
			18	a.	b.						
			19	a.							
			20	a.	b.						
			21	a.							
			22	a.							
			23	a.							2.18
			24	a.							

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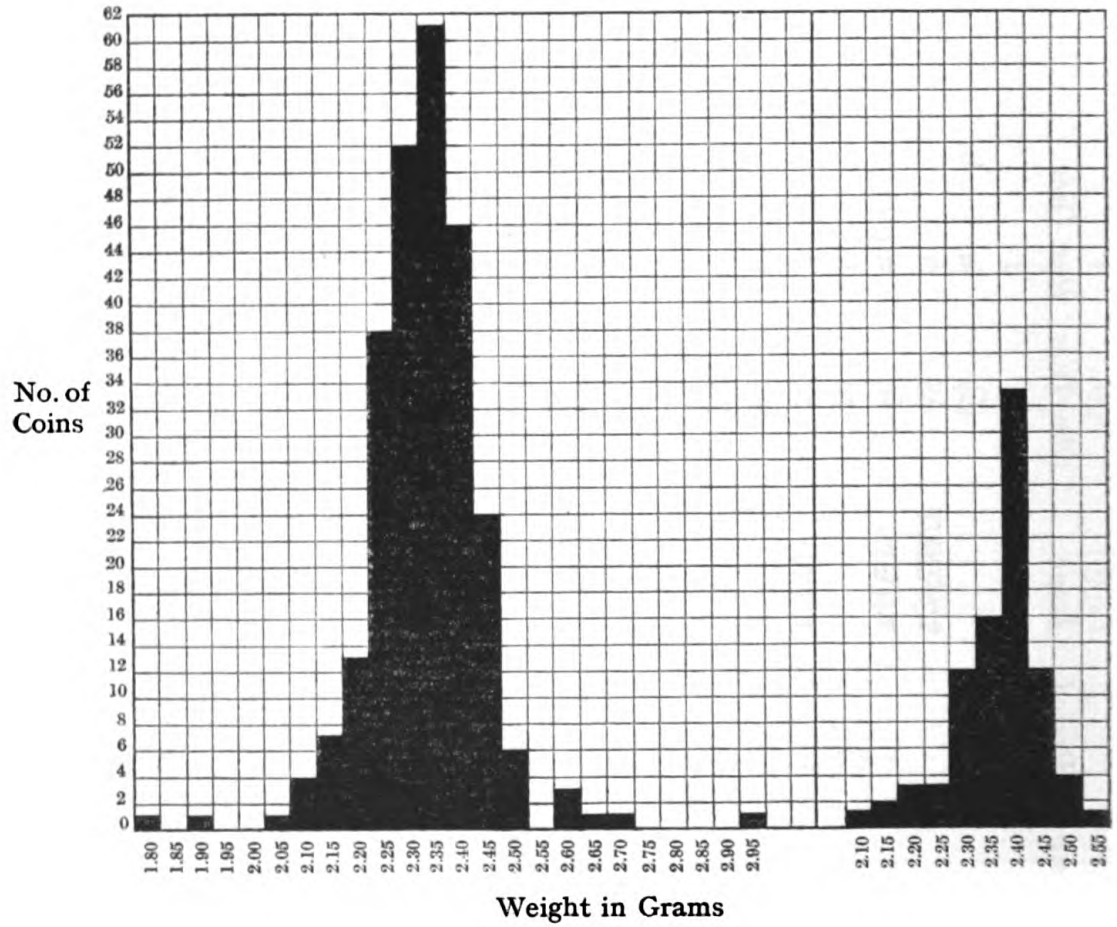
Group	*Period*	*Issue*	*Obv. Dies.*	*Rev. Dies*				*Total Coins per Obv. die per Issue*
		4(ΔΙ|ΔΕ)	25	a.				
			26	a.(2)	b.(2)			
			27	a.			d.	
			28	a.	b.	c.		
			29	a.				
			30	a.				
			31	a.				
			32	a.				
			33	a.				1.67
		5(Π)	34	a.				
			35	a.				
			36	a.				
			37	a.(2)	b.			
		6(Ϡ)	38	a.				1.5
		7(ϗ)	39	a.	b.	c.	d.	e. 1
			40	a.(2)	b.(3)	c.	d.	e.
			41	a.				
			42	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
			43	a.				
			44	a.	b.	c.	d.	
			45	a.	b.			

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GROUP I, PERIOD I (no eagle) GROUP I, PERIOD II A (eagle)



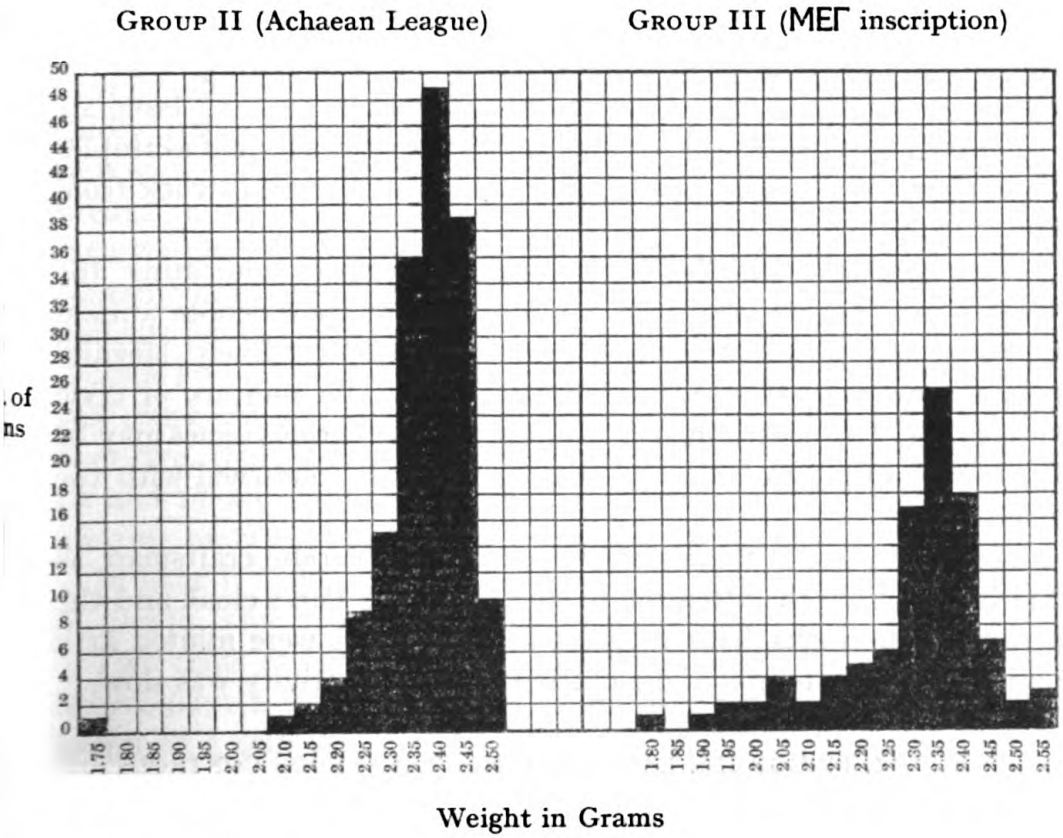
GROUP I, PERIOD II B (eagle) GROUP I, PERIOD III (no marks)



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The frequency tables provide an indication of the weight standards to which the various triobol series were struck. All coins with recorded weights which could be assigned to a particular period are included in the frequency tables although many of them were not available for the die study.

Gardner[22] maintains that the theoretical weight of the Aeginetic triobol is 3.11 grams, but the triobols attributed to Megalopolis are said to have been struck on a debased Aeginetan standard. The evidence from the weights reveal that the earliest triobols (those without eagle) were on a higher standard than those of the following series; even allowing for the small number of coins upon which the first two frequency tables are based, a drop in weight seems to have occurred in the period intervening between the minting of these groups.



[22] *BMCPelop.*, p. xxi.

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GROUP I. PERIOD I. NO EAGLE ON REVERSE

This portion of the triobol coinage is the earliest on the evidence of style and of relative wear in several hoards. The coins are listed in the catalogue on the basis of style, but as this evidence alone is insubstantial, and stylistic development within such a limited period is difficult to determine, the arrangement presented here must be considered as tentative.

Issue 2, with an *iota* on obverse and reverse, appears to be the largest of this period and, as the ratio of coins per obverse die is 4.8, it probably was originally larger than the ten extant obverses indicate. There are five cases in which a single reverse links three obverses, implying the use of several anvils and the exchange of reverses between anvils, for it is most unlikely that so many reverse dies would span the life of three obverse dies.

Issue 7, with a *delta* control mark on the reverse, appears to be smaller than Issue 2, being represented by only 7 obverse dies. But the ratio of the number of coins per obverse die is only 3.14 so the issue may originally have been as large or even larger than Issue 2.

The only issue with a substantial ratio is Issue 5 with eight examples of its single obverse. It is probable that this issue was struck from only one obverse.

The significance of the letters and monograms indicating the various issues is uncertain. It is doubtful that they denote annual issues in view of the small size of the emissions. More likely, Megalopolis struck when there was a need for money for military or civic enterprises. The control marks establishing the various issues may be the initials of mint officials or other individuals concerned with the coinage.

The die cutters at this period were relatively careful craftsman, as one can see from the attention to such details as Pan's cloak and the syrinx on the rocks. This suggests that the coins were minted at a period when the tempo of die cutting and mint activity was slow.

GROUP I. PERIOD IIA. EAGLE AND MISCELLANEOUS CONTROLS

The seven issues that comprise Period IIA appear to have been struck at a lower standard than those of the preceding period, if one

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can base any conclusions on a very limited amount of material. This section of the coinage is placed chronologically between Periods I and IIB for two reasons: the appearance of the eagle on the knee of Pan, which, henceforth, is a consistent feature of the Arcadian tiobols; and the pattern of minting which links these miscellaneous small issues to the similar striking of Period I. Style and hoard evidence also suggest that this group of issues comes before the bulk coinage of Period IIB.

The die cutters either did not have the skill of their predecessors or were too hurried to do careful work, for there is a developing trend toward carelessness in die cutting which is continued into Period IIB. The use of the monogram, ⍲, is not consistently employed in this period.

GROUP I. PERIOD IIB. ΔΛ AND Δ AS CONTROL MARKS

The four issues comprising Period IIB are all linked by transferred obverse dies and die breaks establish the relative order of striking. Oddly, Issues 2 and 3 are both joined to Issue 1 and both are later strikings. Since Issue 4 follows Issue 3 on the evidence of the die breaks on the obverses joining the two issues, Issue 2 has been tentatively placed before Issue 3, but it is clear that they were strictly contemporaneous emissions and that the control marks do not indicate annual issues.

Issue 1 is represented by the largest number of surviving specimens, 108 coins. But as the ratio of coins per obverse die per issue is just over five, there are probably obverses as yet unknown. Obverses 9, 10 and 11 are joined by a single reverse, thus indicating that the minting practices observed in Period I were continued.

In issue 1, there is an abbreviated form of the league monogram, ⍲, and in Issue 3, an expanded version, ⍲.

Two coins of Issue 1, 5a from Vienna and 10h from the Agrinion hoard, have a small circle punched on the reverse. A similar mark is found on a coin of Locri Opuntii in the western Greece hoard.[23] In all three cases the same instrument seems to have been employed to make the circle. This is possibly the private countermark of a banker

[23] Thompson, *Hesperia* 1939, p. 121, no. 64.

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or some other individual to whom these three coins at one time belonged.

The frequency table for Period IIB indicates a considerable drop from the standard of Period I.

GROUP I. PERIOD III. NO CONTROL MARKS

Some time may have elapsed between the coinage of Period IIB and that of Period III, as there is an abrupt change in style. The coins are much flatter and have a broader flan than those of the previous period, and the heads of Zeus are larger. It is possible that we have a complete record in the eight obverse dies of the catalogue since the ratio of coins per obverse die is 9.

Stylistic criteria, as well as relative wear of hoard coins, establish that this period follows Period IIB. The coins were struck to the same weight standard as Period IIB, while the fact that obverses 3, 4 and 5 share a single reverse indicates a continuation of the minting practices of the earlier periods.

Throughout Periods IIA, IIB and III, there is an increase in carelessness in die cutting as well as in instances of double striking.

GROUP II. ACHAEAN LEAGUE ISSUES

The Achaean league coins here attributed to Megalopolis are those with lagobolon, syrinx and keraunos symbols. Of these devices, the first and second belong without question to Megalopolis, which used the same symbols on autonomous coinage. The keraunos issue is related to the others by the striking similarity of style between the obverses of Issues 3 and 4 (see PLATE XXIV, 3b–6a).

Six obverse dies are known for the entire Achaean series of Megalopolis and this is certainly the complete record, judging by the very high ratio of coins and dies for all four issues (15, 38, 52, 9.8). Megalopolis minted little more than a token coinage as a member of the league.

The fact that there are no transfers of reverse dies in this group probably indicates the use of a single anvil, as one would expect from the size of the coinage. Dies are well cut and the coins carefully struck.

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So great is the contrast in these respects between the Arcadian and Achaean series of Megalopolis that it might almost be thought the latter were produced for Megalopolis at some other mint. Until there is direct evidence, however, for regional mints, it is best to assume that the coins of Group II are from Megalopolitan workshops.

The frequency table indicates that these Achaean league coins were struck to about the same weight standard as the Arcadian coins of Period IIA through Period III.

GROUP III. ΜΕΓ INSCRIPTION

That this group is a large and hurried striking is obvious from the style as well as from the number of known obverses (74 for 120 coins).[24] The frequency table does not show a drop in weight standard, but the number of examples varying from the standard indicates that the blanks were not as carefully prepared as they had been before. As a whole, the dies are very poorly cut and sloppily minted. Relatively few transfers are recorded, which is not surprising in the light of the size of the coinage and the incompleteness of our data.

In general style these coins compare with the latest issues of Achaean league type from Elis and other mints. It is interesting to note, however, that there is considerable variation in the style of the Zeus heads within a given issue. For example, obverse 65 of Issue 11 is of much better quality than the other obverses of that issue, and obverse 71 of Issue 15 is less carefully cut than the other obverses of that issue. These differences in style and quality of die cutting within a single issue point to the employment of a number of engravers for a mass coinage and serve to confirm the relative contemporaneity of this group of triobols.

THE HOARDS

It is unfortunate that the excavation coins of Megalopolis have never been published, for they would provide a body of evidence,

[24] The low ratio of coins to dies makes it impossible to calculate the size of the original issues. They were undoubtedly much larger than the catalogue listing indicates.

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which might have great chronological significance.[25] Lacking this material, we must rely on seven hoards for help in establishing the date of the coinage.[26]

I. The Agrinion Hoard

In 1959 a deposit of some 1340 silver pieces was unearthed at or near Agrinion in western Aetolia.[27] It is now in the American Numismatic Society and contains 207 triobols of Megalopolis. These coins fall into the following groups:

Group I	Period I (no eagle)	3
	Period IIA (misc. controls)	11
	Period IIB (Δ, ΛΔ controls)	103
	Period III (no controls)	34
Group II	(Achaean league)	56
Group III	(ΜΕΓ)	0

The hoard was probably buried after 146 B.C. Considering the provenance of the find, the absence of coins of Group III need not be significant. On the evidence of other hoards, they were in existence at the time of the burial of the Agrinion deposit but apparently not circulating in Aetolia in quantity.

II. The Olympia Hoard

This hoard was discovered during the excavations at Olympia and a photographic record of it was most kindly provided by Margildis Schlüter, who is publishing it. A burial date of ca. 146 B.C., or slightly earlier, is probable for the hoard which contains a large number of

[25] See Milne, "The Currency of Arcadia," *NC* 1949, pp. 83ff., wherein coins which were purchased from the local inhabitants of Arkadia by the excavators of Megalopolis, are published. See Varucha-Christodulopoulos, *The Swedish Excavations at Asea in Arcadia, Coins* (Lund, 1944), pp. 167–171; Edwards, *Corinth 6. The Coins* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), no. 430 and *Hesperia* 1937, pp. 252ff.; Harris, "Coins from Corinth," *Hesperia* 1941, pp. 151ff.

[26] Other hoards with Arcadian material are those of Abae, Arcadia?, Cephallonia, Epidauros, Zakynthos and Zougra (Noe 1, 61, 228, 394, 1182, 1186). Information on their contents is too vague to be useful.

[27] M. Thompson, *The Agrinion Hoard* (in press).

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late Achaean league coins from various mints. The 60 coins of Megalopolis divide as follows:

Group I	Period I (no eagle)	1
	Period IIA (misc. controls)	5
	Period IIB (Δ, ΛΔ controls)	19
	Period III (no controls)	4
Group II	(Achaean league)	12
Group III	(ΜΕΓ)	19

The coins of Group III were minted and circulating in neighboring Elis before the burial of this hoard.

III. The Western Greece Hoard

A hoard of 677 silver pieces was found somewhere in Western Greece ca. 1936.[28] It is dated about 146 B.C. The following Megalopolitan coins are in it:

Group I	Period I (no eagle)	1
	Period IIA (misc. controls)	1
	Period IIB (Δ, ΛΔ controls)	43
	Period III (no controls)	16
Group II	(Achaean league)	28
Group III	(ΜΕΓ)	1

Again, too much weight cannot be attached to the scanty representation of Group III coins. The hoard, like that of Agrinion, may come from a region in which these late issues were not present in abundance.

IV. The Arcadia Hoard

This hoard, discovered in Arcadia in 1929 and containing 229 silver and 2 bronze coins, is dated 185–182 B.C.[29] The breakdown of the 47 Megalopolis coins is as follows:

[28] Thompson, *Hesperia* 1939, pp. 116ff.
[29] Crosby and Grace, *Achaean League Hoard.*

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Group I	Period I (no eagle)	1
	Period IIA (misc. controls)	0
	Period IIB (Δ, ΛΔ controls)	30
	Period III (no controls)	5
Group II	(Achaean league)	11
Group III	(ΜΕΓ)	0

If the date of burial of this hoard were firm, it would establish a *terminus ante quem* for all of the Megalopolis issues except those designated as Group III. Unfortunately there is some doubt that it is a complete hoard and the burial date is highly uncertain.[30]

V. The Caserta Hoard

Another hoard of 499 silver coins was discovered near Caserta, Italy between 1889 and 1890 and was published without illustration by Löbbecke.[31] The division of the 26 Megalopolis pieces is:

Group I	Period I (no eagle)	0
	Period IIA (misc. controls)	0
	Period IIB (Δ, ΛΔ controls)	9
	Period III (no controls)	3
Group II	(Achaean league)	5
Group III	(ΜΕΓ)	9

The coins thought to be from this hoard, now in the Berlin Cabinet, are noted in the catalogue.

VI. The Oreus Hoard

A hoard found at Oreus, Euboea, in 1902 contained about 1300 silver coins and was originally published by Svoronos.[32] The contents include 11 tetradrachms of Perseus in good condition, which establish the burial date, and three triobols of the Achaean league, of which one is a coin of Megalopolis (1 a of the catalogue *supera*). This piece is illustrated and seems to be in good state of preservation.

[30] Discussed in M. Thompson, *Agrinion Hoard.*
[31] *ZfN* 1908, pp. 275 ff.
[32] *JIAN* 1902, pp. 318 ff. See also Noe 771.

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VII. The Olympia Hoard of 1922

This deposit, containing 82 silver coins, was published by Newell and given a burial date of ca. 250–225 B.C.[33] It contained autonomous triobols of Elis but no Arcadian or Achaean material. Had Megalopolis been striking triobols of Arcadian or Achaean type in the third century, as was formerly thought to be the case, one might reasonably expect to find a specimen or two in this hoard since the Olympia hoard of later date contained such a large number.

THE CHRONOLOGY

The hoards listed in the previous section are helpful in indicating the broad chronology of the Megalopolitan coinage, but they provide few fixed points for a precise dating of individual series. The absence of Arcadian and Achaean issues from the third century Olympia Hoard published by Newell is merely an *argumentum ex silentio* for their later date. Much stronger evidence is to be found in a comparison of the condition of the earliest Megalopolis strikings of the catalogue and the early Achaean issues of Elis, because the two coinages appear together in a number of hoards. The Elis coins cannot have been struck before 191 B.C. when Elis was joined to the Achaean league and few, if any, of the Megalopolis triobols show more wear than the Elis coins. On the evidence of the Oreus Hoard the Achaean issue with lagobolon (Issue 1 of Group II) is to be placed in the period before Pydna, and Issue 2 of the same group is surely contemporary on the evidence of the almost identical style of the Zeus heads (PLATE XXIV, 1a–2j). The record of comparative wear in other hoards strongly suggests that the later large Arcadian issues of Megalopolis (Period IIB and possibly Period III) are also pre-Pydna strikings. Triobols with ΜΕΓ are of later date; they are in better condition in the Caserta, Olympia, and western Greece hoards than are the coins with one ethnic.

From the catalogue it is evident that the coinage of Megalopolis was not a regular sequence of annual issues but a somewhat sporadic currency, presumably put out to serve specific purposes. It remains

[33] *Alexander Hoards 4. Olympia* (New York, 1929).

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to be seen whether the history of the period provides any clue to the periods in which the money was struck.

In 198 B.C., the Achaean league decided to join Rome against Macedonia. This might have been the occasion for the beginning of the coinage; but, from all accounts, Megalopolis was not in favor of the Roman alliance, and there is no reason to suppose that she gave it financial support.[34] It is possible that the proclamation by Flamininus of the freedom of the Greek cities inspired a new coinage at Megalopolis, as it did at other places, but a more likely motivation for the inception of the Arcadian issues can be found in the events of a slightly later period. In 194 B.C., according to Plutarch,[35] the citizens of Megalopolis, offended by Philipoimen's absence on Crete during the war with Nabis, decided to disenfranchise him. This action was forestalled by Aristainos, the general of the Achaean league, who reached the city in time to prevent Philipoimen's loss of citizen rights. The next year Philipoimen returned and was elected general of the league. Plutarch records that in revenge for the insult by the citizens of Megalopolis, he assisted several towns which had been part of Megalopolis to become independent members of the league. Actually the policy of separation was probably an attempt to increase the power of the Arcadians in the league, where every city had one vote, but the Megalopolitans would undoubtedly have resented the dismembering whatever its reason. A coinage of Arcadian league types may represent an attempt on Megalopolis' part to assert her leadership of Arcadia in the face of Philipoimen's threat to her prestige. Further motivation for a coinage at this time may be found in the war with Nabis, which continued until 192 B.C., when Sparta was made a member of the Achaean league, and in the military levies sent by the Achaeans in 192–190 to Chalcis and Asia Minor. Intermittent warfare with Sparta until 188 and the invasion of Messene in 182 may also have been supported in part by monetary contributions from Megalopolis. It is to this general period between

[34] Livy 32.19–23 and especially 22, where there is a description of the meeting at which the decision was taken. He reports that before the final vote the Megalopolitans walked out as an indication of their disapproval of the union with Rome against their traditional ally, Macedon.

[35] *Philipoimen* 13–14.

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195 and 182 that the issues of Period I and Period IIA probably belong.

The homogeneous series of Period IIB, the issue without controls which follows, and the first two issues of the Achaean triobols should be dated to the interval between 182 and the end of the Third Macedonian War. Much of the coinage probably represents Megalopolis' contribution to the war effort. The other Achaean issues of Group II, which are in better condition in hoards than the two earlier strikings, may be placed somewhere between 167 and 155; there is no evidence for a more exact date for these two small emissions.

After 151 B.C., relations with Rome deteriorated until the disastrous war that resulted in Mummius' taking of Corinth in 146 B.C. and the dissolution of the Greek leagues. Probably to be related to this final struggle between Rome and the Achaean league is an inscription found at Megalopolis,[36] which reads in translation as follows:

"By the secretary to the council, Iasidamos, those who for two years did a service for the city by promising and giving of themselves and their families, each one, 25 staters . . . (probably something to the effect that they are to be honored) . . . and by the city."

Then comes a list of names, some with Α′ indicating only one gift of 25 staters, others with Β′, a double gift, and one with Ε′, a gift of 150 staters. The inscription is dated by Hiller to 148/7 B.C.[37] This coincides rather strikingly with the evidence from the hoards that the coins of Group III, with ΜΕΓ inscription, were minted close to 146. The coins themselves attest to the hurried minting of an extensive coinage. Presumably they were put out ca. 151–146 B.C. in preparation for and during the war with Rome, the wherewithal for the emissions being supplied by public collections such as that recorded in the inscription.

In summary, the sequence of Megalopolitan issues and their tentative chronology, based on the available evidence, would be as follows:

Group I	Periods I and IIA (Arcadian types without eagle and with eagle and miscellaneous controls)	ca. 195–182

[36] *IG* 5.2.439.
[37] Hiller, *RE* 15 (1932), 138.

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	Periods IIB and III (Arcadian types with Δ, ΛΔ controls and without controls)	ca. 182–168
Group II	(Achaean types)	
	Issues 1–2	ca. 182–168
	Issues 3–4	ca. 167–155
Group III	(Arcadian types with ΜΕΓ)	ca. 151–146

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AUGURAL SYMBOLISM IN SULLA'S INVASION OF 83[1]

BRUCE W. FRIER

The political issues which underlay Sulla's return in 83 are often obscured by rhetoric or preconception. Thus E. Badian: "Perhaps the victorious nobility [Sulla's party] invites comparison with a species of larger rodent."[2]

This article examines the diplomatic negotiations in 84. It shows, on the basis of literary and numismatic evidence, how grave were Sulla's pretexts for invasion, and how Sulla went about propagandizing them.

In 84,[3] as Sulla prepared the invasion of Italy, he issued a coin (Syd. 760–761) which bore on its obverse a head of Aphrodite, his patron deity,[4] and a Cupid holding a palm-branch, with the inscription L. SVLLA. On the reverse the coin has a lituus and a sitella (an augural jug) between two trophies, with the inscription IMPER — ITERV(M), above and below. The inscription and trophies form a square around the augural instruments, whose importance is doubly emphasized by central position.

[1] This paper was written with the aid of a grant from the American Numismatic Society, for whose help I have great gratitude; it owes its present form to Mr. C. H. V. Sutherland and Mr. James Luce, whose criticism was invariably useful.

[2] *JRS* 52 (1962), p. 61. (= Badian, *Studies in Greek and Roman History* [Oxford, 1964], pp. 206-234); for adverse criticism, cf. J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *JRS* 55 (1965), pp. 230-232, P. A. Brunt, *JRS* 55 (1965), p. 109, and (implicitly) C. Bulst, *Historia* 13 (1964), pp. 307-337. Badian's article, although a splendid reinterpretation of biased sources, presumes a Roman political cynicism of astonishing proportions. It is simplistic, furthermore, to presuppose the *Commentarii* as source for every account favorable to Sulla, and so on; some events might well have a pro-Sullan character in point of fact.

[3] Michael Crawford, *NC* 1964, pp. 149ff, dating it to 82; he has since written to me and concluded independently: "the pieces with IMPER ITERVM . . . may well have been struck just before Sulla's return, for circulation in Italy."

[4] App, *BC* 1.97; Plut, *Sull* 34.4; and elsewhere. For his cognomen "Epaphroditos" see especially Plut, *De Fort. Rom* 4.

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The combination of Greek godhead and Roman religion is characteristic of Sulla's eclectic spirit. The two trophies ought to symbolize the battle of Chaeronea; their grim significance to the Greek world is hammered home in a simultaneous Athenian tetradrachm, where two trophies flank an Athenian owl.[5] The two hailings as Imperator can only be roughly dated; perhaps they mark the conquest of Greece and Asia in successive years,[6] as Roman commanders were not hailed twice in one campaign. There could be no such hailing after the Colline Gates,[7] for such a hailing took place after hostes (Varro, *LL* 5.87) were conquered, not Roman citizens and allies.

The historical background for this coin is difficult to ascertain; our two main sources (Livy and Appian) often disagree.[8] It appears that in late 85 Sulla sent a supercilious letter to the Senate (App, *BC* 1.77). The reply of the Senate, phrased by the moderate senators (App; Liv, *Per* 83), was sent just before (App.) or just after (Liv.) Cinna and Carbo had themselves created consuls (Liv, App.), this before the legal election date (App.). The consuls spent the winter 85/84 in preparation for war (Liv, App.), despite the prohibitions of the Senate (App.).

Sulla replied, as he had been requested to do (App.), in early 84; his demands, more moderate in tone than those of 85, involved restoration for himself (App, *BC* 1.79) and his party (Liv, *Per* 84). While the legates of the Senate (with Sulla's accompanying) were

[5] For the dating, see Margaret Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens* (New York, 1961), p. 439. For the two Roman trophies after Chaeronea, see Plut, *Sull* 19.8; *De Fort. Rom* 4; Paus, 9.40.7; no trophy is mentioned after Orchomenos, nor after the Thracian victories of 85 (though they must have been erected). The trophies of Chaeronea were famous, and those of Sulla's coin are most easily identified with them; but the two trophies were apparently also identified in antiquity with the double hailing (to which they bore no procedural connection), and this new interpretation was confirmed by a Pompeian coin of 54 (compare Syd. 884 and Cic, *Balb* 6.16).

[6] Grounds for the hailings are listed in App, *BC* 1.76 (derived from Sulla's *Commentarii*); Auct, *De Vir. Ill* 75.7; and Val. Max, 2.8.7; and note the *compluria proelia* of 85, mentioned in Liv, *Per* 83.

[7] Cf. M. Crawford, op. cit., p. 151. There is no indication of a hailing in the extensive battle descriptions of App, *BC* 1.93f; and Plut, *Sull* 29f; it is implicitly denied in Cic, *Phil* 14.23; and for Sulla's grounds of triumph, see App, *BC* 1.101; Val. Max, 2.8.7. Republican generals probably were not hailed Imperator in civil wars.

[8] See Gabba's commentary on Appian, *BC* 1.77–79 passim.

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returning to Italy in early 84, Cinna was murdered by his troops.[9] The legates continued on to Rome, laying Sulla's proposals before the Senate,[10] which rejected them *per Carbonem factionemque eius* (Liv.). Finding the majority (?) subverted and the city in disorder (ἀδιοίκητον, App.), Sulla's legates returned to Greece with their business uncompleted (ἄπρακτοι, App.). Sulla remained in Greece for the remainder of the year and invaded Italy in early 83 (see *MRR* for sources).

The sources are in basic agreement on the sequence, despite their wandering from the narrative. What is important to note is that Sulla's unanswered epistle of early 84 served as his last formal negotiation with the Senate, and therefore as Sulla's final and official statement of invasion pretexts. A close examination of this letter can reveal Sulla's "public motivations."[11]

It is curious that Appian's summary of this letter (*BC* 1.79) contains the only other historical reference to Sulla's augurate, apart from Sulla's own coin of the same year.[12] Appian says: ἤτει δ'αὐτοὺς τήν τε ἀξίωσιν καὶ περιουσίαν καὶ ἱερωσύνην ... ἀποδοθῆναι. The restoration of these specific things (his *dignitas*, property, and priesthood) formed, therefore, the hard core of Sulla's demands to the Senate in early 84.

Appian's source (Sulla's *Commentarii*[13]) is possibly correct in portraying Sulla as moderate and reasonable in 84. Sulla appears to have been quite uncertain about his chances in an invasion; and his demands were designed to delay conflict while arousing sympathy for his cause. His *dignitas* (ἀξίωσις) had been most recently impugned by Cinna's preparations for war during 85/84, which implied Sulla was a traitor and ignored the Senate's effort at reconciliation. Sulla

[9] See *MRR* for sources; Badian, op. cit, p. 58; App, *BC* 1.78 (χειμών); Liv, *Per* 84.

[10] I presume the legates of Sulla went on to Rome for that purpose; there is no other pretext for their presence in the mission if they were not intended to relay Sulla's message personally.

[11] These demands were a call for his own restoration to citizenship and correspond closely to the broader call in Liv, *Per* 84. The general similarity of the two accounts (from different sources) verifies their collective testimony. In 85 Sulla made no demand for restoration: App, *BC* 1.77.

[12] And also a commemorative coin of 59 B.C., Syd. 909.

[13] Badian, op. cit, p. 59 and n. 14.

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found these preparations offensive, reasonably enough;[14] for him, they belied Cinna's very convenient return to "moderation" in the face of Sulla's overwhelming Eastern victories. There was no chance that Sulla would lose the Mithridatic War now; and Cinna came to regret his over-hasty political alliance with Marius.

Sulla's second demand was the restoration of his property, which was destroyed in 87.[15] This property was illegally confiscated and by the normal operation of Roman law ought to be returned.[16] The Marians had, in effect, attempted to destroy his *sacra* by obliterating his property and sending his *familia* into exile as *hostes* of the Roman state.[17] Sulla's position seems quite reasonable.

Both of these demands were serious challenges to the attacks of Cinna; both required answers of some sort. The third demand, the restoration of his augurate, might seem less important. In truth, however, it was every bit as grave; for alone of all offices in the Roman state the augurate could not be removed, despite any crime however serious (Plut, *RQ* 99). The Marian state had revoked all of Sulla's offices in 87.[18]

[14] Cf. Badian, op. cit, p. 57f. Sulla was declared a hostis (πολέμιος) of the Roman State in 87 (App, *BC* 1.73), and so lost his citizenship. This declaration was unprovoked, and probably accompanied a *Senatus Consultum "Ultimum"* which was used to legalize the Marian proscriptions. These decrees were the work of a paranoiac old man, and both the Senate and Sulla tried to ignore them; while Cinna did not. So compromised was the Senate by the negotiations of 85/4 that both decrees had to be repassed in 83 (Jul. Exuper, 7; App, *BC* 1.86).

[15] App, *BC* 1.73; Plut *Sull* 22.1 (there is no reason to doubt this action occurred in 87, despite Plutarch's vague attribution to Cinna and Carbo).

[16] Property taken by violence was not considered stolen and was always recoverable in Roman law; *usucapio* was not relevant.

[17] For the close connection in antiquity between the maintenance of property and the familial *sacra*, see e.g., Gaius, 2.55.

[18] App, *BC* 1.73: the Marians made ἀρχῆς ἀφαιρέσεις, "removals from office." This should refer to Sulla; no other depositions (as opposed to murders or abdications) are recorded except the doubtful case of App. Claudius Pulcher, a promagistrate (see *MRR*). Note that Sulla does not refer to his proconsulate (which was legally lost, cf. App, *BC* 1.86) on coins (Syd. 754–761) but rather to his hailing, since the title "Imperator" was granted by soldiers and could not be removed by the Senate. The Senate carried into effect its deposition by sending Flaccus to the East in 86; but there is no indication as to who filled Sulla's augurate.

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These three demands neatly counteracted any Marian charge that Sulla was guilty of *perduellio* in his letter of 85; they did so by branding as illegal the entire Marian attack on his person. It is idle to ask whether these three were the only demands Sulla made in 84. Badian calls Sulla's requests "temporizing;" perhaps Sulla was willing to compromise, and if his demands had been granted the civil war would have ended.[19] Appian says not: ὧ δὴ μάλιστα δῆλος ἐγένετο, ... τὴν τυραννίδα ἤδη διανοούμενος (*BC* 1.79). Appian derives from Sulla. The three demands formed, therefore, the firmest and most unattackable *pretexts* for invasion which Sulla himself could profess in print. Sulla may not have expected a reply to his charges (and indeed there was no really satisfactory answer).

Nor is it possible to discover why the Senate refused even to consider the demands. It is probable, as Badian maintains,[20] that the Senate was favorable to Carbo (despite the explicit opposing testimony of Liv, *Per* 84). The reasons are not hard to discover: Carbo was in Italy, Sulla far to the East; and, after all, somebody had profited by the proscriptions of 87. The Senate's blunt refusal to consider or reply to Sulla's offer opened the war, with the propaganda advantage going to Sulla. The consequence of Carbo's indiplomacy (as head of the dominant *factio* he reaped the blame) was to provide Sulla a firm cause for invasion.

Sulla's legates first heard of Cinna's death in February or March, 84. They learned also (probably first-hand) of the chaos in Rome. They returned to Sulla, who then waited almost an entire year before invading Italy. During that year the Senate made no attempt to contact Sulla, no probing action of any kind. Blame for this rests with Carbo; and this is true no matter what Livy's source was in Book 84.

As Syd. 760–761 indicate, Sulla made use of the rejected letter in popularizing his cause during 84. The augural instruments were chosen, before any other propaganda device, to symbolize the illegality of the Marian attacks. Sulla used these coins to pay his men for the invasion, and from them they passed into Italy; the intended

[19] Op. cit, p. 59. Sulla did not become sure of his position till the death of Cinna in early 84; there were serious doubts that he could have won Italy if Cinna had lived.
[20] Op. cit, p. 59.

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effect is clear. It seems odd at first that Sulla chose the third demand (which might appear the most trivial) as symbolic of the whole.

However the augural symbols had implications far beyond simple illegality; and these implications must have figured in his selection of the symbol. Plutarch (*RQ* 99) speculates that the augur could not be deposed because his profession involved simple knowledge (*episteme*). Bouché-Leclerq agrees, terming the augur a "jurisconsult."[21] This is surely inaccurate; and Plutarch's observations seem to be an inference from Greek practice — note that he calls the augur a μάντις. Pliny the Younger was himself an augur (*Ep* 4.8); his letter best witnesses the Roman attitude on this point: *sacerdotium hoc quoque* sacrum plane *insigneque est, quod non adimitur viventi*.[22] The Marians, then, assaulted Roman religion by removing Sulla's augurate; the demand of Sulla implied both their illegality and absolute impiety; and it was by far the gravest of Sulla's accusations.

The reasons for the Marian attack may lie in the augur's power over military affairs. Cicero terms the augur an *interpres Iouis Optumi Maxumi* (*Leg* 2.20). Cicero goes on to list his duties: *signis et auspiciis postera vidento*; . . . *quique agent rem duelli quique popularem, auspicium praemonento ollique obtemperanto*. "They shall observe the future through portents and auspices; and those who conduct foreign or internal affairs shall watch over the omens and obey them." Though Cicero is reciting his own laws for an ideal state, the duties he set down correspond closely to Roman practice.[23]

Every Roman school boy could no doubt call to mind great battles won by observance of the auguries; and also those lost by defiance of them. A Roman commander was not compelled to take the omens; but the failure to observe auspices brought military disaster to some commanders and state-imposed fines to others.[24]

[21] *Histoire de la Divination* (1882), iv, p. 276, n. 3. The term is more accurately applied to the pontifices.

[22] The reasons for this practice are lost in antiquity; perhaps, as Plutarch also conjectures, it originally involved fear that an enemy would usurp Roman rites. The early augurs came from Etruria.

[23] See Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, ii, 2325ff.

[24] For victories won through omens, e.g., those of Mam. Aemilius Mamercinus, dictator in 437: Liv, 4.18.6; for defeats, the case of P. Claudius Pulcher, consul in 249 (see *MRR*). For the auspices ignored, see *RE*, ii, 2334f. For

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The will of Jove was revealed in the military auguries, whether for success or failure in a specific projected battle. Sulla, whose religious awe was almost legendary in antiquity,[25] regarded his military triumphs as the consequence of heaven's favor; specifically, the favor of Aphrodite. The index to this favor lay in augury, which Sulla himself practiced as an augur.

When the Marian Senate deprived Sulla of his augurship, it cut him off from the gods; it attempted to sever his ties to heaven. Sulla had now to depend merely on luck (though heaven still granted signs of favor, as in Plut, *Sull* 27f.). His *felicitas* was vindicated by the triumphs of 83–82 over Marian consuls.

The two instruments which Sulla chose as symbolic of his vindicated luck were those which might represent for a Roman the most memorable of the augur's functions. The lituus was an obvious and frequent motif on Roman coins; but the sitella, used in allotments, had never appeared previously as a coin type.[26] It served to recall the allotment (through divine agency) of the Mithridatic War to Sulla, and complimented the surrounding inscriptions and trophies, which showed the commission carried out. The message was plain enough, and contrasted with the consular (human) commission to Flaccus in 86.[27]

With deadly accuracy Sulla hit on those Marian actions which most endangered himself, the state, and the state religion. His logic

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disastrous defeats attended by death, the case of C. Flaminius, consul in 217: Cic, *Div* 1.77f; and *MRR*. Claudius Pulcher was fined.

[25] *RE*, iv, 1557f; and Harry Ericsson, "Sulla Felix," *Eranos* 41 (1943) pp. 77–89, whose views on this controversial subject are both credible and deductive.

[26] Liv, 25.3.16; and 41.18.8, for the augurs' part in the allotment. Lily Ross Taylor first identified this jug, I believe; it is *not* a capis (as identified in Grueber and elsewhere), since this is used by the pontifices (Taylor, *AJA* 48 (1944), p. 353, n. 8.) The capis is probably shown with the pontifical simpulum and the inscription PONTIFEX on Syd. 1286. For Sulla's appointment by lot, see Vell. Pat, 2.18.3; App, *BC* 1.55. See now L. R. Taylor, *Roman Voting Assemblies* (Ann Arbor, 1966), p. 74 and n. 32 (p. 144). A colleague suggests that Ascon. 21C (contra Suet, *Nero* 2.1), together with *ILS* 9338.4 and Dio 39.17, may eliminate any possibility of an augurate for Sulla; the argument is refuted by Geer, *CPh* 24 (1929), pp. 292–294, *MRR*, Vol. 1, p. 562, n. 7, and Taylor, ibid. Dio's "law," often violated (cf. *MRR*, 174 and 30 B.C.), is of unknown date.

[27] See App, *BC* 1.75; this passage is probably derived from the *Commentarii* and means that Sulla drew the comparison explicitly.

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was neat and damning. In three specific requests he symbolized their attack on the Roman constitution; by emphasizing the augurate he stressed their simultaneous rejection of religion. Their refusal to countenance his requests displayed wanton unwillingness to purge their transgressions. The return of Sulla had become already in 84 a vindication of enormous scope; the augurate summed up a whole spectrum of person, state, and heaven; of wrongful injury and rightful revenge. Carbo, incompetent in such subtleties, was held in a web of tightly-drawn propoganda.

Whether Sulla's pretexts were sufficient is unclear; Sulla considered them sufficient, and Marius had marched for less. So successful were the augural symbols that one of Sulla's lieutenants used them on military coinage in 82,[28] although he was not even an augur.[29]

[28] The coins of Metellus Pius, Syd. 750–751; see M. Crawford, op. cit, pp. 149f., for the terminus ante quem of 82 (not 78, as in Sydenham and elsewhere).
[29] L. R. Taylor, op, cit, pp. 352–356; she discovers an obscure pretext for the symbols, but their party functions are not to be ignored (A. Alföldi, *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly* [Oxford, 1956], pp. 85f.).

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THE FIRST GOLD ISSUE OF ANASTASIUS

(PLATE XXIX)

JOAN M. FAGERLIE

The solidi of Anastasius now regarded as official are of two types. The first portrays the emperor diademed on the obverse and Victory holding a long cross on the reverse (PLATE XXIX, A).[1] This type was superseded by the issue which portrays the emperor without diadem and Victory with a ꝕ cross (PLATE XXIX, B).[2] Both issues bear the obverse legend DNANASTA SIVSPPAVG. There are, however, a few specimens of the first type which have a slightly different obverse legend, DNANASTAS IVSPERPAVG, and thus differ from the other issues of Anastasius both in the legend break and in the titulature.[3] In my opinion, these represent an earlier issue of Anastasius, preceding the two standard emissions.[4]

The known examples of this type are as follows:

1. Berlin, Staatliche Museum. Off. A, 4.34 gr. ↓
2. Naville Cat. Oct. 3, 1934, no. 2023. Off. A, 4.48 gr. (same dies as above)
3. ANS (*ex* Michael M. Marx Price List 20, May 1966, no. 3). Off. S, 4.43 gr ↓
4. Dumbarton Oaks. Off. I, 4.42 gr. ↓
5. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung. Off I, 4.50 gr. ↓
6. Stockholm, Statens Historiska Museum. Off. I, 4.45 gr. ↓
7. Ratto Cat. Dec. 9, 1930, no. 314. Off I
8. Berlin, Staatliche Museum. Off. I, 4.49 gr. ↓

[1] The issue is rightly identified as imperial in the Ratto Catalogue, Dec. 9, 1930, p. 18. The specimen illustrated here is at the Staatliche Museum, Berlin.

[2] *BMCByz.* 2–5.

[3] The same obverse legend appears on trientes (*BMCByz.* 9; Ratto 326; Dumbarton Oaks) and semisses (British Museum; Bibliothèque Nationale).

[4] These are the main solidi issues. One other solidus type may represent a further issue in which Anastasius is portrayed without diadem and Victory holds a ✠ cross (*BMCByz.* 1; Tolstoi 1; Dumbarton Oaks). Two other issues are known which would seem to be special issues; the marriage solidus of 491 (see below) and a gold aureus with profile portrait (Ratto 308, now at Dumbarton Oaks).

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Six other coins are known but it is doubtful that they are of official origin.[5] The above specimens, however, are almost certainly official strikings of Constantinople and the first coinage of Anastasius, the use of PERPAVG being carried over from the region of Zeno. Further evidence for the existence of such an issue and for its date is found in the marriage solidus of Anastasius and Ariadne which has the same obverse legend and legend break and which was issued on the occasion of their marriage in May 491.[6] More conclusive is a die link between a PERPAVG coin and a PPAVG coin: Nos. 1 and 2 on the above list share the reverse die with a coin of the succeeding issue (PLATE XXIX, A, 1–2).

Three different officinae are represented on these eight coins, officina I on five of them.[7] The coins bear a remarkable uniformity of style. The treatment of the cuirass, the cross and Victory's wings is generally uniform. Although some variation is evident in the adornment of the helmet (Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 6 have a trefoil ornament; No. 7, a cross and Nos. 3, 5 and 8, nothing at all), in the succeeding issue which was of longer duration there is much greater variation in all details.

This issue was also minted at Thessalonica. A rare solidus in the Stockholm cabinet with two stars on the reverse bears the same obverse legend (PLATE XXIX, 9).[8] At both Constantinople and Thessalonica this type was superseded by the type with the usual obverse legend, DNANASTA SIVSPPAVG. These coins are very common for Constantinople and a few specimens with the two-star reverse of Thessalonica are also known (PLATE XXIX, 10).[9] The last issue of

[5] They are of somewhat barbarous style and have various irregularities. Florange Cat. June 14, 1923, no. 44; May 12, 1926, no. 126 = Hess/Leu Cat. 24, April 16, 1964, no. 397; J. Schulman Cat. June 8, 1937, no. 316; Berlin, Staatliche Museum; Copenhagen, National Museum; ANS-ETN.

[6] G. Zacos and A. Veglery, "An Unknown Solidus of Anastasios I," *Num. Circ.* 1959, 154–55. The specimen they illustrate is now at Dumbarton Oaks.

[7] Officina I is also the most common in the two succeeding issues.

[8] Statens Historiska Museum; part of a hoard of 82 solidi from Botes, Etelhem parish, Gotland. Two-star reverses came to be characteristic of Thessalonica under Leo I and bore a Thessalonica mint mark. Under Zeno, the Thessalonica signature was discontinued and CONOB took its place in the exergue.

[9] Tolstoi 78–80; Montagu 1085; Münz u. Med., Nov. 17, 1962, no. 687; Dumbarton Oaks; Leuthold, *RIN* 1960, pl. XX,A.

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Anastasius showing the emperor without diadem and Victory with a ꝙ cross was not produced, to my knowledge, at Thessalonica. Yet this mint apparently struck gold under Justin I and Justinian I as some rare two-star issues attest.[10]

[10] Justin I — Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale = Montagu 1091; Tolstoi 102. Justinian I — Naville Cat. XV, 1930, no. 2166; Montagu 1097 = Tolstoi 528; J. Schulman Cat. June 8, 1937, nos. 319–320; Dumbarton Oaks/Whittemore. The Thessalonica coins of Justin and Justinian are marked by a progressive deterioration of style and by the use of obsolete types.

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BYZANTINE NOTES

(PLATES XXX-XXXV)

ALFRED R. BELLINGER

The Notes are organized under the following headings:

1. The Gold of Leo III and His Successors
2. The End of the Isaurians
3. Sicilian Gold of Michael II and Theophilus
4. Metcalf's Arrangement of the Copper of Theophilus
5. Three Imperial Portraits
6. The Coins of Constantine Porphyrogennetus and His Associates

1. THE GOLD OF LEO III AND HIS SUCCESSORS

The gold issues of Leo III, 717–741, form a systematic body whose development can be clearly traced; yet there are points whose explanation is not entirely obvious. Therefore, a review of the whole series is in order.

There can be no doubt as to the first issue (PLATE XXX, 2). Its style is a direct continuation of that of Theodosius III, 716–717 (PLATE XXX, 1). Since Leo alone is represented, this type must have been struck before the association in the empire of Constantine, who was born in 718 and made Emperor by his father in 720. The obverse legend ꝺNDLEONPAMЧL is expanded by Wroth as D(omi) NO LEON(i) P(erpetuo) A(ugusto) MЧL(tos Annos) in spite of the fact that the third letter has the form D more often than O.[1] No other suggestion for the letter has been made.

To the issue with a single portrait succeeds a type with Leo on one side, Constantine on the other, each holding globus cruciger and anexikakia. The portrait of Constantine is that of a child, with some indications of advancing maturity though the basic pattern is un-

[1] W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1908). It is hardly necessary at this date to repeat the warning that Wroth's Type 1, p. 365 belongs to Leontius and not to Leo III at all.

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changed. The first variety (PLATE XXX, 3) shows an extremely youthful face on which the hair does not cover the ears. On the second variety (PLATE XXX, 4) the face seems a little older and the locks of hair frame the face as in the case with the portrait of Leo on the obverse. On the third (PLATE XXX, 5) the bust is distinctly larger which gives an appearance of greater age. How far can these criteria be used for dating? Andreas Dikigoropoulos (in unpublished notes) divided these gold portraits to represent the Emperor as "infans," from one to seven; "pupillus," from eight to fourteen; or "minor," from fourteen to twenty. But his categories *do* not altogether agree with those of Julia Cardozo whose arrangement was arrived at without preconceived theories and seems to me objectively sound. There is every reason to suppose that the issue was begun to celebrate the association of Constantine, but at that time he was only two years old and even the first variety can hardly be recognized as a boy of seven, the end of infancy, let alone two. The die sinkers were doubtless under instructions to make the heir to the empire seem of a fit age to rule and at least some of the first variety are to be dated 720. After that it seems to me that while the second and third varieties follow in that order it is not possible to date them more exactly. I attribute them all to 720–737.

The obverse inscription continues that of the coins of Leo alone. The reverse reads ƆNCONSƬ ANƬINЧSM. The final M must be the initial of Multos Annos; the fact that the Emperor's name is in the nominative instead of the dative is simply an instance of the growing carelessness about legends. There is evidence of carelessness of another kind: the officina letters should appear on the reverse, and sometimes they are evident, like the Z (PLATE XXX, 3). Sometimes, however (PLATE XXX, 6), the letter is so small and indifferently made that it is hard to say what it is supposed to represent — in this case S? It almost seems as though the letters had been forgotten by the original designer and were put in as an afterthought.

The second variety has a reasonable number of officina letters but the third is still more careless of normal mint procedure. There are a few instances where a tiny mark may be intended for S, but the only instances of unmistakable letters are an anomalous L and a second M (PLATE XXX, 5) both of which seem to be mere errors.

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The groups of the solidi are paralleled on the semisses and tremisses, though the very small scale makes it less easy to detect the distinctions. The largest folles also have the first portrait with the ears showing, though there seems to be no half follis that is earlier than the second gold variety.

To the childish portrait succeeds that of a young man still beardless but not improbable as depicting a youth of twenty (PLATE XXX, 7). I should date this latest issue 738–741. The legends are the same but there is a surprising innovation in regard to the officiana marks: most of them occur with the portrait of Leo. I have found Δ, Є, S, Z, H, I while only Θ (PLATE XXX, 8) and I appear with the portrait of Constantine and in most cases there is no letter at all on what is presumably the reverse. The question cannot be avoided as to whether the portrait of Constantine really is the reverse here as on the earlier coins.

On the series with the two emperors each holding cross potent and anexikakia (PLATE XXX, 9), the officina mark comes at the end of the inscription of Leo. The illustrated specimen has I after Leo's inscription; Θ is also found (D.O.) and H (Wroth 1). This is the series which Wroth puts as the first of Constantine. The principal reason for attributing this to the new reign is that Constantine is now bearded. The replacing of the globus cruciger by a cross potent in the right hand of the Emperor is also appropriate to a major change. We may therefore support Wroth in attributing the series with cross potent to Constantine, dismissing the irregularities as to officina letters of the preceding issue as the last stage of an indifference which begins in 720.

It is certain that this is the deceased emperor on the reverse because when Constantine in turn (in 751) associated his son with himself in the empire, the gold coins which document that new state of affairs still show Leo, so named, on the reverse; while on the obverse the portraits of Constantine and his son Leo are clearly identified as COhSTAhTIhOSS LEOhOhЄOS (PLATE XXX, 10). On this specimen it will be noticed that there is Θ at the end of the inscription of Leo.

The next step was still more explicit (PLATE XXX, 11). Leo IV succeeded 14 September 775 and less than a year later, 24 April 776, he in turn crowned his son Constantine as heir and Co-Emperor. No coins of his are known struck between these dates; his earliest are

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those with his son. And now four generations are shown. On the obverse are Leo IV entitled LEOhVSSЄϚϚOh (υἱὸς καὶ ἔγγονος-Son and Grandson), and Constantine COhSTAhTI(nos) O hЄO(s) (Constantine Junior), while the two busts on the reverse are identified as LЄON PAP(pos) (Grandfather Leo) and COhSTAhTIhOS PATHR (Father Constantine). This impressive display of family solidarity was approved by the citizens. Theophanes reports that the coronation of Leo's infant son was in response to demands from the army and an oath of loyalty was taken to him as sole heir; and it may be that plans for this arrangement prevented an initial issue of coins struck by Leo alone. But the bright prospects of the new reign were blighted by the death of Leo, 8 September 780, after he had ruled for a little less than five years. Aside from some military successes against the Moslems, little is known about his administration.

2. The End of the Isaurians

It had been the good fortune of the Empire that Leo III and Constantine V had been succeeded by mature men. This was not the case in 780. Constantine VI was a boy of ten; it was impossible that he should reign without guidance and inevitable that the guardianship should devolve on his mother, the strong-minded Irene of Athens. The first issue of gold coins shows the elements of the problem (Plate XXXI, 1.) The reverse continues the family tradition, displaying three bearded figures seated wearing the imperial crown and chlamys. They are not named but there is no doubt at all that they represent Leo III, Constantine V and Leo IV. But the obverse and the inscriptions on both sides introduce a different theme: the ambition of the queen mother. The obverse has, on the left, the bust of the Emperor wearing a crown with a cross and the chlamys, holding a globus cruciger in his right hand. On his left, and so to the beholder's right, is the bust of Irene wearing a jewelled chlamys and holding in her left hand a cruciform scepter. There is a little cross in the center above their heads. There are here important breaches of precedent. The last appearance of a woman on a gold piece was that of Ariadne on the marriage solidus of 491 showing her with Anastasius, with the figure of Christ between; this scene is on the reverse, the bust of

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Anastasius on the obverse. Since that time there had been three imperial couples on coins: Justin II and Sophia, Maurice and Constantine (from the mint of Cherson), and Phocas and Leontia. In all these cases the emperor is on the beholder's left, his consort on the right; in all these cases the coins are of copper. There is an innovation in the case of Martina, the wife of Heraclius, whose marriage caused such scandal because she was his niece. When she appears it is always as one of three figures, with Heraclius and the heir, Heraclius Constantine, who was the son of Heraclius' first wife. If his presence somewhat abated her importance, that was partly compensated by the fact that she stands on the emperor's right, the senior position, while Heraclius Constantine was relegated to the junior position on the beholder's right. She appears only on the copper, and an item showing popular dissatisfaction is a specimen at Dumbarton Oaks where her figure has been obliterated by hammering. Irene's appearance on gold has therefore only a remote and imperfect precedent while the appearance of any woman except the sovereign's wife, in any metal, has no precedent closer than Theodosius II[2]. These coins with the portrait of Irene are poorly designed and badly executed so that there is no way of judging whether account was taken of the increasing age of the boy emperor.

Still more surprising is the evidence of the inscriptions. It would, of course, be normal for the legend on the obverse to refer to the obverse type, the reverse legend to the reverse type, but here there is no specific reference to the reverse type at all; both sides are devoted to Constantine VI and Irene. There are two varieties; on the first the obverse inscription is that of Constantine, the reverse that of Irene (PLATE XXXI, 1). In both cases the letters are very small, carelessly made and sometimes off the flan, so that it is only by comparing a number of specimens that the legends can be made out at all. It is certain that the obverse legend begins COhSTAhTIhOS. On Tolstoi 1

[2] Veglery and Zacos, "New Light on the Solidus of Leo IV," *Num. Circ.* 1961, pp. 30f., argue that the loros is the preeminent garb, the chlamys the inferior, so that, in spite of the fact that the position of the busts shows the normal precedence, they believe that here Irene is taking precedence of her son. Their rule is not supported by the evidence but, in any case, since the chlamys is the imperial military garb, it would be impossible for a woman to wear and we need not add this to the breaches of precedent of this remarkable type.

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the letters BA can be made out and I believe that is the true reading of the ƬΛ of Wroth 1. That specimen also reads S IR,[3] for καὶ Εἰρίνη. The whole legend, therefore, is presumably CONSƬANƬINOS S IR. That would seem to suffice for Irene, but it did not. The reverse inscription begins SIRINI or SVNIRINI (D.O.).[4] So she is named on both sides. This is followed by AVΓ ΜIƬHR or ΜHƬHR, once (Tolstoi 1) AVΓЧSƬI AVC ΜIR, once (D.O.) by ЄVAV ƬHR. The expanded legend would then be SIRINIEV(σεβής) AVΓЧSƬI AVΓ(ούστου) ΜHƬHR but it is to be noticed that the variants S and SVN at the beginning show that the formula was not entirely fixed.

The second variety is another step in the ambitious career of the queen mother, for she now holds a globus cruciger in her right hand as well as the cruciform scepter in her left (Martina also had held the imperial globus cruciger). And it is now her legend that occupies the obverse (PLATE XXXI, 2). It appears to be always SIRINI AVΓ ΜHƬHR, the only remarkable item being the initial S = καί which, of course, is nonsense at the beginning of an inscription.

The reverse inscription begins CONSƬANƬINOS, which ends between the heads of the emperors on the right. Following the name, on the right of the coin, are three letters very badly made and exhibiting a wide variety of shapes. Comparison of a number of specimens, however, shows that the only sure reading is c'b'b' to which all the forms can be reduced with greater or less difficulty (PLATE XXXI, 3, an enlargement of the clearest piece). There is no entirely satisfactory reading of this abbreviated legend, but the most probable one is κ(ύριε) β(οήθει) β(ασιλεῦσι), "Lord aid the emperors." The confusion between C and K makes no difficulty; on the silver of the same reign ЄC is written for ЄK. The omission of the article, however, is surprising. One would expect τοῖς βασιλεῦσι. But there is a parallel which Professor Ihor Ševčenko of Dumbarton Oaks has called to my attention. In *BCH* 1909, pp. 3–169, Henri Grégoire published a "Rapport sur un voyage d'exploration dans le Pont et en Cappadoce." On pp. 120–125 he records a rock-cut inscription whose heading is read [κ](ύρι)ε βοήθ[ε]ι βασιλεῦσ[ι]. The necessary restorations do not

[3] Two specimens at D. O. have R and IR.

[4] Wroth 1 also reads SVN though the rest of the legend is misunderstood. There is no question of SV NIC(ας) here.

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affect the fact that βασιλεῦσι is used without the article. Grégoire calculates that the emperors concerned are Leo IV and Constantine VI,[5] that is, the period is very close to that of our coins. There is, however, one obvious and important difference between the instances; in Grégoire's inscription the emperors referred to are the ruling sovereigns; on the coins they are the deceased Leo III, Constantine V and Leo IV. The phrase κύριε βοήθει does not seem appropriate to the dead and I find no case of its use among funerary inscriptions but perhaps it may be here thought of as including the living emperor, Constantine VI, as well, which would result in a kind of prayer for the whole dynasty, past and present. If such an assumption is admissible, there is an evident practical use for the legend: from Constantine V on the sovereigns on the gold coins, living and dead, had been named. Leo IV had managed to identify four: two ancestors, himself and his son. Constantine VI had no son so that there were again four emperors. The addition of Irene, however, raised the number of portraits to five and with three figures on the reverse there was simply not room enough to identify them all. The unprecedented phrase κύριε βοήθει βασιλεῦσι was therefore used to take the place of individual labels. It is, of course, possible that the second β′ stands for βασιλεῖ and refers to Constantine VI alone. The objection to this is that he is already named and it seems unlikely that he would appear first in the nominative and then in the dative on the same side of the same coin. Neither reading can account for the extreme carelessness of the letters.

To this enigmatic series succeeds another which is entirely understandable (PLATE XXXI, 4). The ancestors are banished from the reverse and the busts of mother and son now appear, each alone. The most noticeable thing about this issue is that it is very much better technically than its predecessors. The simplified type is in itself an improvement but, aside from that, the higher relief, the superior modelling, the care in details of drawing and the clear and well-placed inscriptions combine to make this a really handsome performance. The legends are invariable: IRIHH AΓOVSTI[6] and

[5] V is printed in error for VI.

[6] An exception is Wroth 4 of which there is another example at D. O. The reading is HRHHI AVΓЧTH for Αὐγούστι). Wroth's final R led Laurent to con-

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COhSTAhTIhOSbAs'. One detail shows that Irene's pretensions to primacy were not abandoned: the legend of Constantine generally ends with a Θ. Now this is what is left of the old officina mark appearing upon the reverse to identify the workshop in which each piece was struck. There is no question of different officinae here for Θ is the only letter used (unless we assume that the minority which have no letter emanate from a different officina) but it is the general rule that when such a letter occurs it marks the reverse. There are exceptions but they are sufficiently minor so that we may believe that Irene was still powerful enough to claim this prerogative.

Fitting these coins into the history of the reign is not as easy or as rewarding as one could wish. While they testify eloquently to Irene's ambition, their connection with the capital events of the reign is more dubious. Is the disappearance of the Isaurian ancestors to be connected with the condemnation of Iconoclasm at the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787? There are two objections to that. In the first place, while condemning their heresy, the members of the Council paid tribute to the greatness of the Isaurians.[7] Their removal from the coinage would not have been a logical consequence of the Council's acts. Second, if the two first varieties come to an end in 787 we must either believe that there was a considerable time with no issue of gold or that the third type surmounted without change all the vicissitudes of the unedifying contest of mother and son. Neither of these objections is fatal. On the other hand, there is an incident in the year 790 which it is tempting to connect with the second variety of gold with the name of Irene on the obverse. In that year the soldiers were required to take the oath of allegiance with the clause "We will not be reigned over by your son during your lifetime." The troops submitted except for the army of the Armeniac theme. They protested that they would not allow the name of the mother to be put before that of the son but would continue to swear allegiance to Constantine and Irene as they always had. Attempts to coerce them only increased the hostility to the empress. The other troops reversed themselves,

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ecture mistakenly an early use of Βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων (V. Laurent, "ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ. L'Histoire d'un titre et le Témoignage de la Numismatique," *Cronica Numismatica şi Arheologica* XV [1940], p. 206).

[7] Mansi *Concilia* XIII.355.

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declared Constantine sole monarch and deposed Irene.[8] The new variety of gold will hardly have been the sole cause of this revolt but it may well have been one of a number of measures taken in 790 in which the empress overreached herself. The only numismatic reason for hesitating to accept this date is that the second variety seems to have been more common than the first and should have lasted longer instead of having been brought to an abrupt end by the rebellion. The most surprising thing is that there is no evidence of the period of Irene's eclipse from December 790 to January 792. If Constantine had chafed as much under his mother's imperious control as we are accustomed to believe, the failure of her coup d'état in 790 would have been the time for him to remove her from the gold and introduce a type of his own by way of making it plain that he was the master. But there are no such coins. There is only the series of mother and son alone which shows no sign of a break anywhere, unless Constantine's legend without the Θ is a rectification of the appearance of his inferiority. In that case these rarer coins should come last. On grounds of general probability it would seem likely that the second type came about 790 and the third was issued in the period after Irene's restoration in 792, but the small number of preserved specimens is quite unable to support any statistical argument about proportions and it may well be that the mint was not as sensitive to current affairs as we assume.

There is one subsidiary question affecting Irene's titles. On the gold she is called Augusta but the silver, which is invariable throughout the reign, reads COhS/ƮAhƮINO/SSIRIhIЄ,ЄCΘЄЧbA,SILIS, that is, Constantine and Irene are βασιλεῖς. This is a continuation of the silver type of Leo III and Constantine V, Constantine V and Leo IV, (Artavasdus and his son Nicephorus) and Leo IV and Constantine VI. Perhaps βασιλεῖς is only a convenient plural without special significance. In any event in 797 when she ruled alone she was βασίλισσα (PLATE XXXI, 5).

[8] Theophanes A. M. 6283 (De Boor, p. 466). The account is not quite exact. It is not specifically said that the troops rejected the revolutionary clause, which was probably an appendix to the reversal of order of the names, but the general course of events is clear.

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3. Sicilian Gold of Michael II and Theophilus

In the reign of Michael II the western gold coinage is struck on smaller and thicker flans recalling the globular issues of Heraclius and Constans II from Carthage, though not so neat and well designed. Either the mint of Syracuse had adopted a new fabric or there had been a change to another city. Indeed the extremes are so different (Plate XXXI, 6, 7) that we may be dealing with more than one mint. There are minor variations whose significance is not easy to define, but the basic arrangement is simple. I have used, beside the publications and the collection at Dumbarton Oaks, Grierson's extensive collection of photographs.

First there is the single specimen of Michael II alone (Tolstoi 2 = Ricotti 214) which was struck between the date of his accession, 25 December 820, and the coronation of his son Theophilus, 12 May 821. Each side has a bearded bust of the Emperor, in one case wearing the loros and holding a cross potent with the legend ꟿI XAHLbASIL, in the other wearing the chlamys and holding a globus cruciger with pellets to left and right of the cross. The legend is MIX AHLƆЄ. Which is to be considered the obverse and which the reverse? The later coins of father and son show that neither what the Emperor wears nor what he holds is a consistent guide to seniority.

There are two types of the solidus of Michael and Theophilus:

1. Michael with chlamys and globus cruciger; Theophilus with loros and cross potent (Plate XXXI, 6, 7).
2. Michael with loros and cross potent; Theophilus with chlamys and globus cruciger (Plate XXXI, 8, 9).

The exchange of costume and of attribute may, of course, have had some significance as to time and place of minting which we cannot now know but the most obvious explanation is that these marks of sovereignty are now equivalent and given indifferently to the senior or junior. The illustrations show that neither type is united by general appearance and there are no grounds for assigning either to a particular time or place. The important thing is that on the solidi one Emperor always holds a cross potent, the other a globus cruciger.

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There are two types of the semissis:

1. Michael with chlamys and globus cruciger; Theophilus also with chlamys and globus cruciger (PLATE XXXI, 10).
2. Michael with chlamys and globus cruciger; Theophilus with loros and globus cruciger (PLATE XXXI, 11).

That is, the denomination is defined by the fact that neither Emperor holds cross potent.

There are finally two types of the tremissis:

1. Michael with chlamys and globus cruciger; Theophilus with chlamys and cross potent.
2. Michael with chlamys and globus cruciger; Theophilus with loros and cross potent.

As on the solidi one Emperor or the other holds the cross potent but, as on the semisses, the garb of Michael is invariable, that of Theophilus changes.

The obverse legend is ꝂI XAHL, ꝂI XAHLb or ꝂI XAHLbA (standing, of course, for βασιλεύς). The varieties show no correspondence with the imperial dress, with the fabric of the coin or with its style. I believe that they are without systematic significance.

The reverse legend shows more variety. The simplest form is ΘЄ OЬIL (the inverted F being usual though not invariable). This occurs with loros and cross potent on globular solidi (Wroth, pl. XLVIII, 6) and globular semisses (Wroth, pl. XLVIII, 8). I have not the evidence to identify any tremissis as globular. More extended titles are of two classes: those which end in b or bA like the solidi, and those which end ∂Є, ∂ЄS or perhaps ∂ЄSP (PLATE XXXI, 9), like the Constantinopolitan gold. This second is sometimes corrupted to ΘЄO ЬILOSЄ and sometimes it is hard to determine whether the last consonant is meant to be δ or ς. This is true of Tolstoi 15 (semissis) and of Wroth 17 (tremissis). The ending b or bA is found for all three denominations; I know of no semissis with ∂ЄS, though there is no reason why it should not exist.

One variety of solidus is connected with the solidus of Michael alone by having pellets to l. and r. of the cross on the globe. These have chlamys and the legend ΘЄO FILIbA (private collection) and

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ΘЄ OFILIb (PLATE XXXI, 12). The connection presumably means that it comes at the beginning of the double reign. Some other observations seem to me to lead to no significant conclusion: e.g., the division in the inscription ΘЄO F or ΘЄOF I accompanies chlamys and globus cruciger; the division ΘЄ O normally accompanies loros and cross potent except for one (D.O.) which has chlamys and globus cruciger (PLATE XXXI, 12) and Wroth, 17–19 where it is with cross potent and chlamys.

The small Sicilian gold of Theophilus follows the same general system as that of Michael II with less deviation.

There are two types of the solidus of Theophilus alone.

1. ΘE OЬILOS Bust wearing loros and holding cross potent; ΘЄO ЬILOS Bust wearing chalmys and holding globus cruciger (PLATE XXXI, 13).
2. ✱ΘЄOFI LOSbASIL Bust wearing chalmys and holding cross potent; ΘЄOFI LOSbASIL Bust wearing loros and holding globus cruciger (PLATE XXXI, 14).

The former is evidently the more common. There were 45 specimens in a hoard which contained only 5 of the second type, but there is no indication of their order of issue. The legends are invariable.

There are semisses corresponding to the solidus types:

1a. ΘЄO ЬILOS Bust wearing chlamys and holding globus cruciger; ΘЄO ЬILOS Bust wearing loros and holding globus cruciger (PLATE XXXI, 15).

1b. The same except that Λ is written for L in both legends (PLATE XXXI, 16).

2. ✱ΘЄO ЬILOSbA Bust wearing chlamys and holding globus cruciger; ΘЄO ЬILOSbA Bust wearing loros and holding globus cruciger (PLATE XXXI, 17).

The tremissis, like the solidus, is distinguished by cross potent.

1. ΘЄO ЬILOS Bust wearing chlamys and holding globus cruciger; ΘЄ OЬILOS Bust wearing loros and holding cross potent (PLATE XXXII, 1).

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2. ✱ΘЄO ЬILOSbA Bust wearing chlamys and holding globus cruciger; ΘЄO ЬILOSbA Bust wearing loros and holding cross potent (PLATE XXXII, 2).

There are similar rare semisses and tremisses of Theophilus and his son Constantine. No solidi are known and as this is evidently a special issue to celebrate the coronation of the heir apparent, it is quite possible that none were issued.

Semissis: ΘЄO ЬILOS 6Є Bust wearing chlamys and holding globe surmounted by patriarchal cross; COh STAhTI Bust wearing chlamys and holding globus cruciger (PLATE XXXII, 3).

Tremissis: ΘЄO ЬILOS 6Є Bust wearing chlamys and holding globe surmounted by patriarchal cross; COhS TAhTIh Bust wearing chlamys. In field l., cross (Wroth, 43, pl. XLIX, 8; Tolstoi, 40).

The innovation here is the appearance of the patriarchal cross and the 6Є at the end of the obverse legend. Wroth (p. 426, n. 1) thinks that 6 is a form of D,' found also on the solidus of Constantine V (p. 366, No. 8) and Artavasdes (p. 391) and that the reading would be DЄ [SPOTЄS]. The use of this title on the solidus of Michael II alone shows that it was not inappropriate to the sovereign.

A quite dissimilar coin, on a wide flan, has the portraits of Theophilus, Michael and Constantine.

+ΘЄOFI LOSbASILЄ Bust bearded wearing crown with cross and chalmys. In r. hand, patriarchal cross, in l., anexikakia: +MIXAHLSCOhSTAhT To l., bust of Michael II bearded wearing crown with cross and chlamys, to r., bust of Constantine beardless wearing crown with cross and chlamys. Above, cross. Between heads, pellet. (PLATE XXXII, 4).

This exactly copies the type with these three figures struck at Constantinople (PLATE XXXII, 5) except for the fact that at Constantinople the obverse legend begins with ✱ and the reverse ends TIh. The two, however, are unmistakably distinguished by style. Dikigoropoulos has called attention to the fact that this was the earliest issue from the capital and that it was a substantial one.[9]

[9] "The Constantinopolitan Solidi of Theophilus," *DOPapers* 18 (1964), pp. 353–361.

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The Sicilian counterpart, on the other hand, is very rare and could not have played the same part in the currency as a whole. The most likely explanation is that the Sicilian coin was issued at the beginning of the reign but discontinued almost at once in favor of the thick fabric series of Theophilus alone which continued thereafter, the type with Theophilus and Constantine being only a temporary incident and not an interruption.

4. Metcalf's Arrangement of the Copper of Theophilus

In an article in *ANSMN* 10 (1962), pp. 81–98, entitled, "The New Bronze Coinage of Theophilus and the Growth of the Balkan Themes," D. M. Metcalf has subjected to a rigid analysis the coins of this Emperor (829–842) with the unprecedented reverse consisting of an inscription instead of the traditional M which had persisted to his first issue. The author discusses variations within the group with an eye to minutiae which one cannot but admire: the decoration of the tufa and of the loros, the proportions of the figure, the position of the fingers are all recorded with the most scrupulous detail. His consequent conclusion is that these coins may be divided into seven groups, A–Z and these he assigns to seven different mints: Constantinople, two in Asia Minor, Thessalonica, three in Greece (northern?, Peloponnesus?, the theme of Hellas?). Now Byzantine copper coins were struck at different mints in the East down to the time of Heraclius, for they bear mint marks, and, like Mr. Metcalf, I am committed to the theory that in the twelfth century there were several mints in operation again.[10] The problem is to discover when the process began and which cities were involved.

The first question is one of method. What is to be considered a variation significant enough to be counted as evidence for a difference in mint? There is a very clear case at hand available for use in this reign: the production of the mint at Syracuse.[11] A glance at Ricotti,

[10] Bellinger and Metcalf, "A Hoard of Byzantine Scyphate Bronze Coins from Arcadia," *NC* 1959, pp. 155–164; Bellinger, "Three More Hoards of Byzantine Copper Coins," *ANSMN* 11 (1964), pp. 207–226.

[11] Diego Ricotti Prina, "La Monetazione Siciliana nell'Epoca Bizantina," *Numismatica* (1950), pp. 26–60.

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pl. IV, Nos. 236, 239 will make it apparent that the Sicilian pieces could not possibly have been issued at Constantinople. No such fundamental difference of appearance is to be expected here. Mr. Metcalf's position in regard to the coins he is studying is simply stated: "although they are not inscribed with the name of any mint and although the elements in their design differ scarcely at all from one coin to another, they show a degree of variation in style that is understandable only if one supposes that they were produced at more than one mint." That is, the variations are not to be accounted for by the preferences or unequal skill of the individual workmen; they are the fruit of policy, either municipal or imperial; if the former, we have an explanation of the occasional identity of details between different groups, if the latter we can understand why the differences are so restricted. No one doubts that the pattern itself is dictated by imperial authority. It was someone at Constantinople who gave the order to prepare dies showing the three-quarter length figure of the Emperor holding a long cross and a globus cruciger, wearing the consular loros and a crown surmounted by the elaborate crest called a tufa. But who said, "the tufa shall be decorated with four dots, thus, ·:·," and why did he say it?

To the first question there are three possible answers: the authority at the capital, a lesser authority at the mint, or the die-sinker himself. We must admit the die-sinker as the source of some variation; we take it for granted that it is not possible to produce identity by copying. But how much conscious deviation will be tolerated? As to that we have some evidence though not strictly contemporary. Under Justinian I there is great latitude in the matter of detail and of style within a single issue, but Justinian was many years ago and the conditions may have been quite dissimilar then. In a lesser degree emissions nearer to Theophilus will serve. The copper of Heraclius (610–641) is difficult to work with because its condition is generally so deplorable, but there are deviations of style and of detail which might allow a scholar with the acumen and the patience of Mr. Metcalf to recognize a division into groups. To take a simple case: on the coins of his first year the Emperor is shown wearing a cuirass and the breastplate sometimes is adorned with three pellets, sometimes with none. This, I submit, is on a par with the number and placing of

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pellets in the tufa as significant variation. But in the case of Heraclius the variation occurs between two coins of Constantinople of the same year and from the same officina, B. Later than Heraclius we cannot apply this kind of demonstration for there are no later mint marks in the East. The two centuries which separate Heraclius from Theophilus make us cautious in pressing analogy too far. Yet I do not see how it can be denied that the analogy may be sound and that the kind of details on which Mr. Metcalf's grouping rests may be not the result of plan but of the die sinker's preference at the moment. This would reduce the whole coinage again to the output of the mint at Constantinople, which is the conventional assumption. I doubt if Mr. Metcalf would accept so reactionary a solution. He would probably argue that the criteria are too numerous and too consistent to be disposed of in that fashion. No abbreviation of his argument, without his illustrations, could do justice to it and I must refer the reader to the article itself if he wants to understand it. I may, however, raise a point or two where it seems to me that caution is desirable and in these remarks I have the benefit of notes made by Andreas Dikigoropoulos on the Dumbarton Oaks and Whittemore Collections, based on Mr. Metcalf's article.

There is no single feature of the design whose variation is critical; the treatment of the loros is the most common distinguishing feature, but in one case I believe that its use is the result of a misunderstanding. Group B is said to be distinguished by the fact that "the fold of the loros from the emperor's left shoulder to his right hip is ornamented by panels which are always diamond-shaped instead of square." Now the loros is a long, narrow, woven scarf whose decoration consists of squares with central dots. Wherever it can be seen there are two squares abreast and the pattern is simply ⊞. If these were replaced by diamond-shaped panels the pattern must be changed to ⊠. But this is never the case. The fact is that the loros lies obliquely across the emperor's body and the designer has not drawn his lines exactly parallel or exactly at right angles to the warp. The degree of inaccuracy varies, and is not confined to Group B but in any case it is inaccuracy that is involved and not any intent to introduce a new pattern as impled by the text. I find the description of the other details of the loros exact, but it will not of itself suffice to

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form the groups. Other elements are relied on, but they do not always confirm the grouping. E.g., the decoration of the tufa ·:· is shared by Groups A, B, Є, S, Z; ··:·· by A, B, Γ, S. The mark of abbreviation given as symptomatic of B occurs also on A (Metcalf's pl. XVII, 8) and Γ (Dumbarton Oaks). There is a phenomenon not mentioned by the author but with a certain stylistic significance. The globus held by the emperor is generally represented as a mere well-defined circle. There are cases, however, where the designer has given an appearance of convexity without a well-defined rim. I find examples in B, Γ, Δ and S; a good instance is on pl. XVIII where 15 (Γ) shows the circle, 14 (A) and 16 (Γ) the globe. Evidently if this detail had been considered critical quite different groups would have resulted. My most serious doubt concerns an item in Group Δ (p. 89). "Some coins have a cross in the lower right of the field (pl. XX, 31, 32)." Being a real change in the type, I should have thought this would, of necessity, define a Group; another and still more surprising deviation is credited to Group Δ, the coins which show the loros erroneously drawn from the right shoulder to the left hip instead of the other way around (pl. XX, 31–34).

The contemplation of these complexities leads us back to our unanswered question: why should an authority give instructions for such minutiae? It is evident what was intended by the earlier mint marks and officina marks. They were to make it plain in what city the coin was struck and in what workshop within the city. But these minute variations make nothing plain at all, though if they had any purpose they must have been expected to enlighten someone. Surely the man in the street could make nothing of them. Perhaps some very learned mint official could recognize the output of his own city or of another. Cui bono? But it was all intelligible while we could assume that these differences were those between one workman and another or between one week and the next.[12]

Looking at Mr. Metcalf's illustrations and the coins in the trays I find two, or perhaps three, cases where I can accept his divisions

[12] It is suggested by Professor George L. Kustas that a difference between one week and the next might leave open the possibility that the minutiae are control marks if the moneyer had any reason to identify so closely the current output. This would not, however, affect the question of different mints.

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without difficulty. The first is Group Δ which is clearly set off by its reduced size and weight. Wroth supposed the coins to be half folles, and the easiest explanation of two coins with the same types but of different sizes circulating together is that they are different denominations. Metcalf objects that their average weight is 4.3–4.4 grams, more than half that of the larger coins. But this is met by Dikigoropoulos who points out that, if the dozen similar coins in Washington be taken into account, the average drops to 4.09 — an illustration of the peril which besets numismatists who never have enough specimens to be safe. Metcalf is also impressed by the fact that the small coins do not duplicate the details of any of the large groups. But that, of course, is significant only if the large groups really do come from different cities. One may believe that Constantinople is the home of them all without demanding exactly parallel treatment of folles and half folles. Metcalf's attempt to locate them at Thessalonica seems to me ill-founded. It is true that Thessalonica showed earlier a preference for minor denominations but if that argument be allowed these must be half folles after all for the Thessalonians preferred minor denominations, not simply small flans. Whether the specimens with the cross in the field can or should be separated and how to account for the odd phenomenon of the reversed loros there is not yet enough evidence to decide.

Group S and Z do seem to differ from the bulk of the other large coins and, less surely, to differ from each other. My own opinion here is based, not on an accumulation of details but on their "bolder and rougher workmanship." It may be that Z merely consists of the extremes of the style so that there is only one group instead of two, but I should be ready to see them all assigned to a mint outside the capital. As to its location I think it is too early to speculate. Mr. Metcalf's attempt to identify mints must be regarded as preliminary. The arguments from historical probability cannot be said to be convincing, since they assign to Theophilus an importance in the organization of the themes which was in fact completed in the eighth and ninth centuries. For the argument from provenance the material is not yet sufficient. Group Γ consists of only three specimens (p. 86, n. 10), Group Є of five (p. 90, n. 16). Obviously this is too little to bear the weight of argument. Even of Groups A and B he had but 23

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and 19 specimens for determining the weight standard. The coins from the excavation at Corinth will, we hope, offer a firmer basis, though there is much need for supplementary excavation material from a number of sites.

We must be grateful to Mr. Metcalf for calling attention to this much neglected series and for offering suggestions as to their classification which will be very helpful in the ultimate arrangement, but the existence in the ninth century of a system so complex and so subtle cannot be regarded as proved as yet.

5. Three Imperial Portraits[13]

In 869 Basil I introduced a new reverse type on his gold coins (Plate XXXII, 6): half-length figures of himself and his son Constantine both wearing crowns surmounted by crosses without pendants. Basil is clad in a loros and his right hand grasps the shaft of a patriarchal cross at the height of his shoulder; Constantine wears a chlamys and his right hand holds the shaft farther down than Basil's. The Emperor is bearded; that is, there is a heavy outline on cheeks and chin; Constantine is shown to be beardless by having smooth convex cheeks. It is a design without artistic distinction. Nevertheless, since it was a clear and easy way of showing associated emperors, it was used by Constantine VII and Romanus I, the various combinations of Romanus and his family and finally by Constantine VII and his son Romanus II, though there are also a few different types on the gold of the period. The standard figures are entirely without expression; without the identifying legends it would be impossible to recognize them. This generalization of imperial portraits is recognized and commented on by André Grabar,[14] but he gives too little attention, in dealing with portraits on coins, to the repeated attempts to break through convention and produce a really individualized likeness. Such attempts were the best dies of Constantine IV, the first gold issue of Justinian II, the solidi of Leontius, and belonging to the same class are portraits of three generations of emperors, two of them very well known, the third very rare.

[13] Written in collaboration with my assistant, Miss Julia Cardozo.
[14] *L'Empereur dans l'Art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), pp. 8–10.

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LEO VI, 886–912

Obv.: +MARIA+ The Virgin *orans* wearing pallium and maphorium. To l. and r., M R ; Θ Y
Rev.: LEOЧЄЧX·ω bASILЄYSROϺ ωЧ Bust facing wearing crown without pendants surmounted by cross, jewelled chlamys with tablion, and holding in r. hand globe with patriarchal cross (PLATE XXXII, 7).

Wroth 1. Another variety has LEOhЄhCRISTO bASILЄYSROϺEOh Photiades *Cat.* No. 437, pl. II, 437.

CONSTANTINE VII, 913–959

Obv.: +IhSXPSRЄXRЄCNANTIYM Bust of Christ Pantocrator wearing colobium and pallium and nimbus cruciger R. hand raised in blessing, in l., book of Gospels.
Rev.: +COhSTAh AYT'CRATbR Bust facing wearing crown with pendants surmounted by cross, straight loros and holding in r. hand, globe with patriarchal cross (PLATE XXXII, 8).

Wroth 44. There is a variety without the initial + on the reverse. The last two letters of the reverse inscription are read by Wroth as OR. They are carelessly made and often obscure but when they can be certainly read they are b R for b[ASILEYS] R[OMEON].

ROMANUS II, 959–963

Obv.: Same inscription and type as above.
Rev.: ROMAhAYT OCRAT [···] Bust facing wearing crown with pendants surmounted by cross, jewelled modified loros and holding in l. hand globe surmounted by long cross (PLATE, XXXII, 9, 10).

The only two specimens known are at Dumbarton Oaks. (The last three letters of the reverse inscription might be anything. I believe they were intended for ROM [ЄON], but neither piece can be read with confidence).

The portraits of father and son are justly celebrated; it has only recently been realized that the portrait of the grandson made a third in this remarkable group. Coming suddenly in a period when the gold types were almost wholly controlled by a lifeless convention they remind one abruptly of man's deep desire to be known and remembered

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as an individual. There were, of course, other media for portraiture and some fine likenesses in mosaic and miniature have been preserved. But coins move widely and it is natural that one of the messages they should be expected to carry is the true appearance of the sovereign.

The portrait of Leo VI is so impressive a likeness that it involves us in a perplexity. The face shown is that of a sober man, indeed of a sad one, and one would say an elderly one also. The full beard is quite outside the numismatic tradition for this period and is one of the items which convince us that the intent of the die-sinker was to be true to life. It is natural to think of a new emperor beginning his reign with an issue of gold coins, and this would make a striking initial coinage bearing on its obverse the unprecedented figure of the Virgin of Blachernae. But at his accession Leo was only twenty years old.[15] Even granting that the Emperor's ambition was to be a man of learning and not a commander, can this be he? A complication is that Basil had left his two sons, Leo and Alexander, to reign jointly and Alexander appears only on copper (Wroth 11–15, 17). He is there shown beardless and much smaller than Leo and the elder brother may have felt justified in asserting his primacy by reserving the gold for himself. The absence of Alexander from the noble metals is no great difficulty. Much more troublesome is the reconciliation of the portrait with a man of twenty. Wroth discusses the chronology,[16] reports the theory of Lambros that all the coins with the name of Leo alone should be assigned to the end of the reign, but comes cautiously to the conclusion that this gold portrait must have been struck at the time of Leo's accession. In fact we are not in a position to prove one theory or the other: it is a balance of probabilities. The period between the accession of Leo, 29 August 886 and the coronation of Constantine, 9 June 911 has no gold at all if we do not allow the bearded portrait to fill the gap at least partly. The issue of Basil I and Constantine was certainly a large one and there may have been enough available so that Leo did not feel the need of striking more. It would seem that he might have been reluctant to leave the field to the portraits of his father with whom his relations were so strained and of his elder brother who had been so much the

[15] Albert Vogt, *Basile I* (Paris, 1908), pp. 59f.
[16] pp. 448f.

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favorite son.[17] But we must accept one unlikelihood or the other. We cannot even deny the possibility of Lambros' theory that the gold with Leo and Constantine (PLATE XXXII, 11) should be earlier than that with Leo alone. Indeed, there is merit in the suggestion that the enthroned Christ which is the obverse of the type with father and son should be connected directly with its immediate prototype, the enthroned Christ used by the earlier father and son, Basil and Constantine (PLATE XXXII, 6).

The standing figures of Leo and Constantine are worth a passing comment for they are better done than the half-length figures preceding and following them. The scale makes it impossible to show the face in any detail, but the proportions of the figures and their symmetry are satisfying as is the careful representation of the jewelled loros, particularly its end with the terminal fringe and elegant cross and pellet pattern on the reverse. The large and well formed letters of the inscriptions are also worthy of note, for they are not typical. Finally the enthroned Christ on the obverse is greatly superior to his counterpart on the coins of Basil I and Constantine. The type of Leo and Constantine we can date exactly: it comes between Constantine's coronation, 9 June 911 and the death of Leo, 11 May 912. At that time, therefore, there were competent artists to cut the imperial dies, and surely their skill is to be seen in the coins of Alexander (912, 913) (PLATE XXXII, 12) where the treatment of the Emperor's loros is exactly like that of the standing figure of Leo.

Unfortunately this does not help us with the enigma of the beard. If the short beard conventional for the standing figure (though St. Alexander has a long one) is actually replaced by that of our portrait coin, then all the gold coinage must come at the very end of the reign and there is none for the first 25 years. It must be admitted that, even if we abandon the short beard as an insignificant convention, the two varieties of the portrait are so rare that they would not appear to have provided enough to make such practical difference. The portrait of Leo alone must have been a special issue for ceremonial purposes rather than for economic ones and we must guess whether it came in 886 on an appropriate occasion but with an inappropriate appearance or, as Lambros puts it, some twenty years later when there is no

[17] Vogt, p. 58.

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occasion known but the appearance is right. It seems that, on the whole, the evidence favors Lambros against Worth and the portrait should be dated ca. 906.

Adrien Blanchet has proposed an entirely different date for Leo's portrait.[18] Relying on the tradition of Constantine's interest in the arts he suggests that the fine heads of father and son are inspired by the latter and that the portrait of the father was intended as a memorial issue, after the fashion of the restitution pieces of the early empire. This conclusion is the result of his conviction that the two coins are so close artistically that they must be contemporary. Of course this would settle the question as to Leo's early years. There could now be no gold minted until the coronation of Constantine in 911. But is the connection as close as Blanchet thinks? Nothing whatever can be learned from the dismal half tones which he uses for illustration, but if the coins themselves are put side by side it will appear that there are considerable differences.

There are differences of form which are not primarily questions of style. Leo's obverse shows a bust of the Virgin in prayer with both hands raised and a brief legend: MARIA. This type Blanchet rightly highly approves: "un type nouveau, d'une grâce artistique et d'un sentiment religieux qui s'imposent absolument, semble ouvrir une ère nouvelle pour la Numismatique byzantine, dont les produits étaient évidemment d'une médiocrité désolante depuis le VIe siècle."[19] It is not quite clear whether he means that his type nouveau is altogether new or new only to the coins, nor is the ambiguity dispelled on the next page, "Il faudrait donc reporter à un artiste anonyme le mérite . . . d'avoir créé un type nouveau de la Vierge priant." Whatever he meant, the fact is that the figure of the Virgin *orans* is an old one, going back as far as the Catacombs.[20] The bust became particularly associated with Blachernae and there is a silver coin of Constantine IX (1042–1055) where the *orans* bust is identified as H ΒΛΑΧΕΡ-

[18] "L'Influence artistique de Constantine Porphyrogénète," *Mélanges Henri Grégoire* (Brussels, 1949), pp. 97–104.
[19] Ibid., p. 100.
[20] N. P. Kondakov, *Ikonographia Bogomateri* (Iconography of Our Lady), St. Petersburg, 1914, Chapter II. See also V. Vatasianu, "Considérations sur l'origine et la signification de l'Orant," *Actes du VIe Congrès international d'Etudes byzantines* (1951), pp. 397–401.

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NITICA.[21] She first appears on coins, however, with this piece of Leo VI and the simplicity of the symmetrical pattern, well filled but uncrowded, makes it one of the most successful of Byzantine designs.

The obverse of Constantine is also a successful well-balanced composition. It inevitably recalls the latest previous appearance of Christ as a type, under Michael III (PLATE XXXII, 13). This in turn is a close copy of the first type of Christ on gold of Justinian II.[22] The chief differences from Constantine's type are the right hand in front of the bust instead of at the right and the cross behind the head without a nimbus around it. These differences may be evidence of two different originals or they may be merely improvements in the design by the later artist. In any case it is clear that Constantine's type shows Christ Pantocrator whose place in the dome of churches is familiar from Daphni.[23] The earliest indication of such a placing occurs in an address by Leo VI on the occasion of the dedication of a church by Stylianos[24] which would, of course, anticipate the appearance on the coin of Constantine and imply that the design was established before his time.

Now this coin is accurately dated; it must belong to the period from 27 January to April 945 when Constantine ruled alone. At this very period there was an event which Blanchet believes to have influenced the choice of the type. In 944 the city of Edessa, then in Moslem territory, was besieged by the imperial forces and saved itself by an agreement, one item of which was the transfer to Constantinople of the Mandylion, the portrait "not made by hands" which was believed

[21] Wroth 18, pl. LIX, 5.

[22] James D. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II* (New York, 1959), pp. 22, 46–48. He believes that Michael's type, where the left hand supporting the book of Gospels is missing or very inadequately indicated, was not "a simple *imago clipeata* — a medallion portrait complete within its frame — but rather a segment of a larger picture" that it was, in fact the bust of the enthroned Rex Regnantium type of Basil I.

[23] E. Diez and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece* (Cambridge, 1931), pl. I.

[24] Akakios Hieromonachos, ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΟΦΟΥ ΠΑΝΥΓΗΡΙΚΟΙ (*sic*) ΛΟΓΟΙ (Athens, 1868), p. 275; A. Frolow, "Deux Eglises byzantines d'après des sermons par connus de Leon VI, le Sage," *Etudes byzantines* III (1945), p. 50. Leo's description is not exact but Frolow is clearly right in taking the picture in the dome to be the bust of Christ. We owe this reference to Professor Ernst Kitzinger.

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to have been sent by Christ himself to King Abgar. It was a likeness on a napkin made by the Lord's impressing his face upon it and was the holiest treasure of Edessa. It was received with great ceremony by the Patriarch, and Stephen and Constantine, the sons of Romanus I Lecapenus, the Co-Emperor with Constantine Porphyrogennetus. Shortly thereafter Romanus was expelled by his sons who were in turn expelled so that the rightful emperor was left in sole power. Blanchet does not actually say that the coin type is taken from the Mandylion any more than he says that Leo VI originated the type of the Virgins *orans* but he seems to imply it. "Ainsi, un évènement important dans l'histoire religieuse de Byzance associa, sous le règne du Porphyrogénète, la sainte image du Christ et un couvent célèbre par le culte qui y était rendu à la Vierge." But the coin type cannot be derived from the Mandylion for whose appearance we have ample evidence.[25] It showed the face, hair and beard of Christ alone, the locks very long and the whole effect entirely different from the Pantocrator whose bust and hands are essential elements of the design. It is clear that the arrival of the sacred image had a great effect in Constantinople; a homily dealing with it was attributed to the Emperor[26] but in spite of the coincidence we must hold that Constantine's Pantocrator type follows a different tradition and shows no influence of the Mandylion. And there is no iconographic reason for connecting the types of Leo and Constantine.

In spite of Blanchet's feeling that there is a real identity of style between the two portraits there is one important element in which they are unlike: the legends. Whereas that of Leo is in large letters, easy to read and formed by linear cutting, that of Constantine is in letters small and difficult to read even with the aid of a magnifying glass because they are carelessly made of connected dots. The general forms of the heads are the same and the crown is the same; such differences as that of the imperial dress and the presence or absence of pendants do not matter, but the proportions of the field, the bust

[25] Kurt Weitzmann, "The Mandylion and Constantine Porphyrogennetus," *Cahiers archaeologiques* XI (1960), pp. 163–184; André Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon, Zographika III*, Seminarium Kondakovianum (Prague, 1931).

[26] Weitzmann, op. cit., p. 170. The article deals with an icon from Sinai on which the Mandylion is shown held by a figure in imperial dress representing King Abgar with the features of Constantine.

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and the patriarchal cross emphasize the unlikeness of the inscriptions. A similar difference is to be felt as to the obverse types. Everything is appropriate to an imitation of Leo's coin by Constantine, but they cannot be accepted as strictly contemporary. So we must abandon Blanchet's theory as a sentimental misunderstanding.

The coins of Romanus II, which Blanchet did not know, complete the family portrait gallery. He struck no copper at Constantinople and the gold was doubtless a small issue to celebrate his accession as sole emperor — not so small, however, that it did not use two different pairs of dies. The obverse is as close a copy as possible of that of his father; such differences as there are in the placing of the hands and the ornamentation of the book of Gospels can readily be explained as the products of different workmen. The most conspicuous thing about the reverse is that the Emperor now holds in his left hand the globe which is surmounted by a longer and more ornate cross than usual. This fills the left field and leaves the right field vacant. The crown with cross is the same; the hair and pendants are better distinguished. The tablion is much more ornamental than that of Leo: four tear-drops separated by groups of three pellets; in the center a convex disk with a border of little dots. Doubtless those were all intended for jewels; it must have been a sumptuous garment. There is the same long, thin, bearded face which makes one think that there must have been a strong family resemblance. But the execution is careless. It will be observed that in one case the cross does not come from the center of the globe, as it should, and in both cases the inscription is deplorable.

It was over 60 years before a son of Romanus II appeared alone on a gold coin and by then the fabric and fashion had so changed that it seems a very feeble production. There were to be no worthy successors of the three Macedonian portraits.

6. The Coins of Constantine Porphyrogennetus and his Associates[27]

The numismatic history of Constantine Porphyrogennetus is complicated and while attempts have been made to record it, none of

[27] I am indebted to Professor Romilly Jenkins for his invaluable help in

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them has been complete and it seems worth while to treat of it more thoroughly.[28] It will be best to arrange the episodes according to the reigning sovereigns.

A. LEO VI AND CONSTANTINE VII, 908–MAY 912

The Porphyrogennetus was born in 905, the son of Leo VI and his fourth wife Zoe Carbopsina. On Sunday, 15 May 908[29] he was crowned emperor and reigned as his father's subordinate until Leo's death 11 May 912.

Coins

Solidus

1. *Obv.*: +IhSXPSREX REƧNANTIЧM Christ bearded, seated on lyre backed throne, wearing nimbus cruciger, colobium and pallium. R.hand raised in blessing; in l., book of Gospels.
Rev.: LEOhETCOhSTAhT'AЧƧƧ'ROM' To l., Leo, bearded; to r., Constantine beardless. Each wearing crown with cross and loros. Leo holds globus cruciger in r. hand, and with l. grasps the shaft of patriarchal cross; Constantine holds globus cruciger in l. hand and with r. grasps the shaft of patriarchal cross below his father's hand. (PLATE XXXII, 11)

making proper use of the historical sources with which he has an admirable familiarity.

[28] There are two modern books of capital importance: Alfred Rambaud, *L'Empire grec au dixième siècle: Constantine Porphyrogénète* (Paris, 1870, republished photographically by Burt Franklin, New York, 1963), and Steven Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign. A Study of Tenth-Century Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1929). The former has a useful brief treatment of the historical sources, the latter an exhaustive bibliography. Most of the items of importance for us are to be found in Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinorum*, Vol. 33 (Bonn, 1838), and Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* (Hanover, 1915). See also Kurt Regling, "Ein Goldsolidus des Romanus I," *ZfN* 1922, pp. 274–9, and Hugh Goodacre, "The story of Constantine VII, Porphyrogenitus, from his Solidi," *NC* 1935, pp. 114–9. This last article deals with the gold alone. I have not included the coins of Cherson from which it seems no historical information is to be extracted.

[29] P. Grierson and R. J. H. Jenkins, "The Date of Constantine VII's Coronation," *Byzantion* 1962, pp. 133–138.

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Miliaresion

2. *Obv.*: IhSЧSXRI SƬЧShICA Cross potent on four steps beneath which, globe. Three circles of dots.
Rev.: ✝LEOhCE COhSTAhTI h'EhXWEV SEbISbASI LI'ROM' Three circles of pellets ornamented with eight globules. (PLATE XXXIII, 1)

On the gold the emperors appear as Augusti, on the silver as Basileis. Considering the shortness of the period no change of titles can be intended; they are evidently equivalent.

The beard of Leo alone (PLATE XXXIII, 7) is a very much more impressive affair than that shown on his solidus with Constantine. This is in conformity with a convention which is illustrated again by the contrast between the long beard of Constantine alone (below, No. 19) and that on his solidus with Romanus II (No. 23). The beard which shows only as a heavy line around the face is merely symbolic to show that the portrait is that of an adult. As such it is very useful in establishing chronology but it has nothing to do with portraiture.

B. ALEXANDER AND CONSTANTINE VII, 12 MAY 912–6 JUNE 913

At Leo's death his brother Alexander, who had been in theory his associate, occupied the throne and gave vent to violent animosity to Leo by supplanting his appointees.

No Coins of Constantine

C. CONSTANTINE VII UNDER THE REGENCY HEADED BY NICHOLAS 6 JUNE 913–FEBRUARY 914

Alexander on his deathbed had appointed for the young emperor seven regents of whom Nicholas Mysticus, the Patriarch of Constantinople, was the most powerful figure. Zoe was expelled from the palace. An attempted *coup d'état* in favor of the commander of the army, Constantine Ducas, failed in spite of the initial support of Nicholas, and the regents had to come to an agreement with Symeon,

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king of the Bulgarians, whose army threatened the capital. But at his withdrawal the government of the regents fell. Zoe was restored in February 914 and at once became the dominant figure in the regency.[30]

No Coins

D. CONSTANTINE VII WITH ZOE AS REGENT FEBRUARY 914–25 MARCH 919

The regency of Zoe began prosperously but it could not survive two disastrous defeats by the Bulgarians. In the confusion which followed Leo Phocas, commander of the army, was the most prominent aspirant to the imperial power. But he was circumvented by the admiral of the fleet, Romanus Lecapenus, obscure of lineage and partly responsible for the collapse of the Bulgarian war. On the invitation of Theodore, the emperor's tutor, he entered the capital 25 March 919, was appointed Chief Hetaeriarch, or commander of the Palace Guard, and assumed control of the government.

Coins

Solidus

3. *Obv.*: +IhSXPSREX REϚNANTIЧM* Christ bearded seated on throne with small lyre-back wearing nimbus cruciger, colobium and pallium. R. hand raised in blessing; in l., book of Gospels.

Rev.: COhSTAhT'CЄZWHЄhXWb'R' To l., bust of Constantine wearing crown with cross and chlamys. With r. hand grasps shaft of patriarchal cross. To r., bust of Zoe wearing crown with cross, circlet in front, loops at the sides and pendants and loros. With r. hand grasps shaft of patriarchal cross above her son's hand. (PLATE XXXIII, 2)

Follis

4. *Obv.*: +COhSTAhT'CЄZOHb' To l., bust of Constantine beardless wearing crown with cross and loros. With r. hand grasps shaft of patriarchal cross. To r., bust of Zoe wearing crown with

[30] For the date of the palace revolution see *Vita Euthymii* (ed. de Boor) 71.12.

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cross and two pinnacles and pendants and chlamys. With r. hand holds shaft of patriarchal cross below her son's hand.

Rev.: +COhS
TAhTIhO'
CЄZOHbA
SILISRO
MЄOh (PLATE XXXIII, 3)

The coins show a departure from the normal protocol. On the solidus Zoe's hand is higher on the shaft of the cross than that of her son, but that is not necessarily significant. In the second reign of Justinian II the emperor's hand is lower than that of his son (Wroth, pl. XLI, 1-5). Constantine is in the senior position on the left and his name appears before hers. On the follis, however, though the position of the hands is reversed and other details are orthodox, the empress for the first time wears not the loros but the chlamys which was traditionally the military dress.[31]

There is a problem about the obverse with Christ enthroned. The earliest appearance is on the type of Basil I (PLATE XXXIII, 6). The right hand, with claw-like fingers, extends beyond the back of the throne; the thick left leg is thrust forward, while the right foot is a mere angle of lines. The throne is undecorated and the lyre-back small. There are globes to left and right which are probably intended for the ends of the throne's arms. The inscription ends with a six-pointed star. It is a clumsy and unattractive type. Nevertheless it is repeated with a fidelity which suggests that it is the copy of a well-known image. We may call it Variety I.

This in itself would cause no surprise were it not for the fact that its first two appearances under Basil, and Constantine VII with his mother Zoe (PLATE XXXIII, 4) are separated by a much more pleasing variety (PLATE XXXII, 11) Leo VI and Constantine. The right

[31] On the family solidus of Theophilus, Thecla, Theodora, Anna and Anastasia all wear the loros (Wroth, pl. XLVIII, 14), as do Thecla and Theodora on the family solidus of Michael III (Wroth, pl. XLIX, 14, 15), Theodora on Michael's solidus with Christ (Wroth, pl. XLIX, 16), and Eudocia on the family solidus of Basil I (Wroth, pl. L, 13). Professor Jenkins suggests that the chlamys might have been in celebration of the victory of the Garigliano in South Italy in 915 (Runciman, pp. 84f.).

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foot is still emaciated but the left is in better proportion, the drapery better expressed. The right hand just emerges from the colobium. The throne is larger and decorated by rows of pellets, the double row of the cross bar being particularly delicate. There is no star at the end of the inscription the letters of which are smaller. This may be called Variety II. The general pattern is much like the great Christ enthroned in the narthex of Hagia Sophia (PLATE XXXV) with no more freedom as to details than die-sinkers were accustomed to enjoy. This parallel would, of course, be very useful in identifying the kneeling emperor as Leo VI which is likely on other grounds. But then why the reversion to the less attractive variety? The most tempting explanation is that there were two famous icons, very similar but not identical and that sometimes one was preferred as a type, sometimes the other. One of these would be the mosaic in the narthex of Santa Sophia. As it happens there is evidence of the importance of a second icon. In the conch of the Chrysotriclinos there was a portrait of Christ seated on a throne.[32] The imperial throne seems to have stood beneath it. The hypothesis that this was the model for Variety I would exactly explain the phenomenon of the persistence of both forms. There is somewhat of a compromise on the solidus of Alexander (PLATE XXXII, 12) where the feet are better, the throne back larger and its lower part decorated, but this exception aside, the two varieties maintained their individuality until Constantine replaced the enthroned Christ with the Pantocrator's bust (PLATE XXXII, 8).

A silver piece of Constantine and Zoe is described by Veglery and Zacos, "A Unique Silver Coin of Constantine VII," *Num. Circ.* 1956, 379–80.

Obv.: +VΠЄPAΓIA ΘЄOTOKЄ' Bust of the Virgin wearing maphorion and stole. On her breast she holds medallion of Christ with cross behind head.

Rev.: COЛSTAЛTЄZWHb'ROM To l., bust of Constantine wearing crown with cross and chlamys; to r., bust of Zoe wearing crown

[32] Constantin Porphyrogénète, *Le Livre des Cérémonies*, Ed. Vogt (Paris, 1935), Vol. 1, Book I, Chap. 1, p. 4, 11.26–28; p. 17, 11.7–9. I found these passages with the help of Professors Grierson and Underwood. Vogt's *Commentary*, Vol. 1, p. 9, 11.1, 2 says "Comme dans les églises où l'autel est placé dans l'abside, ici c'était le trône qui tenait lieu d'autel," but, in the passages cited the emperors are said to have offered "the usual prayers" in that place.

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with cross and loros. They hold between them patriarchal cross on globe. 4.1 grams, 18 mm.

Two imitations of this piece, said to be of lead, are published by the same authors, "More about the Silver Coin of Constantine VII," *Num. Circ.* 1957, 195–6.

In spite of the close similarity of the reverse type with that of the familiar coins, it seems to me impossible that the well-established series of normal, flat miliaresia of less than 3 grams was interrupted by a coin of such different weight and fabric. For what special purpose the abnormal silver piece was produced I cannot suggest, but I do not believe that it was intended as currency.

E. CONSTANTINE VII ALONE, 25 MARCH 919–17 DECEMBER 919

On 4 May, 919 Constantine was married to Helena,[33] daughter of Romanus, who took the title Basileopator while his eldest son Christopher was appointed to succeed him as Hetaeriarch. On 24 September Constantine was induced to declare his father-in-law Caesar, who was then crowned Augustus, 17 December by Constantine and the Patriarch Nicholas.[34]

Coins

Follis

5. *Obv.*: +COhSTAhT'bASIL'ROM' Bust of Constantine beardless wearing crown with cross and loros. In r. hand, labarum; in l., globus cruciger.

Rev.: +COhS
TAhTIh
EhΘObAS
IL'ROM' (PLATE XXXIII, 4)

[33] For the date see R. J. H. Jenkins, "The Chronological Accuracy of the 'Logothete' for the Year A.D. 867–913," *D. O. Papers* 19 (1965), pp. 89–112.

[34] The date of Romanus' coronation is given by the chronographers as 11 or 17 December 919 but this has been emended to 17 December 920, V. Grumel, "La date de l'avènement à l'empire de Romain Ier Lécapène," *Echos d'Orient* (1936), pp. 333–5.

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Constantine's youth (his beardlessness is particularly apparent on Wroth, pl. LII, 7) makes it impossible to assign this issue to his period of sole rule after the fall of Romanus in 945. He was, of course, emperor in the intervening years but Romanus took care that his family should be represented on the coins as long as he was in power.

F. CONSTANTINE VII AND ROMANUS I, 17 DECEMBER 919–20 MAY 921

Secure in his position Romanus crowned his wife Theodora, 6 January 920 and made his son Christopher emperor 20 May 921.

a. In the order Constantine–Romanus

Coins

Solidus

6. *Obv.*: Christ enthroned. Variety II
Rev.: +COhSTAhTIhOSCER OMAhEhXωbR' To l., Constantine beardless, standing, wearing heavy crown with cross, chlamys and tablion. In r. hand, globus cruciger; with l. he grasps shaft of patriarchal cross. To r., Romanus bearded, standing wearing heavy crown with cross and loros. In l. hand, globus cruciger; with r. he grasps shaft of patriarchal cross higher than Constantine. (PLATE XXXIII, 5)
7. *Obv.*: Christ enthroned. Variety I
Rev.: COhSTAhT'CEROMAh'A4ϒϒ'b To l., bust of Constantine beardless wearing crown with cross and loros. With r. hand grasps shaft of patriarchal cross. To r., bust of Romanus bearded wearing crown with cross and loros. With l. hand grasps shaft of patriarchal cross lower than Constantine. (PLATE XXXIII, 6)
8. *Obv.*: Christ enthroned. Variety II
Rev.: Same inscription, but ending bR' To l., bust of Romanus bearded wearing crown with cross and loros. With r. hand grasps shaft of patriarchal cross. To r., bust of Constantine beardless wearing crown with cross and chlamys. With l. hand grasps shaft of patriarchal cross lower than Romanus. (PLATE XXXIII, 7)

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b. In the order Romanus–Constantine

9. *Obv.*: Christ enthroned. Variety I
Rev.: ROMAM'ЄTCOhSTAhT'AЧSS'b' To l., bust of Romanus bearded wearing crown with cross and loros. With r. hand grasps shaft of patriarchal cross. To r., bust of Constantine beardless wearing crown with cross and chlamys. With l. hand grasps shaft of patriarchal cross lower than Romanus. (PLATE XXXIII, 8)

c. In the name of Romanus alone

Follis

10. *Obv.*: +RѠMAh'bASILЄVS RѠM' Bust of Romanus bearded wearing heavy crown with cross and chlamys with tablion. In r. hand, labarum scepter topped by trefoil ornament; in l., globus cruciger.
Rev.: +RѠMA
h'ЄhΘЄѠbA
SILЄVSRѠ
MAIѠh (PLATE XXXIII, 9)

The coins show the progress of Romanus' usurpation. The most elaborate type (No. 6), with both emperors standing, was doubtless the first. It should be noticed that the crowns worn are not the simple peaked diadem with a cross on top which is the regular form, but more massive with a row of five large jewels. The issue was the announcement of Romanus' new imperial position. Correct protocol is observed, Constantine's name coming first and his figure being on the left. It is true that his hand is lower on the shaft of the cross than that of Romanus but, considering the difference in size, that is natural enough and may not have been regarded as significant at all.

With the inaugural gold belongs the copper of Romanus (No. 10). The crown is here not exactly like that on the solidus, it has a double row of eight jewels; but the effect is more elaborate than that of the crowns on earlier copper (Nos. 4 and 5). The portrait is more individualized than is generally the case with copper. This was doubtless intended as a companion piece to the follis with Constantine alone (No. 5) but it was a much larger issue and may have continued into the next period or even longer.

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There is then a series of solidus types (Nos. 6–8) on which the encroachment of Romanus is clear. On the first all features are correct: the name of Constantine comes first, his portrait is to the left and his hand is higher on the shaft than that of Romanus. On the second the correct inscription is continued but, as shown by the beard, it is the bust of Romanus which is to the left in the senior position and his hand is higher on the shaft. Constantine wears a chlamys instead of loros, but this is not likely to have meant inferior rank at this time. The third type is exactly the same but in the inscription the name of Romanus now stands first thus completing his claim to seniority.[35]

G. CONSTANTINE VII, ROMANUS I AND CHRISTOPHER 20 MAY 921–AUGUST 931

Romanus' intention of founding a dynasty was unmistakable whatever the constitutional complications. The coronation of Christopher, emphatically his father's favorite, put him in the position of heir apparent, until his death in 931.

a. In the order Romanus–Christopher

Coins

Solidus

11. *Obv.*: Christ enthroned. Variety I
Rev.: ROMAHЄTXPISTOFO'A49S'b To l., bust of Romanus bearded wearing crown with cross and loros. With r. hand grasps

[35] Theophanes Continuatus (pp. 400f.) reports that Romans disregarded his oath and put Constantine in second place, using as a pretext a plot recently uncovered of officials still loyal to the young emperor, among whom was Anastasius, the master of the mint. This is dealt with in Chapters 6 and 7, and so put later than the coronation of Christopher which occurs in Chapter 1 with the date Whitsunday, 17 May 920. The date of Christopher's crowning has been emended to Whitsunday 20 May 921 (Runciman, p. 65, n. 2) and Runciman may well be right in putting the plot "probably at the time of Christopher's significant coronation." Whenever the plot took place it is interesting to think that the master of the mint might have been roused to rebellion by the maneuvering of the gold types to the disadvantage of his lawful sovereign. But the demotion of Constantine from first to second place, so far as the testimony of the coins shows, is clear from our Nos. 8 and 9 as having taken place before the raising of Christopher to imperial rank.

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shaft of patriarchal cross. To r., bust of Christopher beardless wearing crown with cross and chlamys. With l. hand grasps shaft of patriarchal cross below the hand of Romanus.

(PLATE XXXIII, 10)

It is surprising to find Constantine eliminated, but the constitutional position is ambiguous. On 6 January 921 Romanus crowned his wife Theodora Augusta (Theophanes Continuatus, p. 398, 5) which surely is an act of sovereignty. When it came to the crowning of Christopher, however, it was done, according to the text, διὰ βασιλέως as though Constantine were still senior Augustus. Constantine was sad and reluctant but helpless (Cedrenus, ed. Bekker [Bonn, 1839], II, pp. 296,23 – 297,4). After the ceremony Romanus and Christopher alone marched in the Pentecost procession.[36] This pushing aside of the legitimate emperor is exactly what our No. 11 shows. Constantine was not disposed of; it is suggested that his ill health was such that he might be expected to die presently without any guilty interference. Imperial decrees still carry his name, though not in the first place: a Novel of April 922 has the names in the order Romanus-Constantine-Christopher, and two chrysobulls, not dated and not now extant are in the names of Romanus-Christopher-Constantine.[37] But this issue of gold, which was a large one, though like the legal documents it was official, had as function a propaganda which they did not. It tells the truth about the imperial situation, not the whole truth but that part of the truth which Romanus intended to have known and accepted.

b. In the name of Christopher alone

Follis

12. *Obv.*: XPISTOFO PbASPOϺ' Bust of Christopher wearing crown with cross and chlamys decorated on the r. shoulder with a pellet within two circles. With l. hand holds anexikakia.

[36] Theophanes Continuatus, p. 398, 4f., καὶ μόνοι δύο ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ προελεύσει προῆλθον. Cedrenus (p. 297, 4f.) gives the same incident.

[37] Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, Vol. III (Leipzig, 1857), pp. 237, 241. The Novel is the first instance preserved of Romanus appearing as senior emperor. These documents show that the elevation of Christopher came in two stages, in the first of which he was in the third place, after Romanus and Constantine, in the second promoted to second place.

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Rev.: +PISTO
ЄhΘЄObA
SILЄVSP
OMЄOh

(Published by the kind permission of the owner, Dr. Adalbert Balvin of Leibnitz, Austria). (PLATE XXXIV, 1)

To the event of the coronation presumably also belongs the copper of Christopher alone, if he is beardless, as is apparent but not certain. Use of the initial + of the reverse inscription as initial X as well, and the unusual spelling POMЄOh mark it as a singular piece and it shows no particular resemblance to the earlier copper of Constantine alone (No. 4) or to the presumably contemporary copper of Romanus (No. 10).

If Romanus was intent on displaying the permanence of his power he might have been expected to continue the type which he shared with his son through the rest of his reign; but in fact, having eliminated Constantine, he later reintroduced him to the coinage. No. 13 is connected with the preceding issues by the last appearance of the obverse with Christ enthroned. It looks like an issue for a special occasion, but we have no idea what one. It must come after the initiation of No. 11 since Christopher is here bearded. Constantine is still beardless but, surprisingly enough, his name precedes that of his brother-in-law and he is in the senior position on the left. There is no other place to put the type for to transfer it to a place between 14 and 16, which would be equally suitable to Constantine beardless though no more than its present position, would be an unreasonable intrusion between the two occurrences of a new obverse type.

c. In the order Romanus–Constantine–Christopher

Solidus

13. *Obv.*: Christ enthroned. Variety II
Rev.: ROMAh'COhST'ЄT'XPISTOF'b'R' In the center, Romanus standing wearing crown with cross and loros. In r. hand holds labarum scepter; in l., anexikakia. To l., half-length figure of Constantine beardless wearing crown with cross, chlamys and

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tablion. Hands not shown. To r., half-length figure of Christopher bearded wearing crown with cross, chlamys and tablion. Hands not shown. (PLATE XXXIV, 2)

d. In the order Romanus–Christopher–Constantine

Solidus

14. *Obv.*: +KЄbOHΘЄI ROM AʌѠƆЄCPOƬH To r., Christ bearded standing wearing pallium over colobium, behind his head, cross. With r. hand crowns Romanus; in l., book of Gospels. To l., Romanus bearded, standing wearing loros. In r. hand, globus cruciger; l. hand extended.
Rev.: XPISƬOF'ЄTCOʌSƬ'AЧ§§'b To l., bust of Christopher bearded wearing crown with cross and loros. With r. hand grasps shaft of patriarchal cross. To r., bust of Constantine beardless wearing crown with cross and chlamys. With l. hand grasps shaft of patriarchal cross below the hand of Christopher.
(PLATE XXXIV, 3)

The obverse of Nos. 14 and 16 is an innovation borrowed from the gold type of Alexander, which marks it out as later than the uses of Christ enthroned. Once again there is the appearance of a ceremonial issue. Romanus, crowned by Christ is evidently intended to be in the senior position, but now Christopher had regained the second position, held by Constantine on the preceding issue. This should be connected with an incident of 927. In that year Christopher's daughter Maria was married to Peter the Bulgarian Tsar and the Bulgarians took occasion to demand that Christopher should be put in second place, ahead of Constantine (Theophanes Continuatus, p. 414, 14–18). Ostrogorsky rejects this story (*Geschichte des Byzantinischen Staates*, 3rd. Ed. [Munich, 1913], p. 225, n. 1 and p. 227, n. 2) on the grounds that Christopher was already in second place before 25 December 924 when the younger Lecapeni were crowned (Zachariä, p. 241, two undated chrysobulls, not now extant, giving the titulature Romanus-Christopher-Constantine). But our No. 13 shows that he was again demoted, and this is explicitly supported by Constantine Porphyrogennetus himself (Moravcsik-Jenkins *De Administrando Imperio*

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[Budapest, 1949], p. 74, 162f.) who calls Christopher "third and least" at the time of his daughter's marriage. It would therefore be perfectly appropriate for the Bulgarians to resent the order shown on our No. 13 with the resulting precedence given on No. 14.

Miliaresion

15. *Obv.*: IhSYSXRI SƬYShICA Cross potent on three steps beneath which, globe. Three circles of pellets.
Rev.: +ROMAhO' XPISTOFOR' CЄCOhSTAh' ЄhXѠЄVSЄ b'bASIL'R' Three circles of pellets ornamented with eight globules. (PLATE XXXIV, 4)

e. In the order Romanus–Constantine–Christopher

Solidus

16. *Obv.*: Same inscription and type as No. 14
Rev.: COhSƬAhƬ'ЄƬXPISƬOF'b'R' To l., bust of Constantine bearded wearing crown with cross and loros. With r. hand grasps shaft of patriarchal cross. To r., bust of Christopher bearded wearing crown with cross and chlamys. With l. hand grasps shaft of patriarchal cross below the hand of Constantine.

This surprising series ends with Constantine once more restored to the position on the left, designating him as emperor in the second place. The only incident which might be connected with this final change in precedence is the exile in 928 of the Magister Nicetas for having attempted to involve Christopher in rebellion against his father (Theophanes Continuatus, p. 417). No punitive action was taken against Christopher, but Nicetas, who was his father-in-law, was exiled and it may be that Christopher was sufficiently compromised to make Romanus feel that it would be as well to remind his family that there was still a legitimacy superior to theirs.

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Miliaresion

17. *Obv.*: IhSЧSXRI SЄЧShICA Cross potent on three steps, beneath which, globe. Three circles of pellets.
Rev.: +ROMAhO' Three circles of pellets ornamented with
COhSЄAhЄ' eight globules.
CЄhXωЄVSЄ
b'bASIL'R' (PLATE XXXIV, 6)

H. CONSTANTINE VII, ROMANUS I, STEPHEN AND CONSTANTINE LECAPENUS, AUGUST 931–27 JANUARY 945

The younger sons of Romanus, Stephen and Constantine, had been crowned by their father 25 December 924 but they never appear on the coinage with Christopher[38] and their issue is thus evidently to be placed after his death. The exile of Romanus, 20 December 944, by his unfilial sons was followed by their exile 27 January 945 and the total disappearance of the Lecapenus family.

Coins

Miliaresion

18. *Obv.*: IhSЧSXRI SЄЧShICA Medallion of Romanus in center of cross potent on three steps, beneath which, •⁝• Three circles of pellets with four globules. In field to l. and r.,[39] R M / ω A
Rev.: +ROMAhO' Above and below, – •⁝• – Three circles of
COhSTAhЄ' pellets with eight globules.
SЄFAhOS
CЄCOhSЄA'
ЄhXωb'R' (PLATE XXXIV, 7)

There is a miliaresion of Alexander which has a bust of Christ in a medallion placed like this one on which Wroth has a note (p. 461, n. 1

[38] But see note 40 below. An inscription of 926 in the name of all five emperors is published by S. Reinach, "La Reconstruction des murs de Cavala," *BCH* 1882, pp. 267–275.
[39] The description in Wroth, p. 461, No. 42 omits these letters, though they show on pl. LIII, 5.

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and 472, n. 2). He believes such medallions to be reliquaries and quotes Schlumberger, *Un Empereur bizantin* (Paris, 1890), p. 494.

These coins are not uncommon in spite of the fact that the British Museum publishes only one. Presumably the need for gold in this period was met by the solidus Type No. 11 while No. 10 supplied the copper.

J. CONSTANTINE VII ALONE, 27 JANUARY – 6 APRIL 945

In the short time between the fall of the domineering Lecapenus family and the crowning of his son Romanus II, Constantine was sole emperor and to that time are to be assigned the two varieties of a remarkable gold type, undoubtedly inspired by that of his father Leo VI (PLATE XXXII, 7).

Coins

Solidus

19. *Obv.*: +IhSXPSREXRESNANTIYM Bust of Christ Pantocrator bearded with nimbus cruciger, with three pellets in each limb of cross. He wears pallium over colobium. His r. hand raised in blessing; in his l., book of Gospels.
Rev.: +COhSTAh T, AVT'CRATb'R' Bust with long beard wearing heavy crown and vertical loros, holding in r. hand globe surmounted by patriarchal cross. (PLATE XXXIV, 8)

20. *Obv.*: Same inscription and type except that there are no pellets in limbs of cross.
Rev.: Same inscription and type but l. hand shown holding anexikakia. (PLATE XXXIV, 9)

Miliaresion

21. *Obv.*: IhSYSXRI STYShICA Cross potent on three steps beneath which, globe. Three circles of pellets.
Rev.: +COhS Three circles of pellets with eight globules.
TAhT'Eh
XWAYTOCR'
PIST'bAS
IL'ROM' (PLATE XXXIV, 10)

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Follis

22. *Obv.*: +COhST'bA SIL' ROM' Bust bearded wearing crown with cross and vertical loros. In r. hand, anexikakia; in l., globus cruciger.
Rev.: +COhST'
ЄhΘЄObA
SILЄVSR
OMЄOh (PLATE XXXV, 1)

The gold type has been discussed above, pp. 146f. There being no portrait on the silver, one cannot say with perfect certainty that it was struck in this period and not in that of his sole rule as a young man (Section E). However, the title Autocrator, which appears also on the gold, Nos. 19 and 20, points to a later date, and it is likely that the emperor, released from his position of dependency, would celebrate by producing his own types in all metals.

J. CONSTANTINE VII AND ROMANUS II
6 APRIL 945–9 NOVEMBER 959

From the coronation of Romanus II until the death of Constantine the father and son ruled as co-emperors.

Coins

Solidus

23. *Obv.*: Inscription and type of No. 19.
Rev.: COhSTAhT'CЄROMAh'ЧϚbR' To l., bust of Constantine bearded wearing heavy crown with cross and loros. With r. hand grasps shaft of patriarchal cross. To r., bust of Romanus beardless wearing crown with cross and chlamys. With l. hand grasps shaft of patriarchal cross below the hand of Constantine.
(PLATE XXXV, 2)

Miliaresion

24. *Obv.*: IhSЧSXRI STЧShICA Cross on three steps below which, globe; crosslets on limbs, X in center. Three circles of pellets with sixteen globules.

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Rev.: ✝COhST'Ƭ, Three circles of pellets with sixteen globules.
ΠORFVRO9'
CЄROMAhO
ЄhXѠЄVSЄb'
b'RѠMЄOh (PLATE XXXV, 3)

Follis

25. *Obv.*: ✝COhST'Ƭ'CЄROMAh'b'ROM To l., bust of Constantine bearded wearing crown with cross and vertical loros. To r., bust of Romanus beardless wearing crown with cross and loros. They hold large globe on which is patriarchal cross with crosslets on the limbs and X in the center. Pellet on the shaft of the cross.
Rev.: ✝COhSƬ'
CЄROMAh
ЄhXRISƬ'
b'ROMЄO (PLATE XXXV, 4)

The gold and silver issues were large, the copper less so and consisting to a great extent of earlier folles restruck. Except for the more ornamental cross and the largeness of the globe on the copper the last coins of Constantine were conventional and not of an order of artistic merit to remind one of the great portrait with the long beard.[40]

[40] There is an odd entry in the 13th century chronicle of Theodore Scutariotes (published in *Anonymi Compendium Chronicum* by Constantine Sathas, Bibliotheca Graeca Medi Aevi, Vol. II [Paris, 1894]. The identification of the author is given by G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I² [Berlin, 1958], p. 527). "Not long afterwards Romanus Lecapenus crowned his sons, Christopher, Steven and Constantine emperors and also Christopher's son Michael, so that there were seven (*sic*) emperors at once. When there were five, the coins bearing their portraits were called pentalaimia" (Sathas, p. 149, 18–22). The total seven is reached by including Constantine Porphyrogennetus and his son Romanus, who are mentioned in the preceding and succeeding paragraphs, though Romanus was not crowned until 6 April 945 after the fall of the Lecapeni. There is no other evidence of the crowning of Michael and no such coin is known. But the coining of the name *pentalaimia* (laimos is an Homeric word meaning "throat" or "gullet") sounds as though there had been an actual type not now preserved. Two issues are known with five portraits; that with Constantine VI, his mother Irene and the ancestors Leo III, Constantine V and Leo IV (Wroth, p. 397); and that of Theophilus with his wife Theodora and his daughters Thecla, Anna and Anastasia (Wroth, p. 418).

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ADDENDUM

An interesting addition to our knowledge of Variety I of Christ enthroned is provided by two lead seals from the National Collection at Sofia (*Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare* VIII [1934], Theodor Gerasimov, "Drei altbulgarische Bleisiegel," pp. 350–360. German summary p. 360 [PLATE XXXV, 5]. The issuing authority was Symeon of Bulgaria who here appears with the extraordinary title "King of the Romans." A letter to him from Romanus I (ΔΕΛΤΙΟΝ. I [1883], I. Sakkelionos, "Letter of Basileus Romanus Lecapenus," pp. 657–666) shows that he had in fact claimed to be king of both Romans and Bulgarians. "If anyone ought to be called Basileus of the Romans and Bulgarians it is I who have it from God and for my faithfulness receive the sovereignty from him rather than you who struggle against it with blood and slaughter." (p. 659). This episode took place in 925 (Steven Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* [1930], p. 173), that is, during the joint reign of Constantine, Romanus and Christopher when the major issue of gold bears the type Variety I (above, No. 11). It will be seen how closely Symeon's type copies the imperial one (the likeness is fully supported by Gerasimov's photograph, though that is not good enough to reproduce). The accompanying legend could not be deciphered by Gerasimov though the individual letters are clear. K. Besevliev reads them as ΟΑΤΑΛΟΠ'ΟΥΠΥΠ (or Τ) ΟΥΟΥΠΠΙИ+ and suggests that they are possibly a garbled form of ЄК ΘЄОЧ ΠΙСТОЧ ВАСΙΛЄОS ΠΟΛΛΑ ΤΑ ЄΤΗ written backward (*Die protobulgarischen Inschriften*, Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten Band 23 [Berlin, 1963], pp. 330f., No. 89).

The reverse shows the standing emperor obviously copied from the gold of Leo and Constantine (above, No. 1) and Constantine and Romanus I (above, No. 6). Everything combines to emphasize Symeon's claim to imperial rank and the adoption of Variety I of Christ enthroned reinforces the probability that its original had an imperial function such as that of overhanging the throne in the conch of the Chrysotriclinos.

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THE GOLD AND SILVER COINAGE OF BASIL II

(PLATES XXXVI-XL)

PHILIP GRIERSON

I

The reign of Basil II (976–1025) was the second longest in Byzantine history, exceeded only by that of his brother Constantine VIII. Formally, the two brothers came to the throne on the death of their father Romanus II in 959 and ruled jointly until Basil's death in 1025, after which Constantine VIII ruled alone till his own death in 1028. In practice Constantine VIII took no part in government as long as his brother was alive, so that his effective reign was a short one, and neither brother attained power before the death of John Zimisces in 976. Between 963 and 969 the real ruler was Nicephorus II Phocas, who married Romanus' widow Theophano, and between 969 and 976 it was Nicephorus' murderer John I Zimisces. Nicephorus recognized the existence of Basil on his first issue of nomismata, though he placed his own name before that of his colleague and gave to his own effigy the place of honour on the coin, but thereafter he struck in his name alone, as did John Zimisces after him. Neither ruler referred to Basil or Constantine on their silver or bronze coinage. The true reign and coinage of Basil therefore began only in 976 and ended in 1025. On both the gold and the silver he punctiliously recognized the existence of Constantine VIII, though he ruthlessly — and justifiably — denied him any share in affairs of state.

The half century of Basil's long tenure of power saw considerable changes in the coinage of the empire.

Gold coinage. The tetarteron or light weight solidus introduced under Nicephorus became a separate denomination in its own right, of a type and module distinct from that of the full weight nomisma. This latter denomination, which started the reign as a relatively small thick coin still classical in its module, ended it as a much broader and thinner one essentially mediaeval in appearance. To some extent the change can be regarded as a tardy assimilation of the

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module of the gold to that of the silver, where the broad thin miliaresion, modelled in its general appearance on the Arab dirham, which in its turn went back to the silver coin of the Sasanians, had been in use since early in the eighth century. These two changes inaugurated under Basil II were to be carried further under his successors, the tetarteron contracting in diameter to the small thick coin of the mid-eleventh century[1] and the nomisma expanding still further into a very broad thin one which eventually assumed a scyphate form.

Silver coinage. The first type of the miliaresion had a reverse similar to that of Constantine VII, since the existence of two emperors made it impossible to continue the central medaillon on the cross with an effigy of the emperor which had been used under Nicephorus and John. This type was then abandoned in favour of one having the busts of the two emperors in the field. In 989 the emperor's victory at Abydos was commemorated by an exceptionally beautiful and rare special issue which up to recently has been wrongly ascribed to John I and associated with the abortive Russian attack on Constantinople in 971. The size of the flan of the miliaresion was increased in a manner comparable to that of the gold, but since the coin was already broad and thin the increase was necessarily slighter. The silver coinage was in due course affected by the so-called silver famine in the Islamic world and in the later years of the reign was probably not being struck at all.

Copper coinage. This continued without change the anonymous type introduced by John Zimisces, but at some date it underwent a drastic change, the weight being increased from about 5 gr. to nearly 20 gr. Presumably this was accompanied by an increase in its valuation in terms of money of account, the heavier bronze coins going some way towards filling the lacuna caused by the decline in the volume of silver in circulation and the absence of anything corresponding to the ancient tremissis, but of this we unfortunately know nothing.[2] Bellinger, in his study of the anonymous bronze, suggested

[1] Wroth does not use the term "tetarteron" to describe these coins, calling them simply nomismata of "thick fabric" from the reign of Constantine IX onwards. Although he noticed the difference in weight (see his Introduction, *BMCByz.* I., p. lxxv) he did not perceive its significance.

[2] See my paper, "Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 498–c. 1090,"

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that the increase in weight perhaps followed the battle of Abydos and was a consequence of the securer position of the emperor after the end of the civil wars,[3] but since the change must have had economic implications it is perhaps later in date and connected with the drying up of the silver coinage.

A notable feature of all these denominations is the proliferation of small differences in design, which in the main take the form of variations in the ornaments used in the nimbus of Christ on the gold and above and below the lines of inscription on the silver and bronze. The meaning of these ornaments or privy marks is unknown. It has recently been argued that the varying proportions of bronze coins with particular groups of ornaments in hoards and site finds may indicate the existence of provincial mints, but more evidence is required before this can be taken as proven.[4] Possibly they mark separate issues, but there is no very evident reason why there should have been a need to differentiate issues in this way; it had not been done earlier in the tenth century and was not to be done in the later issues of the anonymous bronze. In so far as they may represent separate issues we cannot place them in any precise chronological order, though the sequence of the broader categories is fairly clear.

Since there is at present little that can be usefully added to Bellinger's treatment of the earliest class of anonymous bronze coinage I propose to limit myself to the gold and silver of the reign. Bellinger's list of symbols on the bronze coins of this class seems to be virtually complete; what remain to be studied are the possibility of their regional distribution and their correlation with changes in weight. The very heavy coins of ca. 20 gr. do not seem to have lasted long, and while some of the symbols are limited to either heavy or medium coins there are others — e.g., Bellinger no. 40 — which are found on coins over a very wide weight range. In view of the extreme diversity

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Moneta e scambi nell'alto medioevo (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano de studi sull'alto medioevo, VIII, Spoleto, 1960), pp. 441–2.

[3] A. R. Bellinger, *The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze Coinage* (New York, 1928), p. 15.

[4] D. M. Metcalf, "Provincial Issues among the Byzantine Bronze Coinage of the 11th Century," *HBN* 1961, pp. 30 ff. Until it is satisfactorily demonstrated that the "ornaments" are functional in character it is preferable to term them ornaments rather than privy marks.

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in weight of the coins and their varying condition, however, it is clear that any useful research cannot be carried far on the basis of museum material alone.

II

Wroth treats the gold coinage of Basil as a single denomination and type, within which he records a number of varieties. There are in fact two denominations, the full weight nomisma or histamenon and the slightly lighter tetarteron[5] introduced by Nicephorus Phocas.[6] We owe to Prof. Lopez the identification of the latter coin with the nomismata of inferior weight which are known to exist for Nicephorus II, John I and Basil.[7] There are none of Nicephorus in the *BMC*, but there are two of John (p. 474, nos. 2, 3) and three of Basil II (pp. 484f., nos. 1, 2, 4).[8] At first they were identical in everything save weight with the normal nomisma; later they were differentiated in type and module as well. This differentiation, which is very apparent from the reign of Constantine VIII onward, is already made in the

[5] The distinction in name is clear from the diploma of 1065 to the Athonite monastery of Iviron prescribing that an annual payment should be made, half in *histamena*, half in *tetartera* (F. Dölger, "Finanzgeschichtliches aus der byzantinischen Kaiserkanzlei des 11. Jahrhunderts," in his *Paraspora* (Ettal, 1961), pp. 328ff. This important study (pp. 326–49) was first published as Number 2 of the *Bayerische Akademie d. Wissenschaften: Philos.-Hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, Jahrgang 1956*).

[6] Cedrenus, *Chronographia* (Bonn ed.), II, p. 369.

[7] R. S. Lopez, "La crise du besant au X[e] siècle et la date du Livre du Préfet," *Mélanges H. Grégoire*, II (= *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, X, Brussels, 1950), pp. 403–18, developing an argument originally put forward by F. Dworschak. The reasons for its creation have been much discussed; see Dölger, op. cit.; P. Grierson, "Nomisma, tetartèron et dinar: un plaidoyer pour Nicéphore Phocas," *RBN* 1954, pp. 75–84; H. Ahrweiler-Glykatzi, "Nouvelle hypothèse sur le tétartèron d'or et la politique monétaire de Nicéphore Phocas," *Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky*, I (= *Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'Etudes byzantines*, VIII, Belgrade, 1963), pp. 1–9; and A. S. Ehrenkreutz, "Byzantine Tetartera and Islamic Dīnārs," *Journal of the Social and Economic History of the Orient*, VII (1964), pp. 183–90.

[8] The three of Basil have been slightly pared at the edge, but not enough to account for the difference in weight between them and a full nomisma. The two of John I are in perfect condition and slightly smaller and thicker than the normal coins. There can be no doubt that they were intended to weigh about what they do now, i.e., rather over 4 gr. Another specimen since acquired by the BM, also in good condition, weighs 4.08 gr., and there are many of about this weight in other collections.

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later years of Basil II. It remains broadly true, however, that both nomisma and tetarteron are basically the same type throughout Basil's reign, having on the obverse the facing bust of Christ holding the Gospels and on the reverse the two facing busts of Basil and Constantine holding a long cross between them.

Within this broad uniformity of type many varieties in detail are found. There are differences in the size of the coins, in the size and decoration of the nimbus of Christ, in the costume of the emperors, in the form of the cross and the decoration on its shaft, and finally in the presence or absence of a *Manus Dei* holding a crown above the head of Basil.[9] Broadly speaking, coins without a *Manus Dei* are earlier than those on which one is present; coins on which Basil wears a normal loros (what Wroth calls "a robe of lozenge pattern") are earlier than those with what may be termed an "apron loros" (Wroth's "robe of square pattern"); and the order in the form of the cross is (1) patriarchal cross, (2) patriarchal cross crosslet, and (3) simple cross. There is, however, an early group of coins with "apron loros," a carry-over from the previous reign, and a late group of tetartera with patriarchal cross. The last and most common group of histamena has a triple border, while all the earlier ones, and the tetartera throughout the reign, have only a single one. It is necessary to comment briefly on some of these features before setting out a table of issues.

Module. The histamenon increased in size during the reign from about 21 mm. to about 26 mm., the earliest coins being interchangeable with the nomismata of John Zimisces and the latest ones with the histamena of Constantine VIII. The tetarteron, on the other hand, retained the traditional size of the nomisma, so that by the end of the reign the two denominations are completely distinct and recognizable on sight.

[9] Actually only a crown is shown, the presence of the *Manus Dei* being understood, but it is convenient to refer to it this way so as to avoid confusion with the crown on Basil's head. The object and its significance are clear in, e.g., the portrait of Basil II in his Psalter at Venice (D. Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium*, New York, 1959, pl. XI), where the miniature crown over the emperor is held by a half-figure of Christ. On fourth- and fifth-century coins of the young Arcadius, Eudoxia and others where a similar suspended crown is shown, the hand is also sometimes omitted, e.g., very commonly on solidi of Valentinian III from Ravenna.

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Nimbus. On the earliest issues the head of Christ is almost as large as the nimbus, so that the only ornaments for which there is room in the arms of the nimbus-cross are one or two small pellets. The same had been true of the coins of preceding emperors. Quite early in the reign the size of the head of Christ was reduced and that of the nimbus enlarged, making possible the insertion in the arms of the cross such sigla as a cross of five pellets, a rosette of seven pellets, a wedge,[10] an annulet with a pellet in the centre, and so forth. Only in the last issue of the reign was the series of sigla in the cross-arms abandoned; instead the nimbus carries a pair of crescents in its upper two quarters.

The lines which mark the arms of the cross are usually straight, but in the last issue of nomismata they have serifs at the ends, where they join the outer circle of the nimbus. The same feature is found on the main issue of tetartera and forms one of the elements by which this can be approximately dated. On some issues a double line is used to mark the cross or the circumference of the nimbus.

Costume. Save on the later tetartera, Basil's costume is indicated by pellets either in squares or in a lozenge pattern, while Constantine wears a chlamys. On the coins which the size of the nimbus shows to be the earliest, the costume is square-patterned like that of John Zimisces; but before the narrow nimbus had been abandoned, this had been replaced by a lozenge pattern. The latter lasted throughout the period of the patriarchal cross, after which the square pattern was reintroduced and lasted for the rest of the reign.

The traditional description of these costumes as "square- or lozenge-patterned" is convenient in practice, but conceals their true nature. In both cases the "costume" in question is the loros, a survival of the ancient consular ceremonial dress; but by the tenth century it had come to assume two alternative forms.[11] The distinc-

[10] Wroth, p. 484, no. 1, describes this as a spearhead, which it certainly resembles, but since the other objects used to differentiate these coins are all geometrical it is probably no more than a wedge. Sometimes the point is absent and it is virtually barrel-shaped.

[11] The best discussion in English of the history and significance of the loros is in G. P. Galavaris, "The Symbolism of the Imperial Costume as Displayed on Byzantine Coins," *ANSMN* 8 (1958), pp. 99–117. For the early Byzantine period (fourth to sixth centuries) it is necessary to consult G. Wilpert, "Un capitolo di storia del vestiario. Tre studi sul vestiario dei tempi postconstantiniani," *L'Arte* I (1898), pp. 89–120, whose neglect of the coinage is put right

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tion between them can be most clearly seen by comparing the imperial costume on two well-known tenth century ivories, that in the Moscow Museum of Fine Arts showing Constantine Porphyrogenitus standing before Christ and that in the Bibliothèque Nationale showing Christ blessing the union of Romanus II and Eudocia.[12]

On the first of these ivories the emperor wears the traditional type of loros, a long richly encrusted and embroidered scarf which hangs full length down the front of the body, passes over his right shoulder and under his arm, crosses the front of his body and passes over his left shoulder, then goes across his back and comes round at his right side, when it again passes in front of his body and hangs over his left arm. The fact that the loros passes first over one shoulder and then over the other means that it crosses his chest twice diagonally, thus giving rise to the characteristic "diamond pattern" familiar on the coins. The other type of loros has the garment simplified and "rationalized." What is visible shows a broad embroidered scarf (it is much broader than a normal scarf) hanging straight down in front of the body and fastened at each shoulder, and a similar scarf coming round the emperor's right side across his body, with the end hanging down, as before, over his left arm. How it was arranged behind the body is uncertain, for the absence of Byzantine sculpture in the round means that we do not know how an emperor looked from this position. Most probably it reproduced the same vertically hanging strip of cloth as in front, only instead of this being allowed to hang straight down it was pulled round the front of the body, but some scholars have believed that the part in front of the body was a completely separate strip sewn on to the side of the emperor's robe, so that only the merest semblance of the ancient loros survived.[13] This developed

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by C. Albizzati, "L'ultima toga," *RIN* 1922, pp. 69–92. See also J. Ebersolt, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines* (Paris, 1917), pp. 64f., which contains the most convenient account of imperial costume in general (pp. 52–63).

[12] Most easily consulted in D. Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium* (New York, 1959), pls. 96 and 97 where the two representations conveniently face one another. In J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople* (London, 1961), they are on pp. 68 and 81. The second ivory was formerly attributed to Romanus IV.

[13] This was suggested by D. F. Belyaev in his fundamental study of imperial processions and ceremonials, "Byzantina II. Ocherki, materiali et zametki po vizantiiskim drevnostyam," *Zapiski Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva, klass. otdel*[2], VI (1892), pp. 213–5. In favour of it is the

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loros, because it hung straight down from the shoulders, gave the "square pattern" of the coins. It seems to have had no special name, but can conveniently be called an "apron loros," since this was the form into which it had effectively evolved. The apron loros does not appear, so far as we know, before the late ninth century.[14]

The costume on the earliest known type of distinct tetarteron is quite normal, Basil wearing an apron loros and Constantine a chlamys. Those of the second type of tetarteron show Basil wearing a chlamys of somewhat unusual design and Constantine an elaborately patterned costume for which there does not seem to be any close parallel in the numismatic iconography of the period. The third and most common type restores to Basil his apron loros but gives Constantine a V-shaped overgarment with an ornament hanging down in front. It is perhaps intended to be the same type of robe as that shown on some copper coins of Nicephorus Phocas,[15] though it here conceals virtually the whole garment beneath it.

Cross. The crosses are of the types described above. The ends of the cross-bars are sometimes triangular and sometimes formed by a pellet. This represents no more than the varying punches used by different die-sinkers in setting about their work and is of no particular significance. The cross of the second type of tetarteron is an exaggeration of the patriarchal cross crosslet of Class III of the nomisma, so that it has become a patriarchal cross fourchée with a pellet at the end of each arm. In listing the objects which sometimes decorate the shaft of the cross one need not take account of a small central dot which is sometimes though not invariably present. Though this is not always in the exact centre of the coin it probably does no more than mark the point from which the die-sinker worked in executing the design of the coin.

The charts on pp. 176-179 give a list of such types as are known to me.[16]

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fact that the part of the loros crossing in front of the body is often represented as broader than the section hanging straight down.

[14] On some coins of Basil I (867–86); see Wroth, pl. L, 16, 18, 19, the latter contrasting with pl. LI, 1 but having a transitional air about it.

[15] Wroth, pl. LIV, 8.

[16] Since the above was written, yet another type of tetarteron has come to light (Monnaies et Médailles S.A. Bâle, Vente publique 35, June 16, 1967, lot 238). The obverse type and inscriptions are as usual, but the bust of Christ

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The order must be regarded as only roughly chronological. Classes I, II(a) and II(b) come certainly at the beginning of the reign and Class VI at the end, but some details in the sequence of the intervening classes remain uncertain and the order of the individual sigla within Classes II and III is quite unknown. Only the unearthing of several hoards or the discovery of mules between the types would allow one to establish these points. Nor can anything precise be said regarding the periods of issue; possibly the *Manus Dei* holding a crown represents an allusion to Basil's victory at Abydos, in which case Classes IV–VI wouldbe assignable to the years after 989. Classes IV and VI are very common and must each have been struck during several years; Class VI certainly covers the last decades of the reign.

With regard to the tetartera, Class B, despite the plain patriarchal cross and Basil's square-patterned robe, cannot be dated as early as the very beginning of the reign since the nimbus of Christ is very broad and in any case there was at first no differentiation between the tetarteron and the full weight nomisma. Nor is there any necessity for supposing that the same form of cross was simultaneously in use on both histamena and tetartera; the employment of different forms would indeed have been helpful to contemporaries who had to distinguish between the two denominations. A complication also arises from the fact that Classes A, B and C(1) are of extreme rarity, while Class C(2) is relatively common.[17] It seems possible that the decision to create a tetarteron of distinct design was made just before the introduction of the nomisma of Class V, and that Classes A and B represent no more than the attempts of different die-sinkers to produce a novel design, that of Class C being finally chosen for the regular issue.

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is large, showing that the coin was struck early in the reign, and it is flanked by the letters $\overline{IC}$ and $\overline{XC}$. The reverse has the usual inscription and the busts of Basil and Constantine, Basil wearing a loros with square pattern and Constantine, one of "V" pattern, but they hold between them a labarum with a cross on its shaft. The weight is 4.06 gr.

[17] The only two recorded hoards of tetartera, both from Rumania, are limited to this type; G. Stefan, "Dinogetia I. Risultati della prima campagna di scavi (1939)," *Dacia*, VII–VIII (1937–40), pp. 422–4; E. Comşa and G. Bichir, "O nouă descoperire de monede şi obiecte de podoabă din secolele X-XI în aşezarea de la Garvăn (Dobrogea)," *Studii şi cercetări di numismatică*, III (1960), pp. 223–44, esp. pp. 224–7.

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Nomisma, Classes I–III. Without *Manus Dei* holding crown

Class	*Costume of Basil*	*Cross*		*Ornament on Nimbus*		*Comments and Key to the Illustrations*
		Type	*On shaft*	*Narrow*	*Broad*	
I	square	‡	nothing	•		Glendining, May 26, 1959, no. 287
II (a)	lozenge	‡	nothing	••		Ratto, Dec. 9, 1930, no. 1937
(b)	lozenge	‡	nothing	•		Hess, Mar. 25, 1929, no. 1044
(c)	lozenge	‡	nothing		• above	Other arms hollowed out on die, as if 3 pellets originally. Dumbarton Oaks
(d)	lozenge	‡	•		bar	Glendining, Mar. 1, 1957, no 644
(e)	lozenge	‡	nothing		• on circumference	British Museum
(f)	lozenge	‡	•		• on circumference	Whittemore Coll.
(g)	lozenge	‡	▲		wedge	Dumbarton Oaks
(h)	lozenge	‡	♦			Whittemore Coll.
(i)	lozenge	‡	♦			Perhaps altered from (h). Whittemore Coll.
(j)	lozenge	‡	bar		⊙	Dumbarton Oaks

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Class	Costume of Basil	Cross		Ornament on Nimbus		Comments and Key to the Illustrations
		Type	*On shaft*	*Narrow*	*Broad*	
III (a)	square	✠	nothing		••	British Museum
(b)	square	✠	nothing		•| •	Dumbarton Oaks
(c)	square	✠	nothing		⁘	Rollin and Feuardent, Apr. 25, 1887, no. 968
(d)	square	✠	nothing		═·═	Double rim to nimbus. Sotheby June 13, 1911, no. 778
(e)	square	✠	nothing		═:═	Double rim to nimbus. Dumbarton Oaks
(f)	square	✠	nothing		⁘	Dumbarton Oaks
(g)	square	✠	>		••	Whittemore Coll.
(h)	square	✠	•		nothing	Double rim to nimbus. Whittemore Coll.
(i)	square	✠	•		═══	Double rim to nimbus. Dumbarton Oaks
(j)	square	✠	•		••	Double rim to nimbus. British Museum

12 Notes 13

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Nomisma, Classes IV–VI. With *Manus Dei* holding crown

Class	*Costume of Basil*	*Cross*		*Ornament on Nimbus*	*Comments and Key to the Illustrations*
		Type	*On shaft*		
IV	square	✙	nothing	⁘	British Museum
V	square	✝	nothing	⁘	The pellets at the ends of the cross bars have the air of being an afterthought. Whittemore Coll.
VI (a)	square	†	nothing	2 crescents in upper quarters	Triple outer border of dots. Nimbus cross with serifs. Dumbarton Oaks
(b)	square	†	•	2 crescents in upper quarters	Triple outer border of dots. Nimbus cross with serifs. Whittemore Coll.

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Tetarteron. No *Manus Dei* with crown

Class	*Costume*		*Cross*		*Ornament on Nimbus*	*Comments and Key to the Illustrations*
	Basil	*Constantine*	*Type*	*On shaft*		
A	elaborate	elaborate	‡	■	• •	Double rim to nimbus. Dumbarton Oaks
B	square	chlamys	‡	nothing	• •	Ratto, Dec. 9, 1930, no. 1943
C (1)	square	V-pattern	‡	nothing	• •	Nimbus cross with serifs. Münz. und Med. XXV, Nov. 17, 1962, no. 716
(2)	square	V-pattern	‡	×	• •	Nimbus cross with serifs. Dumbarton Oaks

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III

Miliaresia of Basil II's reign are common, but they mark the culminating point in the great issues of the Macedonian period. In the eleventh century Byzantine silver becomes very rare. Though the types are numerous the issues were small and the coins are often of very base metal, a feature not previously found in Byzantine silver coinage and presumably related to the debasement of the gold. It is evident that the empire was deeply affected by the silver crisis which overtook the Muslim world also towards the close of the tenth century.

The causes and chronology of this silver famine have not yet been adequately explored. Robert P. Blake, the only scholar who has studied the phenomenon seriously, attributed it to the occupation of the Zarafshān mines in central Asia by the Turks in ca. A.D. 975 and to Maḥmūd of Ghazna's southern conquests in the first decades of the eleventh century, which, if they initially brought into the Islamic world a vast amount of bullion in the form of plunder and tribute, resulted eventually in an overall loss of silver to India.[18] It may be doubted if these are sufficient to account for so widespread a phenomenon as the silver famine, which in the course of the eleventh century swept the dirham of the Islamic world out of existence[19] and profoundly affected the Byzantine empire[20] and virtually the whole of Western Europe. As to its chronology, the series of dated coins from the great mints of Turkestan, Khurāsān and the neighbouring regions which are found in Russian and Baltic hoards shows a sharp falling off from ca. 975 onwards and virtually ceases by A.D. 1000,

[18] "The Circulation of Silver in the Moslem East Down to the Mongol Epoch," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, II (1937), pp. 309–310. The Zarafshān mines were the chief source of bullion for the silver coinage of the Sāmānids, which dominates the Russian and Baltic hoards of this period. It is not clear whether the alleged loss of silver to India is a fact or a conjecture.

[19] Dr. P. Balog has recently shown that rather more silver was coined by the Fāṭimids than was formerly supposed, but this does not change the general picture appreciably.

[20] Blake's two statements (p. 310), that Byzantine silver coins of the tenth century are not common and that in any case Byzantium was not affected by the silver famine, are quite incorrect.

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the latest coin so far recorded in them being actually of 1014/5.[21] Blake quotes Maqrīzi as saying that silver ceased to be coined at Baghdad in 1009, and though this is not literally true — the series continues almost without a break down to the mid-eleventh century — coins struck after ca. 1000 are of extreme rarity. Byzantine developments may have lagged a little behind those in the Islamic world, but are unlikely to have done so by much. In the 980's and 990's Basil was in receipt of considerable sums in silver from the Arabs; in 986 the emir of Aleppo promised him 400,000 dirhams a year in tribute, and though payment probably stopped with the revolt of Bardas Phocas (possibly the latter, who had negotiated the treaty, managed to divert it to himself) the agreement was renewed in 995.[22] But it is probable that the bulk of his silver coin belongs to the first half of his reign, and that little if any was coined after ca. 1000.

Basil's silver coinage consists of a single denomination, the miliaresion, which earlier in the century had been reckoned fourteen to the nomisma but was at this time only twelve, so that it had the value of two keratia in money of account.[23] Four classes were issued during the reign, Classes I and III being very rare — only a single specimen is known of Class I — and Class IV being essentially a continuation of Class II but on a broader and thinner flan.

Class I. *Obv.*: Patriarchal cross crosslet with barred base, on four steps. IhSꓤS[XPI] SꓶꓤShICA

Rev.: On five lines: +bASIL' CCOhSꓶAh' ΠORFVROϚ' ΠISꓶVbAS' RѠMAIѠ' ⊰⊱ above and below.
Each side with triple border of dots and eight larger pellets. Unpublished. Dumbarton Oaks Wt. 2.17 gr. (pierced and chipped).

[21] A good picture of these hoards can be obtained from the statistical tables appended to Richard Vasmer, *Ein im Dorfe Staryi Dedin in Weissrussland gemachter Fund kufischer Münzen* (*Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2. Stockholm, 1929).

[22] F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches* (Munich – Berlin, 1924), nos. 769, 782.

[23] Grierson, "Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire," op. cit. (above, n. 2), p. 429. The reckoning of twelve miliaresia to the nomisma is that of the *Book of the Prefect.*

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Class II. *Obv.*: Plain cross crosslet, with terminal pellets, decorated with X at the intersection and ᴗ on the shaft and with pellet between barred base and steps; two facing busts in field. EʌƬOVƬѠʌICAƬ' bASILЄICCѠʌSƬ'

Rev.: As Class I, but with varieties in the inscription (sometimes ΠISƬOI for ΠISƬV) and letter forms (S and T for C and Ƭ) and different ornaments above and below the inscription.

Small size; when complete, with triple linear border (but no large pellets), about 25 mm., but usually clipped and only one border visible (21 mm.). Wroth, p. 487, 16–20.

Class A. With CCѠʌSƬ and ΠISƬOI.

	Varieties of Ornaments	*No. of Specimens*[24]	*Key to the Illustrations*
(1)	⊰·⊱	38	Ratto, Dec. 9, 1930, no. 1950
(2)	⊰·:·⊱	22	British Museum
(3)	⊰·ǂ·⊱	4	
(4)	⊰·*·⊱	9	
(5)	·*·	4	
(6)	·:⁞:·	2	Naville VI, June 18, 1925, no. 1133
(7)	⊰·+·⊱	3	Kricheldorf V, Oct. 20, 1958, no. 191

Class B. With SCѠʌSƬ (usually) or CCѠʌSƬ and ΠISTV (rarely ΠISƬV).

(1)	⊰·⊱	5	Ratto, Dec. 9, 1930, no. 1947
(2)	⊰·:·⊱	1	
(3)	⊰·ǂ·⊱	1	
(4)	—•—	19	Ratto, Dec. 9, 1930, no. 1948
(5)	⊣·:·⊢	4	Whittemore Coll.

[24] Some notion as to the rarity of the different varieties can be obtained from the "No. of Specimens" entries, which cover the Vella material and the photographs in my files. Since single specimens only are noted for several varieties, it is unlikely that the series is complete. The same is true for the varieties of ornament at the base of the cross in Class IV, though, since the group as a whole is rather rare, the proportions among recorded specimens may be misleading.

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Class III. *Obv.*: Bust of the Virgin between MP and ΘV holding medallion of Christ. ΘCЄbΘ/ZOISbASILS' (Θεοτόκε βοήθει τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, "O Virgin aid the emperors").
Rev.: On five lines: +MĒRΘȳ DЄDOIASM ΘЄISSЄЄL ΠIZωhOЧ CAΠOZ/X (Μῆτερ θεοῦ δεδοξασμένη ὁ εἰς σὲ ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἀποτυγχάνει, "Mother of God, full of glory, he who putteth his trust in thee will never fail in his undertakings").
Each side with triple linear border. 26/27 mm. Wroth, p. 476, 7 (as John Zimisces).

Class IV. As Class II, but larger (ca. 27 mm.). The inscription on the rev. always reads ΠISZV, the σ abbreviation for καὶ has normally the form C, not S, and the ornament above and below is always◄⊙►. The base of the cross on the obv. is decorated in various ways. Wroth, p. 487, 14, 15.

	Varieties of Decoration	*No. of Specimens*	*Key to the Illustrations*
(a)	▾	5	Hirsch XXVI, Jan. 11, 1961, no. 1951
(b)	✣	1	Dumbarton Oaks
(c)	⌒	3	Dumbarton Oaks
(d)	⊶	3	Whittemore Coll.
(e)	✲	1	Whittemore Coll.

Despite the variations in their diameter it does not seem that there was any intentional difference between the weights of these four series. Specimens of Classes III and IV are usually in the neighbourhood of 2.6/2.7 gr., sometimes rising as high as above 3.0 gr., while those of Class II vary from 2.35 gr. to 3.0 gr., but coins of Class II are usually so badly clipped that it is hard to estimate their initial weights. I am inclined to believe that all classes were struck to a theoretical figure of 108 to the pound, but that the coins were put into circulation at a nominal valuation quite inferior to their value as bullion and little care was consequently taken over the weights of the individual coins.

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Class I evidently represents a transitional coinage, produced before the mint authorities had decided how to deal with the problem of showing two effigies on the obverse of the coin. During the brief reign of the Emperor Alexander (912–13) the head of Christ had been placed in an oval at the central point of the cross,[25] giving this something of the appearance of a monstrance, though the bust of Christ on a medallion superimposed on a cross was a theme known to Christian art since at least the sixth century.[26] This arrangement was used again by Romanus I (919–44)[27] and with slight modifications by Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces,[28] but in all these cases the medallion shows the head of the emperor.[29] Class I of Basil reverts to the type used in the later years of Constantine VII,[30] having a cross crosslet on steps with an X at the centre of the cross. It is this feature, coupled with the size of the lettering and the general style of the coin, which proves that the piece belongs to the reign of Basil II and Constantine VIII and not to that of Basil I and his son Constantine a century earlier, for whom quite a different miliaresion was struck.[31] The survival of only a single specimen indicates a very short period of issue, probably for only a few weeks in January 977 after the accession of Basil II.

The rare coins of Class III have been discussed elsewhere.[32] The reference in their inscription to "the emperors" in the plural disproves

[25] This coin was not known to Wroth, but a specimen in the Whittemore Collection was published by A. N. Muchmov, "Une monnaie d'argent de l'empereur Alexandre," *Byzantion*, VI (1931), pp. 99f. There was another in the Ratto sale catalogue of 9 Dec. 1930, lot 1882.

[26] See A. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre-Sainte* (*Monza-Bobbio*) (Paris, 1958), pls. XXXIV, XXXV.

[27] Wroth, pl. LIII, 5. The next coin (no. 6), which Wroth publishes without comment as being of bronze, must be regarded as a bronze pattern for a miliaresion that was not in the end struck, at least so far as we know. Another specimen, in the Hermitage at Leningrad, has been published by Miss I. V. Sokolova, "Serebryanii monetnii chekan Konstantina VII," *Numizmatika i epigrafika*, II (Moscow, 1960), p. 59.

[28] Wroth, pl. LIV, 6, 13.

[29] On the significance of these representations see J. Deér, "Das Kaiserbild im Kreuz," *Schweizer Beiträge zur Allgemeinen Geschichte*, XIII (1955), pp. 48–110, esp. pp. 66–9.

[30] Wroth, pl. LIII, 15.

[31] Wroth, pl. L, 15.

[32] P. Grierson, "A Misattributed Miliaresion of Basil II," *Melanges G. Ostrogorsky*, I (Belgrade, 1963), pp. 111–16.

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their traditional ascription to John Zimisces, since his coins never acknowledge the existence of his nominal colleagues Basil and Constantine, and it is clear that it is to these emperors that the coins, despite their anonymity, should be assigned. Their rarity and unusual type show that they form a special issue, and their module that they mark the transition between Classes II and IV. Since their inscription is an expression of confidence in the efficacy of the Virgin's aid, and an icon of her, apparently the Nicopoia represented on the coin, was credited with playing a miraculous rôle at the battle of Abydos, in which Bardas Phocas died and Basil's hold on the throne was assured, it is reasonable to ascribe the coins to 989.

The coins of Classes II.A, II.B and IV are more of a problem. We would be better able to explain them if more hoard material were available, but though the coins are not rare and have been recorded in a number of Russian, Scandinavian and Balkan finds the numbers in these have been generally either too small or the published descriptions too inadequate for them to be helpful as to classification and dating. The one exception is a hoard found at Vella (Wolla) in Estonia in 1903, of which a careful analysis has recently been published by Miss Sokolova.[33] It was a mixed hoard of Byzantine (123), German (136) and Islamic (39) coins which has been ascribed to the middle of the 11th century.[34] A date half a century earlier, however, is more likely, for the latest Islamic coin in it is of 365 A.H. (A.D. 975/6), the latest German coins are of Otto III (983–1002), and the Byzantine coins, of Basil II are all of his Class II, with none at all of Class IV. The dating of hoards, especially those consisting entirely of imported coins, is always difficult, and little stress can here be laid on the absence of Islamic coins later than 976, but the limitation of Basil's

[33] I. V. Sokolova, "Vizantiiskie moneti kladi Vella," *Trudi Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha*, IV (Leningrad, 1961), pp. 10–22. This describes the Byzantine and German coins in detail, but does no more than summarize the Islamic coins. Details on the latter will be found in A. K. Markov, "Liflyanskii klad," *Izvestiya arkheologicheskoi komissii*, XVII (1905), pp. 136f. The hoard is not complete, and Miss Sokolova had only 117 Byzantine coins, one being a contemporary imitation, to describe. The locality is variously spelt (Kropotkin: Vella; Mosser: Vollia).

[34] V. V. Kropotkin, *Kladi vizantiiskikh monet na territorii SSSR* (Moscow, 1962), p. 39, no. 317. Markov and Sokolova favour an earlier date.

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miliaresia to those of Class II suggests that the Byzantine coins at least must have reached the Baltic during his reign.

Wroth treated the miliaresia of Basil as a single class, varying in detail, and whether one makes them one class or three is to some extent a matter of convenience. The chief distinctive features of the various groups are set out in the following table.[35] It is difficult to

Class	*Foot of cross*	*Ornament above and below inscr.*	*Peculiarities in inscription*		*Clipping*	*Vella*
II.A	nothing	various	CCѠhST	ΠISTOI	normal	61
II.B	nothing	various	SCѠhST	ΠISTV	rare	53
IV	ornament	◄⊙►	CCѠhST	ΠISTV	not	none

believe that small differences in letter forms — T for T in CѠhSTAh, C for S in ΠISTV and in the abbreviation for και at the beginning of the second line — represent more than the vagaries of a die-sinker. On the other hand, the total absence of coins of Class IV from the Vella hoard, coupled with the facts that they are never (as far as my records go) found in a clipped condition, that the ornament above and below the inscription is invariably ◄⊙►, which is not found on coins of Class II, and that the foot of the cross is ornamented, which is also not the case with coins of Class II, seem to justify our treating them separately. Similarly Miss Sokolova's breakdown of Class II into two groups characterized by the readings ΠISTOI and ΠISTV reflects something more than a die-sinker's vagary, for while some varieties of ornament are found in both groups these differ in one notable feature, the extent to which they have been clipped. The following table, showing the diameter (in millimetres) of the coins in the Vella hoard, brings out the distinction quite clearly. An unclipped coin has a diameter of 25–26 mm. Without exception, all coins of the ΠISTOI series have been clipped, whereas it occurs with only a very few of the ΠISTV series. Nor are the figures peculiar to this hoard; Miss Sokolova gives confirmatory figures from other museum material

[35] Minor variations are omitted; e.g. while II.A seems to be quite uniform, II.B has occasionally CCѠhST, CCѠST or ΠICTV.

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Diameter	*No. of coins*	
	ΠISTOI	ΠISTV
20–20.9	14	3
21–21.9	33	3
22–22.9	9	1
23–23.9	2	1
24–24.9	3	1
25–25.9		14
26–26.9		23
27–27.9		7

in Russia, and among the photos in my files (drawn from western museums and sale catalogues), there is only one unclipped ΠISTOI coin and only two clipped ΠISTV ones. It seems clear that the whole of the ΠISTO series and a small proportion of the ΠISTV series were exposed to some kind of economic pressure, resulting in clipping, which most of the ΠISTV coins and the whole of Classes III and IV escaped. This at least justifies our dividing Class II into two subclasses, though whether these reflect differences in mint or, as seems more likely, a sequence of issues in time, is a question which cannot be usefully discussed in the light of such evidence as is presently available.

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SOME HOARDS OF CRUSADER BEZANTS

(PLATES XLI–XLIV)

GEORGE C. MILES

Probably the only hope of assigning approximate dates to the various types of *biçancii auri saracenati*, or bezants of Arab type, issued by the Crusaders previous to A.D. 1251, and of localizing the mints at which they were struck, lies in the cumulative evidence of well documented hoards.[1] Unfortunately very few hoards of these gold coins, whether well documented or not, have hitherto been published.[2] This contribution to the problem summarizes the contents of the published hoards and describes some new ones. The only published hoards, so far as I know, are the following:

1. A hoard (evidently) found in the excavations of Emmaus el-Qubeibeh and environs (northwest of Jerusalem), published by P. Bellarmino Bagatti in *I monumenti di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh e dei dintorni* (*Pubblicazioni dello Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*, No. 4), Jerusalem, 1947, pp. 159–160, 165. The lot contained eight imitations of al-Āmir (nos. 70–77), all of the type of B & Y 27. Seven obverses and one reverse are illustrated in pl. 46. Several have points above the elongated *ḍād's* and *ṣād's* of the "mint-date" formula. Found with these *saracenati*, or at least in the same trench ("vano" 43), were seven cuttings of gold coins with Latin legends (nos. 60–66, also

[1] The most recent, and definitive, classification of Crusader coins of Arab type is to be found in an article by P. Balog and J. Yvon entitled "Monnaies à légendes arabes de l'Orient Latin," in *RN* 1958, pp. 133–168 (hereinafter abbreviated B & Y). In general the numeration of types employed by Balog and Yvon will be used in the description of the coins listed in the present article.

[2] Philip Grierson's statement in *ANSMN* 6 (1954), p. 171, n. 8, to the effect that the "B-T" bezants (B & Y types 13–16) are "found in hoards of too late a date (mid-13th century) to justify" their attribution to Bohemund of Antioch while Tancred was acting as regent, implies a knowledge of hoards of bezants other than those listed here. Mr. Grierson's recollection is undoubtedly correct but such hoards appear not to have been published. Balog and Yvon (op. cit., pp. 140–141) repeat Grierson's statement.

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illustrated in pl. 46 and here Plate XLIII), similar to those in hoard no. 9, below. None of the coins shows any sign of wear.

2. A hoard reconstructed by Philip Grierson in "A rare Crusader bezant with *Christus vincit* legend," *ANSMN* 6 (1954), p. 174. The integrity of this hoard is by no means certain. It is reported to have contained at least 31 coins: eight of B & Y 5; nine of B & Y 14; three of B & Y 15; six of B & Y 27; four of B & Y 40; and one of *Agnus Dei* type. The two coins of this hoard in the ANS show no signs of wear.

3. Another much more doubtful "hoard", consisting of only three pieces and also reconstructed by Grierson (*loc. cit.*): one of B & Y 14; one of B & Y 40; and one of *Agnus Dei* type.

4. A hoard of 41 pieces acquired by the American Numismatic Society (acc. no. 57.114), said by the Beirut dealer from whom it was purchased to have been found in Lattaqiyah (Laodicea). This hoard was published by Balog and Yvon in *ANSMN* 11, (1964), pp. 295–301, "Deux trésors de monnaies d'or des Croisés." It consisted of: five Fāṭimid dinars of al-Āmir struck at Miṣr, al-Mu'izzīyah al-Qāhirah and al-Iskandarīyah, ranging in date from 508–518 H./A.D. 1114–1124; 12 of B & Y 25; thirteen of B & Y 27 and 30; and eleven imitations of Ṣulayḥid dinars of Yemen, dated "451 H./A.D. 1059.[3] None of the coins in this hoard shows any sign of wear.

5. A hoard of 15 pieces acquired by the American Numismatic Society (acc. no. 59.203), of unknown provenance. This hoard also was published by Balog and Yvon in *ANSMN* 11 (1964), pp. 301–302. It consisted of: ten of B & Y 25; five of B & Y 27 (with some combinations of B & Y 25 and 27 obverse and reverse types). None of the coins shows any sign of wear.

These are, to my knowledge, the only published hoards containing *saracenati*. To this list now may be added five more: one in the possession of a European collector, three in the collection of Dr. Paul Bedoukian, and one recently acquired by the American Numismatic Society.

[3] I suspect that these imitations are eventually to be classed as Crusader coins.

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6. The hoard in the possession of a European collector consists of 24 pieces and is said to have been found near Aleppo. The owner has kindly permitted me to examine photographs which have enabled me to summarize the contents as follows: one Ayyūbid dinar of al-'Azīz 'Uthmān, struck at al-Qāhirah in 594 H./A.D. 1197–8; eight of B & Y 20 (simulated date "506"); seven of B & Y 25; eight of B & Y 27 (several varieties). The weight of the Ayyūbid dinar is 5.41 gr. (!); the weights of the Crusader pieces range between 3.38 and 3.98 grams.[4] To judge by the photographs the coins are virtually uncirculated.

Full descriptions follow of the three hoards owned by Dr. Bedoukian, to whom I am greatly indebted for permission to publish them, and of the hoard recently acquired by the American Numismatic Society.

7. Bedoukian hoard A:

Nine specimens, all imitations of dinars of al-Āmir. Provenance unknown.

1–4. Imitations of Miṣr, 506 H., ending بمصر سنة ستة خمـ The letters *ḍād* and *ṣād* of ضرب and مصر take the form ط. All specimens of identical obverse and reverse dies. Cf. B & Y 20.

1. 22 mm., 3.83 gr. → (PLATE XLI, 1)
2. 22 mm., 3.96 gr. →
3. 22 mm., 3.91 gr. →
4. 22 mm., 3.92 gr. →

5. Imitation of Miṣr, 516 H., reading:
بسم ضرب هذا الدينر بمصر سنة ست عشرة ه خمس مامير الله Cf. B & Y 20.

22 mm., 3.93 gr. ↓ (PLATE XLI, 2)

[4] A. S. Ehrenkreutz in his article "Arabic *dīnārs* struck by the Crusaders," in *JESHO* 1964, pp. 167–182, does not give the weights of the 55 *saracenati* on which he bases his analysis of the fineness of these imitations (all but three below 85% fine), but I have found that the *saracenati* seldom reach 4 grams, most are 3.8 and below, and many weigh as little as 3.4 and 3.5.

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6. Well formed characters but latter part of mint-date formula meaningless: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينار سنة لعسسه و خمسمله Cf. B & Y 23–24.

22 mm., 3.74 gr. ↓ (PLATE XLI, 3)

7. Reasonably well formed letters but most of the legends unintelligible. Type of B & Y 26.

21 mm., 3.95 gr. ↓ (PLATE XLI, 4)

8. Heavy, debased letters, long exaggerated *ḍād* and *ṣād*. Type of B & Y 27b.

23 mm., 3.53 gr. ← (PLATE XLI, 5)

9. Similar to no. 8, but • • beneath الامام
المنصور
Type of B & Y 29.

23 mm., 3.53 gr. ← (PLATE XLI 6)

Several of the coins in this hoard are weakly struck but there are practically no signs of wear.

8. Bedoukian hoard B:

Fifteen specimens, all imitations of dinars of al-Āmir. Said to have been found in a small village near Tyre in December 1965.

1. Imitation of Miṣr, 506 H., ending سنة ستة خمسا ه. Cf. B & Y 20.

22 mm., 3.87 gr. ↑ (PLATE XLI, 7)

2. Imitation of Miṣr, 506 H., ending سنة ست خمسله ه. Cf. B & Y 20.

22 mm., 3.78 gr. ↗ (PLATE XLI, 8)

3. Imitation of Miṣr, 506 H., ending سنة سة خمسالمر. Annulets at 4 and 8 o'clock in double border enclosing inner margin. Cf. B & Y 20.

23 mm., 3.85 gr. ↘ (PLATE XLI, 9)

4. Imitation of Miṣr, 506 H., ending سنة ست ٥. Cf. B & Y 25.

23 mm., 3.71 gr. ↘ (PLATE XLI, 10)

5. Similar to no. 4, same obverse die, different reverse die.

22 mm., 3.85 gr. ↓ (PLATE XLI, 11)

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6. Imitation of Miṣr, 506 H., ending سنة ستة. Letters *ḍād* and *ṣād* take the form: ⊏. Cf. B & Y 25.

22 mm., 3.94 gr. ← (PLATE XLI, 12)

7. Imitation of Miṣr, 506 H., ending سنة ست٩. Letters *ḍād* and *ṣād* as on no. 6. Cf. B & Y 25.

22 mm., 3.48 gr. → (PLATE XLII, 1)

8–9. Imitations of Miṣr, 506 H., ending سنة ست•.•. Identical obverse and reverse dies. Cf. B & Y 25.

8. 22 mm., 3.78 gr. ↘ (PLATE XLII, 2)
9. 22 mm., 3.60 gr. ↘

10. Imitation of Miṣr, 515 H. Fine lettering, almost entirely correct, but obverse marginal legend begins بسم الله and ends سنة خمس عشرة خمس مائة ا ر ه Cf. B & Y 20.

21 mm., 3.83 gr. ↙ (PLATE XLII, 3)

11. Imitation of Miṣr, 516 H., ending سنة ست عشرة وخمسمر. Cf. B & Y 20.

21 mm., 3.88 gr. ↖ (PLATE XLII, 4)

12. Imitation of Miṣr, 516 H., ending ست عشرة وخمسمار. Cf. B & Y 20.

22 mm., 3.67 gr. ↘ (PLATE XLII, 5)

13. Imitation of Miṣr, date ?, ending سنة ر. Cf. B & Y 25. *Ḍād* and *ṣād*: ⊏

22 mm., 3.70 gr. ↖ (PLATE XLII, 6)

14. Imitation of Miṣr, date ?, ending سر (no word سنة). Cf. B & Y 25. *Ḍād* and *ṣād*: ⊏⊐

22 mm., 3.81 gr. ↗ (PLATE XLII, 7)

15. Imitation of Miṣr, date ?, ending ر (no word سنة). Cf. B & Y 25. *Ḍād* and *ṣād*: ⊏

23 mm., 3.40 gr. ↖ (PLATE XLII, 8)

The entire hoard appears to be virtually uncirculated.

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9. Bedoukian hoard C:

This hoard is of particular interest as it contains, in addition to 15 *saracenati*, 10 cuttings of gold coins with Latin legends of a type known only from seven specimens in the Convent of the Flagellation in Jerusalem (see hoard no. 1, above). The dealer from whom Dr. Bedoukian obtained the hoard reported that it was found near Marash in December 1965 and that the 25 pieces constitute the entire hoard. The *saracenati*, all imitations of al-Āmir, are the following:

1. Imitation, probably of a dinar of al-Iskandarīyah, with many errors in the "mint-date" formula, ending سنة وخ? Cf. B & Y 23–24.

21 mm., 3.88 gr. ↓ (PLATE XLII, 9)

2. Crude imitation of al-Āmir, without recognizable mint or date. Cf. B & Y 27–33.

22 mm., 3.36 gr. → (PLATE XLII, 10)

3. Similar to no. 2, but beneath the reverse: ⁘. Cf. B & Y 32.

23 mm., 3.39 gr. ↓ (PLATE XLII, 11)

4. Similar to no. 2, but beneath the reverse ⁙. Cf. B & Y 27–33

22 mm., 3.27 gr. ↘ (PLATE XLII, 12)

5–12. Similar to no. 2, but beneath the obverse •. Cf. B & Y 28.

5. 24 mm., 3.37 gr. ↘
6. 23 mm., 3.38 gr. ↓
7. 23 mm., 3.50 gr. ↑
8. 23 mm., 3.22 gr. ↙
9. 23 mm., 3.40 gr. ↗ (PLATE XLIII, 1)
10. 22 mm., 3.45 gr. ↑
11. 23 mm., 3.35 gr. →
12. 23 mm., 3.36 gr. ↘

13–15. Similar to no. 2, but beneath the obverse • •. Cf. B & Y 29.

13. 23 mm., 3.56 gr. ↘
14. 23 mm., 3.30 gr. →
15. 23 mm., 3.45 gr. ↓ (PLATE XLIII, 2)

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Nos. 5–12 and 13–15 are so poorly struck that comparison of dies is virtually impossible. All the coins show a little wear.

The ten cuttings of irregular shape, some roughly rectangular, others wedge-shaped, of uneven thickness and of irregular weight (ranging between 1.08 and 0.34 grams) all bear fragments of the obverse and reverse types, and on some one or more Latin letters are preserved. The types are reconstructed in Figs. 1 and 2. I have arbitrarily called the first of these two designs the obverse, and if the

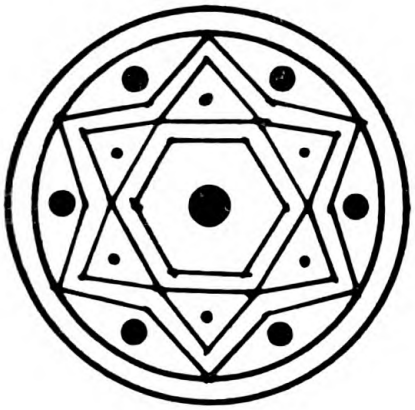


Fig. 1

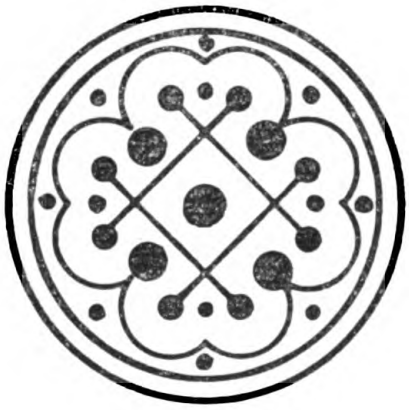


Fig. 2

tentatively proposed reconstruction of the legends has any validity this would appear to be the proper designation. Surrounding the double linear border are the traces of a legend on both obverse and reverse. The original diameter appears to have been about 24 mm., approximately the size of the bezant. None of the fragments joins with another. The ten fragments are described on page 196.

These cuttings are similar to the seven pieces from Emmaus el-Qubeibeh described and illustrated by Bagatti and now preserved in the Convent of the Flagellation in Jerusalem (see hoard no. 1). When Dr. Bedoukian showed me his cuttings I recalled having seen the Emmaus pieces during a visit to Jerusalem in 1963, and in response to my request Father Aug. Spijkerman OFM has kindly sent me photographs of these cuttings. Their weights, respectively 0.57, 0.52, 0.69, 0.59, 0.54, 0.58 and 0.64 grams, are more uniform than those of the present hoard. Bagatti wrote (p. 158), "Dalla parte della stella abbiano le lettere: + · A· | A· | C·V· | S· L | A· N· | A· | V· S

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PLATE XLIII	*No.*	*Diam.*	*Th.*	*Wt.*	*Color*	*Obv.*	*Rev.*
1.	3.	.011 × .006	.002	1.08	Pale	S·D	Traces of 2–3 letters
2.	4.	.009 × .008	.0015	1.07	Pale	∘ & trace of 1 letter	Trace of 1 letter
3.	5.	.008 × .007	.002	0.91	Pale	Off flan	Off flan
4.	6.	.008 × .007	.0015	0.77	Pale	Traces of 1–2 letters	Traces of 1–2 letters
5.	7.	.008 × .007	.001	0.65	Pale	Traces of 1–2 letters	Trace of 1 letter
6.	8.	.009 × .008	.001	0.63	Pale	C(?)∘V	∘X·
7.	9.	.009 × .005	.001	0.51	Pale	Trace of 1 letter?	Trace of 1 letter
8.	10.	.009 × .004	.001	0.44	Brighter	I(?)V	TA
9.	11.	.006 × .005	.0015	0.34	Brighter	Off flan	Off flan
10.	12.	.001 × .005	.001	0.46	Bright gold	Trace and ∘A∘	∘L∘E∘ and trace of another letter

tutte divise da un punto. Nell'altra parte: +·D | E· | ·E·R | E·R | E L· E | S· I | ·S· I(?) | S· L," but he renders the letters differently on p. 164. On Bagatti's plate four fragments are photographed together (figs. 9 and 10), but unless I am mistaken only two of these actually join. The three other fragments are photographed together (figs. 11 and 12), but I rather doubt that any of these joins with another. Here is what I see in the photographs (PLATE XLIII, 13–19):

Obverse	*Reverse*
13. ·C·V·	E·R·
14. A·M·	S(?)·L· and beginning of another letter
15. X·A(?)	·E·R
16. ∘A·	·L∘ and beginning of another letter
17. ·S·L·	S(?)·
18. ·V·S	X·D·
19. ∘A·M(?)	E·R (?)

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Bagatti suggested that the obverse might carry a name beginning with A, such as "Amalrico," and that the reverse might be intended to read "De Hierusalem." Some correspondences between the letters preserved on the Emmaus specimens and those on the specimens in the present hoard can be discerned, but there are some conflicts. One is indeed tempted to reconstruct AMALRICVS REX on the obverse, but neither S·D on no. 1 nor I(?) V on no. 8 of our hoard fit. Nor, for that matter, does the S·L on an Emmaus hoard fragment (PLATE XLIII, 17). As for the reverse, DE IERVSLEM (or the like) seems quite possible, except for the embarrassment of the X on no. 6 of our hoard and on one of the Emmaus hoard (PLATE XLIII, 18) and, even more troublesome, the clear TA on our no. 8. The letters TA might belong to CIVITAS, but that would be unlikely on a gold coin and furthermore it would not suit the other preserved letters.

Quite obviously we are dealing with an unknown type of Crusader coin, but who issued the type and where are questions that cannot be answered with any confidence until more such cuttings or intact coins are found. If we are in fact dealing with an Amalric, King of Jerusalem, the only possible candidate is Amalric, son of Fulk, 1163–1174. The letter forms are not unlikely for the period, but such an early date for an experimental gold Crusader coin with Latin legends would be really extraordinary.

The similarity of the reverse type to the reverses of two copper issues illustrated by Schlumberger (pl. III, 17 and 18) is pointed out by Bagatti and also has been brought to my attention by Philip Grierson. Schlumberger suggested Antioch, or perhaps Tripoli, and compared the head on the obverse to that of Bohemud IV and Raymond-Rupin (first quarter of the 13th c.); he cited also two probably related coins illustrated by de Saulcy (*Numismatique des Croisades*, pl. VIII, nos. 8 and 9). The design, Schlumberger felt, was probably of Islamic origin. Grierson has drawn my attention to the resemblance of the letter A to that letter at Antioch.

Another question is why these coins were cut into fragments. Presumably they were traded for certain numbers of silver or billion deniers, but they would have had to be weighed — at least those of the present hoard. Those of the Emmaus hoard would seem to have been cut to conform with a fixed standard.

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10. A hoard of 12 *saracenati*, 20 *gros tournois* of Philip IV of France, 9 *gros* of the Counts of Tripoli and 4 *demi-gros* of Cyprus. Acquired by the American Numismatic Society in 1966 (acc. no. 66.197). According to the dealer, the person from whom the hoard was obtained declared that it had been found in a broken earthenware pot near the walls of the citadel of Ras Shamra. The coins here described are said to have constituted the entire hoard.

a) *Saracenati*

The *saracenati* are all imitations of dinars of al-Āmir.

1. Imitation of Miṣr, 506 H., ending سنة ستة. Annulets at 12, 3 and 8 o'clock in double border enclosing inner margin of obverse. Cf. B & Y 25.

23 mm., 3.78 gr. ↗ (PLATE XLIV, 1)

2–7. Crude imitations of al-Āmir, without recognizable mint or date. Cf. B & Y 27–33.

2. 23 mm., 3.49 gr. ↑ (PLATE XLIV, 2)
3. 23 mm., 3.45 gr. ↖
4. 23 mm., 3.43 gr. ←
5. 23 mm., 3.50 gr. ←
6. 23 mm., 3.55 gr. ↘
7. 23 mm., 3.53 gr. ↖

8–12. Similar to nos. 2–7, but beneath the obverse area • •. Cf. B & Y 29.

8. 22 mm., 3.77 gr. ↙ (PLATE XLIV, 3)
9. 23 mm., 3.50 gr. ↖
10. 23 mm., 3.77 gr. ↗
11. 23 mm., 3.52 gr. ↑
12. 22 mm., 3.77 gr. →

Nos. 2–12 are all so poorly struck that comparison of dies is virtually impossible. All the *saracenati* are weakly struck and appear to be slightly worn.

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b) *France, Philip IV*

A. *Gros tournois* "a l'O rond," datable to 1285, 1302 and April 1305.

1–2. *Obv.*: ✠PhILIPPVS REX
✠BHDICTV : SIT : HOMЄ : DHI : RRI : DGI : HSV. ✕PI
Rev.: ✠TVRONVS CIVIS
⚜ at 12 o'clock.
1. 26 mm., 4.08 gr. ↗ (PLATE XLIV, 4)
2. 26 mm., 4.00 gr. ↗

Cf. J. Lafaurie, *Les Monnaies des Rois de France, Hugues Capet à Louis XII* (Paris, 1951), no. 217.

3. *Obv.*: as no. 1, but HSV✕PI
Rev.: as no. 1, but TVRONVS and no pellets on fleur-de-lis at 12 o'clock.
26 mm., 4.01 gr. ↖

4. *Obv.*: as no. 3, different die.
Rev.: as no. 3, but TVRONVS°
26 mm., 3.99 gr. ←

5. *Obv.*: as no. 3, different die.
Rev.: as no. 4, different die.
26 mm., 3.97 gr. ↘

6. *Obv.*: as no. 1 but BHDICT.V. and HSV✕PI.
Rev.: as no. 1, different die.
26 mm., 4.04 gr. ↘

7. *Obv.*: as no. 6, different die.
Rev.: as no. 1, different die.
25 mm., 4.08 gr. ↙

8. *Obv.*: as no. 1, different die.
Rev.: as no. 1, but no pellets on fleur-de-lis at 12 o'clock.
26 mm., 3.92 gr. ↙

9. *Obv.*: as no. 1, but RE·✕·
Rev.: as no. 8, different die.
25 mm., 4.00 gr. ↓

10. *Obv.*: as no. 1, but PhILIPPVS +REX
Rev.: as no. 3, but TVRONVS•
24 mm., 3.94 gr. ↘

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11. *Obv.*: as no. 1, but PhILIPPVS ✠
Rev.: as no. 3, but TVRONVS ✠

27 mm., 4.00 gr. ↘

12. *Obv.*: as no. 1, but PhILIPPVSY REX and HV :
Rev.: as no. 3, but TVRONVSY

26 mm., 4.09 gr. ↘

13. *Obv.*: as no.1, but PhILIPPVS·· and HV :
Rev.: as no. 3, but TVRONVS··

25 mm., 3.96 gr. ↗

B. *Gros tournois* "à l'O long," 1290

1. *Obv.*: ✠PhILIPPVSREX
✠BHDICTV : SIT :HOMO :DHI :NRI :DEI :HV.✕PI
Rev.: ✠TVRONVS CIVIS

26 mm., 4.00 gr. ↗ (PLATE XLIV, 5)

Cf. Lafaurie, no. 218.

2. *Obv.* and *Rev.*: as no. 1, different dies.

25 mm., 4.08 gr. ↖

3. *Obv.* and *Rev.*: as no. 1, different dies.

26 mm., 3.93 gr. ↖

C. *Gros tournois* "à l'O long et à la fleur," 1298?

1. *Obv.*: ✠PhILIPPVS*REX
✠BHDICTV̄ :SIT :HOMŌ :DHI :NRI :DEI :HV.✕PI
Rev.: ✠ TVRONVS* CIVIS

26 mm., 3.90 gr. ↑ (PLATE XLIV, 6)

Cf. Lafaurie, no. 219.

2. *Obv.* and *Rev.*: as no. 1, different dies.

26 mm., 4.02 gr. ↑

3. *Obv.* and *Rev.*: as no. 1, different dies.

26 mm., 3.98 gr. ↓

4. *Obv.* and *Rev.*: as no. 1, different dies.

25 mm., 3.88 gr. ↗

All these *gros tournois* are virtually uncirculated.

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c) *Counts of Tripoli*

Bohemund VI, 1252–1275

1. *Gros.*
Obv.: ✠BOЄMVNDVS : COMЄS
Rev.: ✠C·I·V·I·TASTRIPOL·I·
26 mm., 4.15 gr. ↓ (PLATE XLIV, 7)
Cf. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, p. 105, pl. IV, 19.

Bohemund VII, 1275–1287

2. *Gros.*
Obv.: ✠SЄPTIMVS : BOЄMVNDVS : COMЄS
Rev.: ✠CIVITAS : TRIPOLIS : SVRIЄ
26 mm., 4.12 gr. ↗ (PLATE XLIV, 8)
Cf. Schlumberger, p. 106, pl. IV, 21.

3. *Obv.*: as no. 2, different die.
Rev.: as no. 2, same die.
25 mm., 4.23 gr. ↖

4. *Obv.* and *Rev.*: as no. 2, different dies.
26 mm., 4.12 gr. ↗

5. *Obv.*: as no. 2, different die.
Rev.: as no. 2, die uncertain, badly corroded.
25 mm., 4.35 gr. ↖

6. *Obv.* and *Rev.*: as no. 2, different dies.
25 mm., 4.20 gr. ↗, pierced

7. *Obv.* and *Rev.*: as no. 2, different dies.
25 mm., 4.12 gr. ↙, pierced

8. *Obv.*: ✠SЄPTIMVS·BOЄMVNDVS.COMЄS
Rev.: as no. 2, different die.
25 mm., 4.16 gr. ↖

9. *Obv.*: ✠SЄPTIMVS·BOЄMVNDVS·COMЄS
Rev.: as no. 2, but SVRIC
26 mm., 4.29 gr. ↗
Obverse badly corroded.

All these coins of Tripoli show some slight signs of wear, and it is to be noted that two specimens are pierced.

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d) *Kingdom of Cyprus*

Henry II, 2nd period, 1310–1324

1. *Demi-gros.*
Obv.: hENRI REI DE (double struck)
Rev.: ✠IERUSALꝵMEDꝵCHIPR
21 mm., 2.25 gr. (PLATE XLIV, 9)
Cf. Schlumberger, p. 192, pl. VI, 22.

2. *Obv.*: as no. 1, different die.
Rev.: as no. 1, different die.
20 mm., 2.26 gr. ↓

3. *Obv.*: hENRI · REI · DE
Rev.: as no. 1, different die.
22 mm., 2.27 gr. ↗

4. *Obv.*: as no. 1, but ✱ in left field (double struck).
Rev.: as no. 1, different die.
20 mm., 2.22 gr. ←

All four specimens are considerably worn.

How much do the previously published hoards and the new ones contribute to the problems of dating and localizing the *saracenati*? Very little, I am afraid. There are many questions. How reliable are the hoards? Only one of the ten was unearthed in scientifically controlled circumstances. Were the *saracenati* of no. 10 actually in circulation about 1324, or had they been hoarded by a previous owner much earlier? In any case, a brief summary of the data may be useful for future reference.

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Hoard No.	*Provenance*	*Saracenati*	*Associated Coins*	*Dates of Assoc. Coins*
1.	El-Qubeibeh	Al-Āmir type B & Y 27	Crusader gold cuttings	13th c.?
2.	Unknown	Al-Mustanṣir types B & Y, 5, 14, 15 Al-Āmir type B & Y 27 St. Louis type B & Y 40	*Agnus Dei* type	ca. 1253?
3.	Unknown	Al-Mustanṣir type B & Y 14 St. Louis type B & Y 40	*Agnus Dei* type	ca. 1253?
4.	"Lattaqiyah"	Al-Āmir types B & Y 25, 27, 30	Fāṭimid dinars	508–518 H./A.D.1114–24
5.	Unknown	Al-Āmir types B & Y 25, 27	None	
6.	"Near Aleppo"	Al-Āmir types B & Y 20, 25, 27	Ayyūbid dinar	594 H./A.D. 1197
7.	Unknown	Al-Āmir types B & Y 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29	None	
8.	"Near Tyre"	Al-Āmir types B & Y 20, 25	None	
9.	"Near Marash"	Al-Āmir types B & Y 23, 24, 27–33	Crusader gold cuttings	13th c.?
10.	"Ras Shamra"	Al-Āmir types B & Y 25, 27–33	Philip IV Bohemund VI Bohemund VII Henry II	1275–1324

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THE EARLIEST ARAB GOLD COINAGE

(PLATES XLV-XLVII)

GEORGE C. MILES

The coinage reform of the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān has for many years engaged the interest of students not only of Arab and Byzantine economic and numismatic history but also of those who have been primarily concerned with questions of iconography. The years immediately preceding the reform are of special interest to the latter, for within a very short period of time those responsible for designing the Arab coinage (both in the East, where the Sasanian tradition prevailed, and in Syria and Palestine, where the models were Byzantine) abandoned the more or less faithful imitations of Zoroastrian and Christian types, then introduced several remarkable Muslim iconographical experiments, and finally fixed upon the severe, non-pictorial, epigraphical type, which by and large was to characterize Islamic coinage throughout the centuries.[1] The year 77 of the Hijrah (A.D. 696/7) was critical in the history of the gold dinar, for it was in that year that the first reformed, purely epigraphical type was issued.[2] Earlier in the same year there had appeared the last issue of an experimental iconographical type, that of the Standing Caliph, struck undoubtedly at Damascus, as were the Umayyad dinars of reformed type. Preceding

[1] The evolution is expertly summarized by Philip Grierson in his article, "The monetary reforms of 'Abd al-Malik" in *JESHO* III (1960), pp. 241 ff. It can be followed in detail in the late John Walker's two British Museum catalogues, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (London, 1941) and *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umaiyad Coins* (London, 1956). See also my review of these two volumes in *Ars Orientalis*, III (1959), pp. 207–213. Grierson's article (p. 243, n. 2) refers to additional relevant material published since 1956. To these references may be added: John Walker, "Monnaies sassanides et arabes provenant des fouilles de Bîchâpour" in R. Ghirshman, *Bîchâpour*, Vol. II, *Les mosaïques sassanides* (Paris, 1956), pp. 185–191; idem, "Oriental coins from the excavations at Susa" in *Numismatique Susienne* (*Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran*, Vol. XXXVII, Paris, 1960), pp. 51–65; and G. C. Miles, *Excavation Coins from the Persepolis Region* (New York, 1959), especially pp. 25–42.

[2] Walker, *BMC* II, p. 84, no. 186.

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the Standing Caliph dinar was another experimental issue, an Arab adaptation of the solidus of Heraclius with three standing figures, which John Walker dated "before 693;" and it appears that still earlier the Arabs had struck copies of Byzantine solidi modified by the removal of Christian symbols but without any specific Muslim characteristics.

When Walker completed his catalogue of Arab-Byzantine coins only two issues of the Standing Caliph dinar were known to exist, those of the years 76 (695/6) and 77 (696/7). Just before the volume went to press I had the good fortune to receive a pencil rubbing of a specimen of the year 74 (693/4) which I communicated to Walker, and he was able to make mention of the existence of this coin in his preface and elsewhere in the volume (pp. vi, xxxi and lv). It is now in the collection of the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Subsequently, in 1963, I was shown another dinar of this type, dated 75 (694/5). This coin has now been acquired by a private collector, Mr. Robert W. Morris, who has been good enough to lend it to me for close examination. These unique specimens of the years 74 and 75 of the Hijrah deserve publication and I am happy to be able to describe and illustrate them here.[3] The occasion also presents a suitable opportunity to bring together in one place all the available information regarding the Standing Caliph dinars of 76 and 77 H., as well as the earlier transitional gold types, to illustrate some of them, and to make some observations regarding the chronology of these rare and interesting coins. In the course of preparing this article I have frequently consulted with my friend Philip Grierson on certain points and he has been good enough to put at my disposition the preliminary drafts of two short papers which he had contemplated publishing on the chronology of the earlier issues. I am most grateful to him for this courtesy. Specific acknowledgment of some of his contributions to the discussion will be found in the body of the article.

The gold coins described in the inventory that follows may be grouped under three headings: A) Arab imitations of Byzantine

[3] May I here express my warm appreciation to Mr. Morris for allowing me to photograph and publish his beautiful coin; and to Dr. F. A. Khan, Director of Archaeology in Pakistan, for permitting me to publish the specimen of 74 H. and to illustrate it from photographs kindly furnished me by M. Raoul Curiel.

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solidi;[4] B) the Arab adaptation of Heraclius's type with three standing figures; C) the Standing Caliph type.

A. ARAB IMITATIONS OF BYZANTINE SOLIDI

1. *Imitation of a solidus of Phocas.*

The Cabinet des Médailles in Paris has recently acquired an imitation of a solidus of Phocas (21 mm., 4.33 grams), which M. Jean Lafaurie proposes to assign to the Sasanians,[5] but which I believe is to be attributed to the Arabs. An ordinary Constantinopolitan solidus of Phocas (A.D. 602–610) is illustrated in PLATE XLV, 1.[6] Note the crosses on orb and crown on the obverse, the cross on the orb and the transverse bar of the *chrismon* on the reverse. The imitation, overstruck, as Lafaurie observes, on a solidus probably of Maurice Tiberius or of Justinian, is illustrated in PLATE XLV, 2.[7] Note here the omission of the transverse bars of the crosses and the *chrismon*. These indubitably intentional omissions, or deformities, of the Christian symbols are comparable to those on the Arab dinars of types B and C, and also to the transformation of the cross on steps into a staff terminating in a globe or ball on certain of the early Arab gold coins of North Africa.[8] The question of the probable approximate date of this coin and of the other issues of group A and group B will be discussed below.

2. *Imitation of a solidus of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine.*

Property of Mr. George Allen (Hesperia Art) of Philadelphia, to whom I am indebted for permitting me to include this specimen in the inventory. 20 mm., 4.36 grams ↙.

[4] Surely to be dismissed as pure fantasy is the ingenious attribution by Prince Philip of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha of certain barbarous solidi of Anthemius and Heraclius to Musailimah (the "false prophet" of Abu Bakr's time) and a certain Salmān b. Rabī'ah in the army of Abu 'Ubaydullāh b. al-Jarrāḥ (died 18 H.). *RBN* 1891, pp. 297–356, and 1893, pp. 263–278.

[5] "Imitation d'un solidus de Phocas frappée par les Sassanides," in *Bulletin de la Société française de Numismatique*, Dec. 1964, pp. 412–415.

[6] ANS (ex E. T. Newell Coll.), 21 mm., 4.46 gr., ↙, var. of *BMC* I, p. 162, no. 1.

[7] From a photograph of a plaster cast made when the coin was submitted to me for examination previous to its acquisition by the Cabinet des Médailles. The traces of the undertype observed by Lafaurie are scarcely visible on the plaster cast or the photograph.

[8] See Walker, *BMC*. II, p. xli and pls. X and XI.

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An example of the prototype, a solidus of Constantinople,[9] is illustrated in PLATE XLV, 3. Note the crosses on the crowns, the cross in the field to the right of the head of Heraclius, and the cross on steps on the reverse. On the imitation (PLATE XLV, 4) the obverse legend is bungled although a few letters are recognizable, the cross in the field has been eliminated entirely, the cross on Heraclius's crown has been altered and appears rather to be a staff similar to the transformed cross on steps on the previous type. Also the place of the cross on the crown of Heraclius Constantine has been taken by a simple ball or pellet. On the reverse the transverse bar of the cross on steps has been removed, although the horizontal bar at the top of the cross is preserved as on certain of the early North African gold.[10] The reverse legend is clumsily engraved and the A's are upside down.

3. *Imitation of a solidus of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine.*

Property of Dr. Paul Bedoukian, who has kindly lent the coin to me for study. 21 mm., 4.44 gr. (PLATE XLV, 6).

The prototype of this imitation is illustrated in PLATE XLV, 5.[11] Here again it will be observed that on the imitation the crosses on the crowns worn by the imperial figures have been deformed, that the cross in the field between the two heads is lacking, that the obverse legend is bungled (the only recognizable letters are ЄƬ at the top), and that the staff on steps on the reverse resembles that on no. 2, above. The engraving on the busts on the obverse is very crude, while the reverse, except for the elimination of the transverse bar of the cross, is quite a faithful copy of the prototype. The A of VICTORIA is on its side.

This specimen is reported to have been in a hoard of gold coins found near or at Daphne, near Antioch. The hoard, acquired by Dr. Bedoukian in November 1965, consisted of 64 Byzantine solidi, one semissis and this imitation. The Byzantine coins in the hoard were the following:

[9] ANS (ex Gautier Coll.), 21 mm., 4.41 gr., ↓. Cf. *BMC* I, p. 187, no. 18, datable A.D. 613–629.

[10] See Walker, *BMC* II, pp. xli and xliii, and pls. X and XI.

[11] A specimen from the hoard mentioned below, property of Dr. Bedoukian, 21 mm., 4.48 gr., ↓. Cf. *BMC* I, p. 189, no. 41, datable 629–631.

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Maurice Tiberius (582–602), *BMCByz* 2ff.	1
Phocas (602–610), *BMCByz.* 1ff.	23
Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine (613–629),[12] *BMCByz.* 10ff.	25
Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine (629–631), *BMCByz.* 39ff.	5
Heraclius, Heraclius Constantine and Heraclonas (632–641), *BMCByz.* 46ff.	2
Constans II (ca. 651–659), *BMCByz.* 27ff.	3
Constans II and Constantine IV (654–659), *BMCByz.* 38ff.	2
Constans II and Constantine IV (659–668), *BMCByz.* 53ff.	1
Constans II, *BMCByz.* 69ff. (semissis)	1
Constantine IV (ca. 670–680), *BMCByz.* 7ff.	2

4. *Imitation of a solidus of Heraclius, Heraclius Constantine and Heraclonas*

British Museum, 20 mm., 4.46 grams. Walker, *BMC* II, p. 18, no. 54. (PLATE XLV, 8)

An example of the general Byzantine prototype is illustrated in Plate XLV, 7.[13] On the imitation note that the crosses have been removed from the crowns and orbs, and on the reverse the transverse arm of the cross on steps is lacking as on nos. 2 and 3. It is to be observed also that the Heraclian monogram in the reverse field has been eliminated but that the letters I and B appear left and right of the vertical shaft (see below, p. 228).

5. *Imitation of a solidus of Heraclius, Heraclius Constantine and Heraclonas*

A specimen very like no. 4 has been brought to my attention by Mr. Philip Grierson, who in 1961 received a pencil rubbing of the coin from a New York dealer. The specimen was at that time the property of a South American collector. I have examined the rubbing, a very unsatisfactory one, but clear enough to show that the coin is in

[12] I follow Philip Grierson in *NC* 1959, pp. 152–154, in dating the solidi of Heraclius.

[13] ANS 48.19 (ex Gautier Coll.), 20 mm., 4.40 gr., ↓. Cf. *BMC*, I, p. 191, no. 61, datable 632–641.

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all respects similar to no. 4 except that the letter I appears in the reverse field at the left of the cross and the letter Γ at the right. The letters following AVЧ are not certain.

B. ARAB ADAPTATION OF HERACLIUS'S TYPE WITH THREE STANDING FIGURES

The obverse of this type is in general similar to the obverse of no. 4, but with the elimination of the vertical shafts even the vestiges of the crosses on the crowns have disappeared, and the orbs have been converted into a sort of knob terminating the vertical line, in origin the edge of the imperial robe but now giving the impression of a staff,[14] even though the vertical line does in fact join the bottom hem of the robe. On the reverse the deformed cross on steps occupies the center of the field and the vertical shaft terminates in a knob. This symbol appears on half dinars of North Africa and Spain, on a bronze of North Africa dated 80 H. (A.D. 699),[15] and also on the Standing Caliph type of dinars described below. To the left of the shaft appears the letter B, to the right the letter I. The surrounding legend in simple Kufic characters reads بسم الله لا اله الا الله وحده محمد رسول الله, "In the name of Allāh, there is no god but Allāh, he is one; Muḥammad is the messenger of Allāh," thus unmistakably establishing the Arab and Muslim character of the coin.

Eight specimens of this issue have been recorded.[16]

6. American Numismatic Society (permanent loan from the University Museum, Philadelphia), 20 mm., 4.35 grams, ↙. Miles, *ANSMN* 3 (1948), p. 97, no. 1. (PLATE XLV, 9)

7. British Museum, 21 mm., 4.42 grams. Walker, *BMQ* XX (1955–56), p. 15, no. 6. (PLATE XLV, 10)

[14] Perhaps the *qaḍīb*? See below, p. 220, and my article "Miḥrāb and 'Anazah: a study in early Islamic iconography," in *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld* (Locust Valley, 1952), p. 165.

[15] See Walker, *BMC* II, pp. xli, xliii and pls. X and XI.

[16] The inventory which follows corrects and supplements a listing in my article, "A Byzantine bronze weight in the name of Bišr b. Marwān," in *Arabica*, IX (1962), p. 116, n. 2.
Now there are nine specimens: while this article was in press Dr. Paul Bedoukian has acquired one (4.40 gr.).

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8. Staatliche Museen, Berlin, 19 mm., 4.50 grams. H. Nützel, *Katalog der orientalischen Münzen*, I (Berlin, 1898), no. 21, pl. I, 8 (wrongly marked "Æ"). See Lane-Poole, 1875, pp. 256–257, no. 8; Philippe de Saxe-Cobourg, *RBN* 1891, p. 305; H. Nützel in *Trudi Moskovskago Numizmaticheskago Obshchestva*, III, 1905, pl. V, 5; Walker, *BMC* II, p. 18, B.2.

9. Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, 18 mm., 4.40 grams. H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I (Paris, 1887), no. 26. Not illustrated.

10. Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Istanbul, 19 mm., 4.29 grams. Ismā'īl Ghālib, *Meskūkāt-i Qadīme-i Islāmiyeh Qataloghi*, I (Constantinople, 1312 H.), no. 50. Not illustrated.

11. Property of Mme N. Kapamadji, Paris, 21 mm., 4.32 grams. Mentioned by J. Lafaurie in *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique*, Dec. 1964, p. 413.[17] (PLATE XLVI, 1)

12. In the trade, present whereabouts unknown, 20 mm., 4.48 grams. Santamaria Auction Catalogue, Rome, May 4, 1961, no. 277.

13. In an unidentified private collection, Rome, 1956. Pencil rubbing communicated to me by Mr. R. E. Hecht, Jr.[18]

I have been able to distinguish two obverse and three reverse dies of this issue. Obverse (A): nos. 6, 8, 9, 11. Obverse (B): nos. 7, 12, and (probably) 13. Reverse (a): nos. 6, 8, 9, 11. Reverse (b): nos. 7, 12. Reverse (c): 13. An illustration of the Istanbul specimen, no. 10, has recently appeared in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. *sikke*, fasc. 108 (Istanbul, 1966), pl. I, 1. The obverse die is perhaps (A), the reverse almost certainly (a), but the quality of the reproduction is such that positive identification cannot be made. The pencil rubbings of no. 13 are not very clear.

[17] I am indebted to Mme Kapamadji for providing me with a photograph (taken at the Cabinet des Médailles) of this specimen.

[18] In the listing referred to in n. 16 above, I expressed the opinion that this specimen might be the same as the one offered by Santamaria (no. 12 above), but a reexamination of the pencil rubbing shows that it is not.

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C. STANDING CALIPH DINARS

Year 74

14. *Standing Caliph Dinar*, 74 H. (A.D. 693/4). National Museum of Pakistan (NM 1957.1036), 18.7 mm., 4.39 grams. See Walker, *BMC*, II, pp. vi, xxxi, lv. (PLATE XLVI, 2)

Obv.: Standing figure of the Caliph, wearing Arab headdress[19] and robe, right hand resting on hilt of sword in scabbard hanging diagonally from the waist, left hand resting on scabbard; cord, terminating in three strands, dangling from region of the waist below the Caliph's right elbow. Marginal legend, beginning at 12:30 o'clock: بسم الله لا اله الا الله وحده محمد رسول الله. Area enclosed by a partly linear, partly beaded border.

Rev.: Shaft, or staff, terminating in orb or knob, on four steps. Marginal legend, beginning at 12:30 o'clock:
بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر سنة اربع وسبعين "In the name of Allāh, this dinar was struck in the year 74." Scratched in the right field the letters: ﻫﻮ. Area enclosed by a linear border.

Year 75

15. *Standing Caliph Dinar*, 75 H. (A.D. 694/5). Robert W. Morris Collection. 21 mm., 4.46 grams, ↙. (PLATE XLVI, 3 and PLATE XLVII, 10, enlarged).

Obv.: Similar to no. 14, with variations in design of robe and scabbard.

Rev.: Similar to no. 14, but date reads: سنة خمس وسبعين, "in the year 75."

[19] Walker was convinced (*BMC* II, p. xxx) that the Caliph both on the dinars and on most of the coppers is wearing the *kūfiyah*. Stickel, Lavoix, Nützel and Cottevielle-Giraudet thought he was bare-headed. There are good arguments on both sides. My friend Paul Balog has drawn my attention to the figure of the "Caliph" at Khirbat al-Mafjar (R. W. Hamilton, *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, XIV, 1950, pl. XLV, 2), so similar in general appearance to the figure on the coins. Here certainly the hair is exposed.

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Year 76

Two specimens of this year are known to exist, and a third has been reported.[20]

16. *Standing Caliph Dinar*, 76 H. (A.D. 695/6). Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, 20 mm., 4.48 grams. Lavoix, I, no. 1677 (55 bis) = H. Sauvaire, *RBN* 1860, p. 325 = Tiesenhausen, *Moneti Vostochnago Khalifata* (St. Petersburg, 1873), no. 62 = Walker, *BMC* II, p. 42, no. P. 13. (PLATE XLVI, 4)

Obv.: Similar to no. 14, with variations in design of robe and scabbard.

Rev.: Similar to no. 14, but part of marginal legend off flan, and date reads: سنة ست وسبعين, "in the year 76."

17. *Standing Caliph Dinar*, 76 H. (A.D. 695/6). British Museum, 20 mm., 3.99 grams (damaged). J. Walker, *BMQ* XX (1955–56), p. 15, no. 7. (PLATE XLVI, 5)

Obv.: Same die as no. 16.

Rev.: Same die as no. 16.

Year 77

Two specimens of this year are known to exist, and a third has been reported.[21]

18. *Standing Caliph Dinar*, 77 H. (A.D. 696/7). Formerly in the Grossherzogliche Orientalische Münzcabinet zu Jena,[22] 20 mm., 4.45 grams. J. G. Stickel, *Handbuch zur morgenländischen Münzkunde*, II (Leipzig, 1870), no. 34 = *Trudi Moskovskago Numizmaticheskago Obshchestva*, III, 1905, pl. V, 7 = Walker, *BMC* II, p. 43, footnote to no. P. 14.

[20] An informant in Beirut told me in 1963 that there was a specimen "in Baghdad."

[21] The same informant reported a specimen "in Baghdad."

[22] I have been reliably informed that the Jena collection eventually was transferred to Gotha. In August 1965, in reply to my request for a photograph of this dinar a letter from the Director of the Schlossmuseum Gotha informed me that the coin could not be found. Stickel's illustration is a line-drawing, but Nützel's, in the Moscow *Trudi*, is from a photograph.

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Obv.: Similar to no. 14, with variations in design of robe and scabbard.

Rev.: Similar to no. 14, but date reads: سنة سبع وسبعين, "in the year 77."

19. *Standing Caliph Dinar*, 77 H. (A.D. 696/7). Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, 20 mm., 4.44 grams.[23] Lavoix, I, no. 56 = Tiesenhausen, no. 63 = Walker, *BMC* II, p. 43, no. P. 14 = André Grabar, *L'Iconoclasme Byzantin* (Paris, 1957), fig. 62. (PLATE XLVI, 6)

Obv.: Same die as no. 18.

Rev.: Similar to no. 18 (different die).[24]

Later in the same year, 77 H. (A.D. 696/7), as mentioned above, the reform of the gold coinage takes place and the iconographical type is superseded by the purely epigraphical type, of which a specimen is illustrated in Plate XLVI, 7.[25] The obverse bears the ***shahadah***, or declaration of faith, in the area, Qur'ān, IX, 33 in the margin, and the reverse has part of Qur'ān, CXII in the area and the date formula in the margin.

With the recovery of the specimens dated 74 and 75 H. the development of the Arab dinar between 693 and 697 is now most satisfactorily documented. One cannot, of course, state categorically that the Standing Caliph dinar made its first appearance in the year 74, but the probability that no earlier issue of the type will turn up is strengthened by two reports preserved in Balādhuri's *Futūḥ al-Buldān*,[26] one to the effect that 'Abd al-Malik was the first to strike gold coins, in the year 74 H.; the other stating that 'Abd al-Malik struck dinars in 74 H. and again in 75 H. These reports are in conflict with other traditions relating that Mu'āwiyah (41–60 H.) struck

[23] Lavoix gives the weight as 4.41 gr., but according to information accompanying the plaster cast kindly furnished me by the Cabinet des Médailles, the weight is 4.44 gr.

[24] Nützel's photograph of the Jena specimen makes die comparisons possible.

[25] ANS (permanent loan from the University Museum, Philadelphia, 20 mm., 4.21 gr. See *ANSMN* 3 (1948), p. 97, no. 2. The only other specimens of this year, so far as I know, are: British Museum (Walker, *BMC* II, p. 84, no. 186); Cairo, formerly Khedivial Library (S. Lane-Poole, *Cat. of . . . Arabic Coins . . . in the Khedivial Library at Cairo*, London, 1897, no. 1); and four (or five?) specimens cited by Tiesenhausen, no. 273.

[26] Ed. de Goeje, pp. 467–468.

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gold coins,[27] specifically gold coins depicting the sword-girt Caliph,[28] but there is, of course, no numismatic evidence whatever to support these traditions and it would seem almost certain that they are reflections of a misunderstanding or even of an intent to credit the first of the Umayyad caliphs with an important innovation. Walker[29] was prepared to believe that some of the Standing Caliph bronze coins may have been issued during the reign of Mu'āwiyah, and accordingly he assigns the Standing Caliph bronzes without the Caliph's name or titles to ca. 670–685, those without the Caliph's name but with titles to ca. 670–690, and those with 'Abd al-Malik's name obviously to 685–705. He support his argument by reference to the reverse types (i.e., uncial and cursive M's in contrast with the deformed cross on steps), but I do not grasp the cogency of this argument as there are Standing Caliph bronzes with each of the three reverse types.

It is my own conclusion that the Standing Caliph bronzes began to be issued under 'Abd al-Malik roughly at the same time as the gold, that is probably in the year 74 H. (A.D. 693/4).[30] Most important in this connection is the obvious relationship between the Standing Caliph motif and the solidi of Justinian II portraying the Byzantine emperor standing and holding the cross on steps. Certainly it was this latter issue which inspired the Standing Caliph type, the Arab response in the ideological and iconographical war between Byzantium and the Arabs.[31] The date now accepted for the introduction of Justinian's new type, a specimen of which is illustrated in PLATE XLVI, 8, [32] is 692,[33] just a year before our first recorded Standing

[27] Cf. Walker, *BMC* II, pp. xxv, xxxi, lv.
[28] Maqrīzi, *Shudhūr al-'uqūd* (facsimile text, L. A. Mayer, Alexandria, 1933, p. 4).
[29] *BMC* II, pp. xxxi-xxxii.
[30] Grierson in *JESHO* 1960, pp. 246–247, is also of this opinion.
[31] The question of the relationship between the two coins and their chronology has been much discussed. See, for example, in the more recent literature: Walker, *BMC* II, pp. liv-lv; A. Grabar, *L'Iconoclasme Byzantin* (Paris, 1957), pp. 67–74; J. D. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II* (New York, 1959), pp. 69–77; Oleg Grabar, "Islamic Art and Byzantium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 18 (1964), p. 81. Stickel's discussion (*Handbuch*, II, pp. 43–55), published in 1870, is excellent.
[32] ANS (ex E. T. Newell Coll.), 19 mm., 4.31 gr. ↓.
[33] Breckenridge, op. cit., pp. 22, 90, dates type II to 692–695. P. D. Whitting

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Caliph dinar. In this connection it should be observed that among the rare Arab-Sasanian coins with reverse types bearing the Standing Caliph, obviously borrowed from the Arab-Byzantine type, there is no positive evidence that would point to an earlier date for the sword-girt Caliph. The remarkable Arab-Sasanian style dirhem of Standing Caliph type (PLATE XLVI, 9), probably struck in Damascus, is dated 75 H. (A.D. 694/5).[34] None of the Arab-Sasanian coppers portraying the Standing Caliph is dated, but I have assigned one from the excavations at Iṣṭakhr to ca. 80–85 H.,[35] and there is no reason to believe that any of the others is earlier.

Before turning to the question of the dating of the Arab dinars before the year 74 H., I should like to discuss a few details of the portrayal of the Standing Caliph. One detail in particular may be a matter of some interest in the history of early Islamic iconography. It is, I believe, self-evident, as stated above, that the standing figure on the Arab coins was designed with the thought of producing a rival, so to speak, of the representation of the emperor, that is, a figure of the same general appearance, but specifically Arab and Muslim as opposed to Byzantine and Christian. The emperor wears a crown; the caliph wears the *kufīyah*.[36] The emperor holds a cross; the caliph carries a sword and is prepared to draw it against the enemies of Islam. The emperor wears the loros, the broad embroidered and be-

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in his review of Breckenridge's book (*Num. Circ.*, Jan., 1960, p. 4) does not question this chronology.

[34] Two specimens are known: Zubow Collection, Historical Museum, Moscow (Walker, *BMC* I, p. 25); and M. Azizbeglou Collection, Teheran (J. Walker, "Some new Arab-Sassanian Coins," *NC* 1952, p. 110, no. 4 = G. C. Miles, *Ars Orientalis*, III, 1959, pl. 1, no. 2). The latter specimen is illustrated here. The reproduction in Walker's publication, copied in mine in *AO*, is slightly enlarged; the actual diameter is 33 mm., the weight 3.75 gr.

[35] G. C. Miles, *Excavation Coins from the Persepolis Region* (New York, 1959), p. 33, no. 143. The others are: several in the Teheran Museum and in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (J. M. Unvala, *NC* 1937, pp. 289–291, nos. 13–19); and three specimens from Susa (J. Walker in *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, Locust Valley, 1952, pp. 240–241, nos. 8–10 = Walker, *BMC* II, p. 82, nos. Teh. 2 and Teh. 3); cf. J. Walker in *Numismatique Susienne* (*MMAI*, Vol. XXXVII, Paris, 1960), pp. 56–57, nos. VIII and VIIIa-d.

[36] But his long hair and beard also resemble those of Christ on the Byzantine coin; and see n. 19, above.

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jeweled scarf, over the upper part of his body;[37] the caliph wears a robe or mantle, presumably the *burdah* of the Prophet.[38] A particular feature of the representation of the loros on the Byzantine solidus is the manner in which the end of the scarf is brought over the emperor's left arm and hangs down in front. Now the detail on the Arab dinar to which special attention is to be drawn may or may not have been inspired by this depiction of the loros, but in any case I am of the opinion, unfortunately without being able to document it, that this detail has some specifically Arab, and probably Islamic, significance. I refer to the cord, most frequently terminating in three strands, which hangs down from the right side of the caliph's waist, or from his right forearm or wrist.

This detail is represented in various ways, but in one form or another it is almost always present. On the dinar of the year 74 there appear to be three distinct strands that descend from the waist at a point just below the elbow, although the separation is not clear for their entire length (PLATE XLVI, 2, and Fig. 1). On that of the year 75 the cord distinctly begins as a single strand, descending from the area of the forearm, and is divided into three parts at a point a little below mid-length (PLATE XLVI, 3, and Fig. 2). On the Paris and British Museum specimens of the year 76 (both from the same die) the upper portion of the cord, descending from near the elbow, again is single and the division into three strands occurs near the bottom (PLATE XLVI, 4, 5, and Fig. 3). Finally, on the two specimens of the year 77 (both from the same die) the cord hangs in a single strand from a point just below the elbow and is divided into three tassels very near the bottom (PLATE XLVI, 6, and Fig. 4).[39] Here the single stand is represented by a series of closely placed dots, giving the impression that the cord is knotted or woven.

On the bronze coins of Standing Caliph type this detail of the costume varies considerably at the different mints. At Īliyā Filāsṭīn (Jerusalem) three short strands are bunched closely at the waist

[37] See Breckenridge, op. cit., pp. 35–36.
[38] For Muḥammad's *burdah* (also *burd*), see Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements* . . . (Amsterdam, 1845), pp. 59–64; A. J. Wensink, *A Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition* (Leiden, 1927), p. 46.
[39] I am indebted to Miss Joan E. Fisher for these drawings.

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Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

(PLATE XLVII, 1–2);[40] at Ḥalab and Manbij, two strands or a loop (PLATE XLVII, 3–4);[41] at Ḥalab, two long strands (or perhaps only one, if the inner line is taken as the edge of the robe) (PLATE XLVII,

[40] ANS 64.139 (gift of Mrs. Roger W. Straus); ANS (ex-E. T. Newell Coll. = *BMC* II, pl. VI, ANS. 5).

[41] ANS 54.119 (purchased in Beirut); ANS 49.163 (ex-W. L. Wright Coll.).

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5);[42] at Ḥimṣ and Sarmīn, a long single strand (PLATE XLVII, 6–7);[43] at Qinnasrín, a single broad patterned band (PLATE XLVII, 8);[44] and at ʿAmmān, three distinct strands quite clearly hanging from the wrist or forearm (PLATE XLVII, 9).[45] Other variations can be observed in plates VI-VIII of Walker's catalogue.[46] On the dirhem of Arab-Sasanian type in the Azizbeglou collection (PLATE XLVI, 9) there are two strands, closely bunched, descending from the elbow or the waist; in the line drawing representing the specimen in Moscow no cords are visible.

How is this detail of the Caliph's dress to be interpreted? Stickel, referring to comments by Fraehn in an article not accessible to me,[47] suggested three possibilities: a rosary ("Rosenkrantz"), a broad loose sleeve ("ein langer vom rechten Arme herabhängender Schlappärmel"), or a whip with three lashes ("die درّة Peitsche, die Omar zuerst einführte," "eine dreiriemige Peitsche," or the "Chalifenpeitsche"). In his description of the Jena dinar he speaks of it as an object with a corded or braided(?) haft ending in three points ("ein Gegenstand mit umwickeltem Stiele, in drei Spitzen auslaufend . . . das ist jedenfalls die Chalifenpeitsche"). Nützel, in describing the same specimen, uses the words "vom r. Arm hängen anscheinend Bänder herab," i.e., "what appear to be ribbons (or cords)." Walker[48] suggested the possibility that the cord or cords represent the ends of the girdle. Grabar[49] implies that the detail in question is the vestige of the end of the loros depicted on the solidus of Justinian. These are, to my knowledge, the only published interpretations.

[42] ANS 54.119 (purchased in Beirut) = G. C. Miles, *Ars Orientalis*, III (1959), pl. I, 18.
[43] ANS 63.197 (purchased in Beirut); ANS 47.99 (gift of H. W. Bell).
[44] ANS (unrecorded provenance).
[45] ANS 54.112 (gift of Henri Seyrig) = G. C. Miles, *Ars Orientalis*, III (1959), pl. I, 21.
[46] Walker (pp. xxix-xxx) noted some of the characteristics at different mints: at ʿAmmān "the bands seem to fall almost like a maniple," on some specimens of Ḥalab the object appears as a loop or a single band; at some other mints (Ḥarrān, al-Ruhā and "mintless"), the bands are omitted.
[47] In *Ergzgsbl. z. Jenaisch. Lit.-Ztg.*, 1882, No. 57, p. 70; Stickel, *Handbuch*, II, pp. 26–27, 43.
[48] P. xxix.
[49] *DOPapers* 18(1964), p. 71.

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I have spent a good deal of time and have taxed the patience and good nature of many friends in trying to find a satisfactory answer to this iconographical riddle. I must confess at the outset that I have failed. I am not satisfied that any one of the published interpretations is more convincing than another, nor do I find any of the alternative solutions proposed by those with whom I have discussed the matter wholly satisfactory. Despite my failure to solve the problem I am still convinced that there is a problem and that this detail of the Caliph's dress or "outfit" has a meaning, that it conveyed something quite intelligible and significant to 'Abd al-Malik's contemporaries. One might then dismiss the matter with this confession of failure, but in view of the effort that has been expended in examining the various possibilities it may be of some use to future inquirers, if any, to summarize the lines of investigation I have pursued.

Before discussing the published interpretations I should make the general observation that there seems to be no evidence that, with the possible exception of the signet ring and cord (see below, pp. 223f.), this detail represents any of the official insignia of the Caliph recognized in written tradition. There are no authentic detailed descriptions of the ceremonial dress of the orthodox or the Umayyad Caliphs as there are of the 'Abbāsids.[50] Abu Bakr presided over the prayers in the *izār* (a close-fitting garment wrapped around the waist and legs) and *ridā'* (a cape or cloak worn over the shoulders).[51] It is only in the 'Abbāsid period that certain relics of the Prophet are generally recognized as the all-important Caliphal insignia (*'alāmah* or *shārah*): the mantle (*burdah*), the staff (*qaḍīb*) and/or the sword, and the seal or signet ring (*khātam* or *khātim*).[52] In later times many other insignia

[50] Professor G. Levi Della Vida kindly referred me to Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Rusūm dār al-khilāfah* (ed. 'Awād, Baghdad, 1964, pp. 90–91) and E.Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, I (Paris, 1954), pp. 489–496.

[51] Reuben Levy, "Notes on costume from Arabic sources," *JRAS* (Great Britain and Ireland), 1935, p. 328.

[52] See, for example, Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (ed. Quatremère), II, p. 57 (= F. Rosenthal transl., Pantheon Books, 1958, II, p. 65), where in speaking of the seal he says, "The ruler . . . wore the seal ring as an insignia, exactly as the Prophet's cloak (*al-burdah*) and stick (*al-qaḍīb*) were used in the 'Abbāsid dynasty." See also Ṭabari III, p. 455, with reference to the succession of al-Mahdi, and Ṭabari III, p. 1646, on the occasion of the recognition of the Caliph al-Mu'tazz; also D. Sourdel, "Questions de cérémonial 'Abbaside,"

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and accoutrements played a part in great ceremonies,[53] but they can have no relevance here.

As for the published interpretations mentioned above:

1. "Rosenkrantz", or rosary. I have found no evidence that the Prophet or the early Caliphs carried a rosary, nor would it in any case have dangled from the position usually depicted on the coins.

2. "Ein langer . . . Schlappärmel", or broad loose sleeve. In a very few cases the dangling object might perhaps be interpreted as such a sleeve, but in the great majority of examples it in no way resembles a sleeve; and also it might be remarked that excessively wide sleeves were traditionally condemned.[54]

3. "Chalifenpeitsche", or Caliph's whip, "which 'Umar first introduced." The whip (*dirrah*) of the Caliph 'Umar, with which he is said to have scourged dishonest merchants, drunkards and other offenders on the spot as he roamed the markets by day and the streets by night, is well known in traditional literature. Ṭabari, for example,[55] says: وهو اوّل من حمل الدرّة وضرب بها. There is a proverb "Umar's whip is more terrible than another's sword."[56] He is reported to have beaten one of his own sons to death (with a whip?) for drunkenness.[57] But there is, I gather, no evidence whatever that the whip was an official element of the early Caliph's ceremonial dress or

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Rev. des Études Islamiques, 1960, p. 135; M. Canard, "Cérémonial fatimite et cérémonial byzantin," *Byzantion*, 31 (1951), p. 389. Levy, op. cit., pp. 330–331, mentions the occasion when al-Amīn during the storming of Baghdad in 198 H. was forced to send out the *ridā'* (or *burdah*), sword and staff as tokens of defeat. For the *burdah* see especially Dozy, op. cit., pp. 59–64, and Wensinck, op. cit., p. 46. Al-Manṣūr is credited with the adoption of the *burdah* as part of the official costume of the Caliph (Levy, op. cit., p. 330). For the *qaḍīb* see the references in my article referred to above (n. 14), p. 165; and Levy, op. cit., p. 329. For the seal (*khātim* or *khātam*) see *E.I.*[1], s.v., and Wensinck, op. cit., s.v. "seal-ring."

[53] Canard, op. cit., p. 388, and L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume* (Geneva, 1952), passim.

[54] I owe this latter observation to Joseph Schacht. Mas'ūdi (*Murūj*, VII, p. 402) says that the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Musta'īn introduced the practice of wearing wide sleeves, *al-akmām al-wāsi'ah*. Al-Tirmidhi, however, wrote that the companions wore wide sleeves (Wensinck, op. cit., p. 46).

[55] Ṭabari I, p. 2749; and cf. idem, I, p. 2571.

[56] Sir William Muir, *The Caliphate* (3rd ed., London, 1898), p. 202.

[57] Al-Nuwairi, *Nihāyat al-arab*, IV (Cairo, 1935), p. 90; see Ṭabari I, p. 2388.

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equipment.[58] The recognized insignia of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs have been briefly discussed above. In short, while some of the representations, perhaps especially those with three strands or lashes, do resemble a whip hanging from the Caliph's arm or waist there is no literary documentation that would support this interpretation of the object.

4. Nützel's description ("Bänder", ribbons or cords) suggests no specific interpretation.

5. Walker's suggestion that the cord or cords may represent the ends of the girdle is plausible. The usual word for the military girdle, sword belt or baldric is *mintaqah*, later known as *ḥiyāṣah*.[59] It appears that among the symbols of office introduced by the Umayyads was a special girdle of silver,[60] but there is no testimony that this was one of the prime insignia of the Caliph. If indeed the object is the end of the girdle, we must assume that the die-engravers were attempting to represent something hanging from the waist, not from the arm or wrist.

6. There can, of course, be little doubt that both the general concept of the standing Caliph figure and certain of the details were inspired by Justinian II's standing emperor type, and it is by no means unlikely that the end of the loros hanging over the emperor's arm may well have provided the idea for a similar or parallel iconographic element on the Arab coin. But while as Grabar suggests, the numismatic prototype of the dangling object may be the loros, it

[58] I am indebted to Giorgio Levi Della Vida and to Muhammad abu'l-Faraj al-'Ush for combing the literature for any reference that might suggest that the *dirrah* was an official emblem of the Caliph. The former has pointed out to me that the whip was carried as a symbol of office by the *muḥtasib*, and that this practice might perhaps be traced back to the example of 'Umar. Cf. E. W. Lane, *An account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians* (5th ed., London, 1871), I, p. 155, where mention is made of on-the-spot flogging of dishonest merchants, etc., by the *muḥtasib*.

[59] Dozy, op. cit., p. 145; and Mayer, op. cit., pp. 25–27, with full references to Maqrīzi and Qalqashandi in n. 8, p. 25.

[60] Levy, op. cit., p. 329. Mas'ūdi, in the same passage cited in n. 54 above, writes: جماعة من بنى اميّة يركبون بالحلية الخفيفة من الفضّة والمناطق وانجاد السيوف.
The Caliph al-Mu'tazz is said to have been the first to use gold for the purpose, and in Mamluk times the girdle was of silver, silver gilt, or even of gold (Mayer, op. cit., p. 25). Dozy (loc. cit.) observes that the *mintaqah* or *ḥiyāṣah* was always of silver or gold, never leather or cloth.

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is no longer the loros but rather an Arab and Moslem ceremonial detail designed to take its place.

It remains to speak of a few other possible interpretations, some that have occurred to me and others that have been suggested by scholars with whom I have discussed the problem.

7. *Mandīl* (or *mindīl*). Professor Joseph Schacht, to whom I am indebted for a search in the relevant literature, including the *Madkhal* of Ibn al-Ḥājj, has suggested the possibility of the *mandīl*. It is defined in various ways but chiefly as a sort of handkerchief or towel attached to the girdle.[61] Levy (op. cit., p. 327) mentions the *mandīl* as one item in a complete outfit of silken garments presented to a poet by the famous minister Ṣāḥib Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād.

8. *Fatīlah*. Professor S. D. Goitein has called my attention to a possible connection between the cord or cords and the Hebrew *petīlīṃ*, Arabic *fatīlah*, "cord" or "wick". In Genesis 38:18 Tamar demands of Judah three tokens or pledges in order that she may identify him as the man who lay with her: "thy signet, and thy bracelets [or cords], and thy staff;" and in Genesis 38:25: "the signet, and bracelets [or cords], and staff." Obviously these three were a man's most personal identifying belongings or "insignia." According to Speiser, who translates the passage, "your seal-and-cord, and the staff you carry," the first two words go together, i.e., "the seal on the cord,"[62] and he observes that in ancient Semitic times the cylinder seal was of all things the most important means of identification, and that it was pierced for suspension. So also, Speiser remarks, was the staff a distinctive means of identification; cuneiform records of the old Babylonian period often mention the *bukanum*, an object which looked like a pestle and which changed hands to symbolize the con-

[61] Dozy, op. cit., pp. 414–418, esp. p. 414, n. 1.

[62] E. A. Speiser, *The Anchor Bible: Genesis, Introduction and Notes* (New York, 1964), p. 298, n. 18. Professor Goitein, however, writes me that he disagrees with Speiser in translating "seal-and-cord" as though the cord were only "a means of carrying the seal, for the Hebrew text, especially in v. 25, does not permit such an interpretation." Hermann Gunkel, *Genesis* (6th ed., Göttingen, 1964), p. 416, translates "Siegelring, Kette und Stab," and remarks that the ancient Egyptians and the Arabs wore such cords with amulets attached. J. Wellhausen (*Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 3rd ed., Berlin, 1961, pp. 165–166) speaks of amulet cords worn around the waist.

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clusion of certain types of transactions.[63] Certainly the object on the reverse of the coins of types A1, B and C, and on certain of the North African and Spanish coins of Arab-Byzantine type, i.e., the symbol which took the place of the Christian cross, may be interpreted as a staff. Might not the cords on our coins be the *fatīlah*, designed to represent the "cords and signet," the latter of course being too small for the die-engraver to depict on the coin? But on the other hand there is no evidence that the early Moslem Arab carried his seal ring on a cord.[64]

9. *Tikkah.* I owe also to Professor Goitein an alternative suggestion. The *tikkah*[65] is usually defined as a band or cord used to hold up the drawers; their ends, in Lane's time in Egypt, were embroidered with colored silks. Admittedly this cord was ordinarily concealed under the outer clothing, but, according to al-Washshā',[66] the *tikkah* was associated with the seal in the same manner as that discussed in the preceding paragraph. Also, my friend Muhammad abu'l-Faraj al-'Ush points out that al-Washshā' uses the word *tikkah* in the same sense as *minṭaqah* (see above, paragraph 5).

10. *Dhu'ābah.*[67] The lexicographers define this word as "anything that hangs down loosely; . . . the end of a whip; . . . the thong or cord which is attached to the hilt (of a sword) and which is sometimes also made fast to the guard, and at other times hangs loose and dangles."[68]

After this digression I return now to the question of the dating of the dinars (or more properly perhaps "Arab solidi") which preceded

[63] See also Gustaf Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, Vol. V (Gütersloh, 1937), pp. 277–278.

[64] In the *ḥadīth* the principal concern is with the proper hand and finger on which the ring is worn, the metal, inscriptions, etc. See Wensinck, op. cit., s.v. "seal-ring."

[65] Lane, *Lexicon* I, p. 310, Dozy, op. cit., pp. 95–99; cf. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, I, p. 36.

[66] *Kitāb al-Muwashshâ* (ed. Brünnow, Leiden, 1887), pp. 125, 173.

[67] Lane, *Lexicon*, I, p. 949.

[68] Cf. F. W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber* (Leipzig, 1886), p. 165, in the section on the sword: "Am Griff befand sich ein Riemer oder eine Riemerschlinge, عُرْوَة, welche mit einem Nagel daran befestigt war, und an der das Schwerdt aufgehängt wurde." These definitions would be attractive were it not for the fact that in most cases the object definitely does not hang down from the hilt of the sword.

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the Standing Caliph type of 74 H. (A.D. 693/4). Walker assigned the type with the three "de-Christianized" standing figures, accompanied by the Muslim declaration of faith (nos. 6–13, above) to a date "before A.D. 693," and remarked that "these pieces in all probability were struck a year or two before . . ." 74 H.[69] So far as I know, the only scholar to have questioned this approximate dating is M. Jean Lafaurie, who, in two articles in the *Bulletin de la Société française de Numismatique*,[70] and at the Spoleto symposium of 1960,[71] argues that the Paris specimen, bought from Moissenet in 1862 (no. 9, above), probably came, not from the Autun find as stated by Lavoix,[72] but from the Buis hoard of Merovingian coins, buried according to Le Gentilhomme in 641,[73] and that the Arab imitation must have been issued between 636 and 640. Lafaurie's dating is based partly on the probability that the imitation is nearly contemporary with the original type of Heraclius (ca. 632–641), partly on his interpretation of the letters BI as an indiction figure (636/7), and partly on the Buis hoard evidence. I do not find these arguments convincing. One can cite many instances of "barbaric" imitations of earlier, rather than nearly contemporary, types; the indiction figures can be differently interpreted (see below, n. 75); and the association of the Paris coin with the Buis hoard is by no means certain. Lafaurie himself uses cautious language: "Il est plus probable que ces monnaies proviennent réellement d'un lot dispersé de la trouvaille de monnaies mérovingiennes . . . ," and "comme aucune autre trouvaille faite vers cette époque [1856] n'a été signalée dans la région d'Autun, j'ai cru pouvoir attribuer au même trésor les pièces achetées en 1862 à Moissenet," etc.; and, although Lavoix said that the coin was found at Autun, "la dispersion des pièces du trésor de Buis dès sa découverte permet de supposer avec quelque chance d'éxactitude" that the coin came from the Buis hoard.

In the preliminary draft of an article on the date of the transitional

[69] Walker, *BMC* II, p. 18.
[70] April 1959, pp. 295–297, and December 1964, pp. 412–415.
[71] *Moneta e scambi nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1961), p. 253.
[72] I, pp. XIII–XIV; see J. Duplessy, "La circulation des monnaies arabes en Europe occidentale du VIIIe au XIIIe siècle," *RN* 1956, p. 121, no. 1.
[73] P. Le Gentilhomme, "Les monnaies mérovingiennes de la trouvaille de Buis," *RN* 1938, pp. 133–168.

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gold coinage, Philip Grierson writes: "The association of the Buis hoard with the dinar and the two Merovingian tremisses said to have been found with the former is at the best no more than a conjecture which is based simply on the fact that the coins were acquired in the same part of France at dates not far removed from one another; there is no documentary evidence to support it. It also seems very unlikely that the various scholars of the time who interested themselves in the hoard — Anatole de Charmasse, Harold de Fontenay, Benjamin Fillon, Anatole de Barthélemy — would have omitted to mention so remarkable a coin as the dinar if it had made a part of the hoard. We do not even know the source of Lavoix's assertion that the three coins were found together, presumably it was based on what the seller of the coins told the museum, but we are in no position to judge how far it can be relied on. Possibly the two Merovingian coins were indeed strays from the Buis hoard, and the dinar came from elsewhere. The evidence is so uncertain that we must be content to remain in ignorance. All that one can be reasonably sure of is that the dinar is much too late to have formed part of the hoard, and that the dating of the latter is not an element that need be taken into account in establishing the chronology of the earliest Islamic gold coins."

With regard to Lafaurie's proposed redating of the transitional dinar (type B) to ca. 636–640, Philip Grierson has written me that he considers this to be out of the question. "It is true that it bears no date, but it is impossible to separate it from the group of transitional dinars and dirhams of 72–77 H. which began with experimental modifications of traditional Byzantine and Sasanian types and ended with the purely epigraphic 'types' which became normal for Islamic coins. The argument that because its obverse type shows three standing figures it must have been nearly contemporary with the similar type of Heraclius and his two sons carries no weight at all. The comparable north African series of dinars and their fractions, which are undated but must have been struck between the capture of Carthage by the Arabs in 695 and the introduction of a dated series of a different type in 703/4 (Indiction II), are also copied from solidi of Heraclius which ceased to be struck over half a century earlier. The reason in both cases was no doubt the same: these coins were circulating in great quantities at the date when the Arabs conquered the

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country, and since they had never been withdrawn and replaced by other types, as they had inside the imperial frontiers, they were familiar to all and therefore provided an acceptable model for the Islamic mints. This would be true even for north Africa, since though Carthage did not fall till 695, great parts of the hinterland had been in Arab hands since the 640's. Moreover to assume that the transitional dinars [of type B] date from ca. 640 would imply that the reverse type of the pillar-on-steps, replacing the Byzantine cross-on-steps, was devised at this time and then abandoned, to be revived again half a century later for the coins with standing caliph obverses. There is in fact no good case at all for dating the dinars [of type B] any earlier than ca. 691."

In short, there is, I believe, no reason to differ with Walker's "year or two before 693" dating; and in my opinion it is safe to say that this gold adaptation of the Heraclius three-figure type with Kufic legend is to be assigned to 72 or 73 H., that is A.D. 691–693.[74] The following succession of events may be proposed: in 691 or 692 (72 H) the Damascus mint struck the gold adaptation with Kufic legend; in 692 (72 or 73 H.) Justinian II issued his new type; in 693 (74 H.) 'Abd al-Malik responded with the Standing Caliph dinar.[75]

[74] While the bronze *fulūs* with the three standing figures may well be earlier (Walker suggests ca. A.D. 650, that is, ca. 30 H.), these imitations retain their purely Byzantine characteristics and no effort was made to remove the Christian symbols. I refer to Walker, *BMC* II, class (d), pp. 15–17.

[75] Some time ago Philip Grierson suggested to me that the letters B I on the reverse of the dinars under discussion (nos. 6–13, above) and the letters I B and I Γ on the imitations without Kufic legend (nos. 4 and 5, above) may represent the figures 12 and 13, and that they might be indiction or regnal dates. If one assumed the reign in question to be 'Abd al-Malik's, the dates would be 77 or 78 H., which of course would be too late, unless one assumed that there was more than one Arab mint issuing gold at this time, one continuing to strike imitations, the other issuing the new Standing Caliph type. This seems to me very unlikely. Walker (*BMC* II, p. 18, note to no. 54) believed the B to be a debased form of the Heraclian monogram which appears on the prototype. Lane-Poole suggested that I B was simply a reversal of the value letters on Byzantine bronze of Alexandria. Returning to Grierson's alternatives, if, on the other hand, the figures were indictions, the dates would be 639–640, 654–655, 669–670, 684–685, or 699–700, none of which would, in my opinion, be suitable. Furthermore, Grierson has pointed out to me that indictions are not likely on coins from eastern mints, although they were in use in North Africa and Spain.

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It remains to make some suggestions with regard to the dating of the imitations which preceded Class B, that is of those which bear no Kufic legends to identify themselves as Arab issues and which are recognizable as such only by the defacement or elimination of the crosses. These are the ones grouped in Class A, i.e., the imitation of Phocas (no. 1), the imitations of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine (nos. 2 and 3), and the imitations of Heraclius, Heraclius Constantine and Heraclonas (nos. 4 and 5). Of these only two have been hitherto published and discussed, nos. 1 and 4. Walker dated the latter ca. 690;[76] while Grierson mentions it,[77] he does not suggest a date, although in the rough draft of an article on the subject of nos. 4 and 5 (see p. 209) he inclined toward reading IB and IΓ as the regnal dates 12 and 13 of 'Abd al-Malik's reign, i.e., 76/77 H. and 77/78 H. Lafaurie[78] implies that it is to be placed, along with the adaptation of Class B, before 640, an early dating which seems to me, and to Grierson, most unlikely. As for no. 1, the imitation of a solidus of Phocas, the only published opinion is that of Lafaurie. He argues that the coin is a Sasanian issue, struck perhaps at an itinerant mint or in Damascus or Jerusalem sometime between 611 and 630. As in the case of no. 4 he believes that the imitation must be nearly contemporary with its prototype, and as the Sasanians invaded Syria shortly after the fall of Phocas they must have been responsible for striking the coin. Inimical to Christianity, but wishing to place into circulation a gold coin that would be acceptable to the local inhabitants, they eliminated the Christian symbols from the Byzantine prototype. Lafaurie's argument is based in part on the evidence of the Buis hoard (see p. 225, above) and its bearing on his proposed dating of Class B: "Le trésor de Buis vient, malgré ce qui a pu être dit, apporter la preuve que ces imitations à légende coufique, datent de la conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine et ne sont pas des imitations de prototypes vieux de plus de cinquante ans comme cela est actuellement proposé." I must say that I am skeptical not only about the tenuous association of one of the specimens of Class B (no. 9) with the Buis hoard, but also about the possibility of the Sasanians' having issued an imitation solidus during their temporary occupation of Syria.

[76] Walker, *BMC* II, pp. xxiv-xxv, and 18.
[77] *JESHO* III (1960), p. 242, n. 3.
[78] See nn. 5 and 70 above.

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It seems to me much more probable that all five imitations of Class A are Arab issues and that they all date from very shortly before the adaptation of 691 or 692. The transformation of the crosses and orbs into staffs, or the like, on the Phocas imitation is comparable to that on the Arab issue of Class B, on the reverses of the dated issues of Class C, and on the North African and Spanish issues. None of the latter can be dated before about 80 H./A.D. 699 at the earliest. So also with the other type of deformation of the cross, the horizontal bar on top of the shaft on steps, which appears on the imitations of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine and of Heraclius and his two sons, comparable again to some of the North African issues. The idea of omitting or transforming the Christian symbols, retained on the bronze issues of Syria and Palestine until at least 650, did not, in my opinion, occur to the Arabs until just before the events leading up to the issuance of Classes B and C and the final elimination of iconography in 77 H./A.D. 696–7. So also in Iran the Sasanian "portraiture" and Zoroastrian symbolism was retained by the Arabs until the several transitional issues were experimented with just before the reform. As I have said (p. 225, above), I disagree with Lafaurie in his conclusion that the imitations must follow very closely in time after their prototypes; note, for example, in the very field which we are discussing, the Arab imitations of Justin and Sophia (A.D. 565–578),[79] a type dating from long before the Arab conquest. Finally, the contents of the hoard in which one of the imitations of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine (no. 3) was found is of interest and relevance. The prevalent gold coins in circulation at the time of burial, ca. 680 or shortly thereafter, appear to have been those of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine of 613–629 (25 specimens) and of Phocas, 602–610 (23 specimens), and the Arab imitation copies one of these then common solidi. It would, I think, at this stage be foolhardy to attempt to propose different approximate dates for each of the several imitations of Class A (they may be roughly contemporary with each other), and I will venture to say only that they are to be dated in the decade before 691 and probably closer to 690 than to 680.[80]

[79] Walker, *BMC* II, pp. 1–3.

[80] A very brief version of this paper was presented orally at the Third Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies at Ravello on September 5, 1966.

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CENTRAL AMERICA UNDER THE MEXICAN EMPIRE, 1822–1823

(PLATES XLVIII-XLIX)

THEODORE V. BUTTREY, JR.

Some forty years ago Howland Wood published the examples then known of the second lot of material below, the Honduran issues of 1823.[1] While making these obscure coins available to students of the Latin American coinages, he did not establish a chronology, so that their historical setting has remained obscure. It is necessary now to reexamine and rearrange Wood's material, to add to it (and subtract from it), to face the basic problems of mint and issuing authority, and to suggest a reasonable explanation for the varying types.

The portrait of the Mexican emperor Agustín I on the first coin makes it clear that these issues cannot be dissociated from the political and historical curiosity of the annexation of Central America by Mexico in 1822–1823. It is useful to have in mind a summary of the history of the period. The Mexican revolution against Spanish authority had begun in 1810. It was not accomplished until 1821. Resistance was by no means continuous during this period, and in the end there was a complete reversal of intent. Where originally the frustrations of the oppressed had boiled over, ultimately the revolution was accomplished as a conservative reaction against the liberal Spanish Constitution of 1812 and the unstable Ferdinand VII. Among those joining to abandon Spanish rule and establish a new Mexican kingdom were the last Spanish viceroy, O-Donojú, and an officer of the colonial army, Agustín Iturbide. A member of the Spanish royal house was to be invited to take the throne. The whole affair was a triumph of the monarcho-clericalists, who secured their own position against possible dangers from Spain, while blunting the attack of those reforming elements which had hoped for independence under a Republican constitution.

The new kingdom, being kingless, functioned under a regency whose president was Iturbide. In the event, he himself was pro-

[1] *The Tegucigalpa Coinage of 1823* (New York, 1923).

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claimed Emperor in Mexico City on May 18, 1822, by roving bands of soldiers and civilians whose spontaneous enthusiasm may be doubted; and he was crowned in the Cathedral of the capital on June 21, as Agustín I.[2] His reign was to last less than a year: financial and political excesses, which need not be detailed here, were a problem from the beginning. Several forced loans were proclaimed, and an issue of paper money decreed in December. The Congress, becoming a focus of anti-Augustinian sentiment, was dissolved October 31, 1822; in its place a hand picked *junta* automatically ratified the Imperial decrees. The jails began to fill with political prisoners. Revolutionary uprisings began against the Imperial regime even before the end of 1822. Agustín was finally forced to abdicate, March 19, 1823, and to leave the country.

Though of brief duration this first Mexican Empire is memorialized for students of Mexican numismatics by a rather large coinage — Imperial expenses were enormous — of several denominations in gold and silver, and a good number of proclamation medals. Four of the medals were struck in 1822 for Central America. These form the first lot of material to be discussed below, and they bring us to the subject at hand.[3] Before 1821 what we call Central America comprised the *Capitanía general de Guatemala*, with its capital at Guatemala City. The area encompassed what is now the Mexican state of Chiapas and the five independent nations of Central America, to the northern border of present-day Panama. Legally the *Capitanía* was subject to the viceregency of Mexico, but in practice it functioned with virtual autonomy. When in the course of 1821 it became clear that Mexico was on the verge of independence under the *Plan de Iguala*, the government at Guatemala was forced to the same choice, not altogether gladly. It would have been difficult in any case not to follow the Mexican lead; early in September Chiapas had indepen-

[2] Iturbide's triumphant entrance into Mexico City on August 2, 1821, prior to even the declaration of independence from Spain, had already been marked by random cries of "*Viva Agustín primero.*" See Lucas Alamán, *Historia de Méjico* (Mexico, 1852), vol. 5, p. 257.

[3] On the historical material that follows see generally Rómulo Durón, *Historia de Honduras* [1903] (Tegucigalpa, 1956); Thomas L. Karnes, *The Failure of Union* (Chapel Hill, 1961); and Guillermo Mayes h., *Honduras en la Independencia de Centro América y Anexión a México* (Guatemala, 1955).

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dently broken from Spain. More immediately, contrived public demonstrations appeared to threaten the safety of the Guatemalan authorities. Independence was proclaimed by them on September 15, 1821, as they were beseiged by an expectant mob excited by the explosion of fireworks deliberately employed to that end.

Whatever enthusiasm there was for independence in Guatemala, the situation was not the same as in Mexico. Liberal opinion had a good deal to do with the break. Furthermore Guatemala had not two choices but three: to remain with Spain, to break away with Mexico, or to become entirely independent of both. The last course was naturally suggested by the *de facto* independence of Guatemala from Mexico under Spanish rule, and was naturally supported by those out of sympathy with the political and social implications of the new Mexican government: it was the course adopted on September 15. To remedy the situation the regent Iturbide urged on the authorities at Guatemala the annexation of all of Central America by the Empire. Since intervention by Spain was hardly to be feared, and Central America far weaker and poorer than Mexico, the motives in Iturbide's campaign can only have been imperialistic. He pressed for the union again and again as 1821 wore on, pointing out the dangers of thwarting popular sentiment, and helpfully sending troops into Chiapas to assist in the formation of that sentiment. In Guatemala the traditionalists who had fruitlessly opposed independence saw in the proposed union the opportunity to recoup some of their lost position, so that the question of annexation became a dispute generally between pro-Mexican conservatives and pro-Guatemalan liberals. For the government at Guatemala, originally diffident toward independence, resisted Iturbide for a time and became the focus of liberal hopes.

In an area whose political allegiances were naturally centrifugal, owing to the thin spread of population and the difficulties of communication, it was inevitable that the question of annexation should color local differences. As the various cities of Central America took a stand for or against union with Mexico they had to face the possibility of their neighbors' ill will. Toward the end of 1821 the two major cities of Honduras, Comayagua and Tegucigalpa, raised troops and almost met in civil war. Their rivalry was of old standing, the new

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dispute gave them an apparent justification. Comayagua under the Spanish military governor Tinoco held for annexation. She was able to cut communications between Tegucigalpa and Guatemala in trying to force her sister city to the same position. On November 22 Tegucigalpa was proclaimed capital of the province of Honduras (i.e., of as much of it as did not in fact side with Comayagua). On December 11 the *junta consultativa* of Guatemala decorated Tegucigalpa with the title "city," *ciudad*, for her unwavering stand against Comayagua and annexation.

In spite of all, Mexican pressure from without and conservative opinion within were too great. Union with Mexico was announced at Guatemala on January 5, 1822. It lasted just a year and a half. Liberal opinion for the most part never accepted it, the introduction of Mexican troops caused concern and resentment, and the new capital was too distant for workable communications, as the Mexicans themselves realized. El Salvador soon rose in rebellion, part of Nicaragua followed in early 1823. After the abdication of Agustín in March there was little disposition on either side to continue an impossible situation. On July 1 the National Constituent Assembly of the United Provinces (i.e., of Central America) meeting at Guatemala declared their independence "from Spain, Mexico, and everyone else." Only Chiapas still favored annexation. A plebiscite on May 26 had confirmed her stand, and she was permitted to remain a part of Mexico, which she has been ever since.

We can anticipate that the coinage of the annexation will reveal some of the strains and confusions which it engendered. There are two large lots of material to be considered, the proclamation medals of 1822 and the Honduran coinage of 1823.

Proclamation Medals of 1822

Proclamation medals are celebratory pieces, monetiform for the most part, issued for special occasions, particularly for the proclamation of the accession of a new sovereign in the various cities and provinces of the Spanish Empire and for the loyalty oath, or *jura*, taken by the citizens on the occasion. Proclamation medals usually differ from coins in several ways. They normally do not have a

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monetary value, though struck in gold, silver, or bronze. (Occasionally, however, the medals produced at official mints were struck on regular coin flans, and these sometimes bear marks of value and today show signs of wear from circulation.) They normally do not bear mint marks, but rather the name of the city or province where the proclamation is to be held. The types and legends are uniquely appropriate to the particular occasion. The pieces are dated not to the accession but to the local proclamation, often including even the month and day. Proclamation medals were not necessarily struck at regular mints; local issues are of course sporadic, individualistic in type, crude in style, frequently cast or even engraved by hand upon coins taken from circulation.

Proclamation medals of Agustín I were struck in all three metals at or for various cities in Mexico proper. For the most part they are dated only to the year 1822, so that it is not possible to associate them with a particular moment. But one struck for Toluca suggests the propaganda value attributed to the medals. It is dated May 12, 1822, six days before the demonstrations in Mexico City which brought about Iturbide's elevation. We cannot say whether the medal was initiative, struck for distribution on the 12th and meant to encourage the popular mood, or commemorative, struck after the elevation to point up Toluca's part in it, whatever that may have been. In either case the medal is more than simply celebratory.

After all, the situation was not that which had normally obtained on the accession of a new Spanish king: title to the throne had been hereditary, succession sure, and the new king's subjects ready to manifest a customary enthusiasm on his proclamation. In the case of Agustín the question of succession could not apply. Moreover he was not universally esteemed, while the very idea of a Mexican Empire was distasteful to many. The proclamation medals as a group should then be considered far more weighty politically, as a device to win, or at least to claim support, than those of the preceding Spanish kings.

Thus the Toluca medal, and several dated late in 1822. By December the Congress had been dissolved and some of its members imprisoned, financial disaster was imminent, discontent widespread, revolution at hand. On December 2 at Veracruz Santa Ana proclaimed the establishment of the Republic, winning the support of the

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revolutionaries Guerrero (who had joined with Iturbide to establish the Empire in the *Plan de Iguala*) and Bravo. Yet on December 8 we find an imperial proclamation medal for Oaxaca, on December 10, for Aguascalientes, on December 26, as we shall see, for Guatemala. A fine gold medal was struck at Mexico City for the *jura* there on January 24, 1823, with its religious and secular celebrations.[4] For all this the Empire was collapsing. Nine weeks later Agustín was compelled to abdicate.

Four proclamation medals were struck for Central America. In conception they clearly form a single group, while in some details they are unlike any of the other proclamation medals of Agustín.

A. *Chiapas.*

Obv.: Imperial bust l. Around, LAS CHIAPAS / POR AGUST. 1 / .1822.
Rev.: Imperial eagle on *nopal* within oval, crown above, chain at sides, palms below. Around, CHIAPAS PROCLAMAN CONSTANCIA.

B. *Quezaltenango.*

Obv.: Imperial bust l. Around, AGUSTIN 1. EMPERAD. DE MEXICO.
Rev.: Quetzal above two mountains within oval. Around, PROCLAMADO EN QUESALT. A. DE 1822. ✻

C. *Guatemala.*

Obv.: (Obverse die of B)
Rev.: Wreath, surmounted by three mountains within oval. Within wreath, 26DE DIC. / DE 1822. / 2º DE LA / INDEP. Around, GUAT. EN LA PROCLAM. DE SU 1ª EMP.

D. *León.*

Obv.: Imperial bust l. Around, AGUST. 1. EMP. / DE MEXICO / .1822.
Rev.: Mountain and lion within oval. Around, PROCLAM. EN LEON DE NICAR. A. 2. DE LA INDEP. ✻

[4] Alamán, vol. 5, p. 700. A good example is illustrated in the Brand sale (Hans M. F. Schulman, New York, Nov. 20, 1964), 1612.

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The mint of these pieces remains unknown. Their style, distinct from all the other proclamation medals of Agustín, could suggest that they were struck at Guatemala rather than at Mexico.[5] A chemical analysis, set against an analysis of the 1821–1822 coinages of the two mints, might provide the answer. In any case they are obviously products of a regular mint, given the official punches and the coin flan, and only these two mints can be considered.

It is evident that the four pieces were conceived and struck together. The same letter and number punches were used throughout, the same cross on reverses B and D, and the same bust which is found nowhere else on the coins and medals of Agustín. Obverses B and C were struck from the same die. All four pieces bear the same curious twisted border on obverse and reverse. All are struck on the regular one real flan.[6] Yet in style, fabric, and denomination they differ entirely from the other proclamation medals of Agustín. Consequently the date of the Guatemala piece, December 26, 1822, makes it clear that all were struck late in the year. They form part of the Central American proclamations, the oaths of allegiance, that are attested at this late date elsewhere. That they could be used as money no doubt encouraged the diffident.

If the proclamation medals were meant to inspire public enthusiasm for the failing Empire, they had as well a more specific reference. One difficulty in Central America was the provincialism which tended to fragment the area. The revolt of El Salvador would have been the most obvious example. In an attempt to blur the old boundaries, and so old allegiances, an Imperial decree of November 4, 1822 arbitrarily divided Central America into three *comandancias generales*: Chiapas, Guatemala, and León. Three of our four medals, dated to the following month, were each issued in the name of one of these *comandancias*. It cannot be doubted that they were intended to celebrate the reorganization, or better, to present it as done.

[5] Wood speaks of "proclamation medals struck by Augustin of Mexico in Guatemala, Chiapas and Quezaltenango" (p. 3), but for "in" read "for."

[6] An example of the Guatemala piece struck in gold was sold in the Jenks sale (Henry Chapman, Philadelphia, Dec. 7, 1921), 7081.

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The Honduran Coinage of 1823

That the proclamation medals were struck on coin flans provided the Imperial government with one means of earning some political credit while introducing money into Central America. The sum must have been small: each medal is struck from only one pair of dies. Agustín's regular coinage from the mint of Mexico City must also have found its way south. But the mint at Guatemala issued no coins dated 1822 or 1823,[7] and no other regular Central American mint existed. Levies to support the Imperial treasury and to finance the *juras* are much complained of at the time. These must have removed money from circulation in a society that normally had very little of it. Under the circumstances it is not surprising to find in 1823 several series of local strikings, attributed by Wood to Tegucigalpa since most bear that name.

The Honduran issues all bear the date 1823. They fall into three major groups. Group I, which must now be attributed to Comayagua, consists of one type only of two reales. Group II also includes only one type of two reales; Group III, five types of two reales plus a half real. These three groups are die-linked together. A fourth group, containing a two reales published by Wood and a one real type, is treated in the Appendix. It does not belong to Honduras.

GROUP I

Comayagua. January – March, 1823.

1. Two Reales

Obv.: Imperial bust l. Around, ENPER. / AGUSTIN / .1823.

Rev.: Imperial eagle on *nopal*. At l., M.P. At r., 2 R.

1a. 5.11 gm. ↑ 22 mm. ANS (holed).

b. 5.6 gm. ↙ 21 mm. Stuart collection = Gibbs sale (Hans M. F. Schulman, New York, Mar. 18, 1966), 690.

[7] This begs the question whether the Guatemala mint was still striking, with predated Spanish colonial dies. Several of the Mexican mints outside Mexico City definitely were.

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GROUP II

Tegucigalpa. April – June, 1823.

2. Two Reales

Obv.: Pointed cross; in arms, lions and castles under single arcs. Around, TEGVSIGALPA L. A. 1823

Rev.: (Reverse die of 1)

2a. 6.59 gm. ↑ 24½ mm. BM.
b. 6.08 gm. ↘ 24½ mm. ANS (holed).
c. 5.61 gm. → 24 mm. ANS (plugged).
d. Jenks 7112.
e. 6.1 gm. ↖ 23 mm. Stuart collection (holed) = Gibbs, 693 = Guttag collection (New York, 1929), 2253A = Ulex sale (Adolph Hess, Frankfurt, May 11, 1908), 2203.[8]

GROUP III

Tegucigalpa. July – December, 1823.

3. Two Reales

Obv.: (Obverse die of 2)

Rev.: Spanish arms crowned between pillars of Hercules. Around, + 2 R. M. PROVISIONAL.

3a. 27 mm. Vidal Quadras collection (Barcelona, 1892), 10962 = Fonrobert collection (Adolph Weyl, Berlin, 1878), 7459.[9]
b. ↖ 23 mm. *Asociación Numismática Española* sale (Barcelona, Nov. 18, 1961), 1394 (holed).

4. Two Reales

Obv.: Blunted cross; in arms, lions and castles under single arcs. Around, 2 / R. / M. / P.

[8] The Ulex specimen was not illustrated, but given that it was holed and its date effaced, and given the occurrence of other Ulex pieces in the Guttag collection, the identification seems certain.

[9] The illustrations in the two catalogues appear to be of the same piece.

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Rev.: Spanish arms crowned between pillars of Hercules. Around, 2 R. M. TEG / VSIGAL / PA L. ƐƵ8I ∀

4a. 6.46 gm. ↖ 25 mm. ANS.

b. 25 mm. Vidal Quadras collection, 10963.[10]

5. Two Reales

Obv.: Blunted cross; in arms, lions and castles under double arcs. Around, 2 / R. / M. / P.

Rev.: (Reverse die of 4)

5a. 6.85 gm. ← 24 mm. Byrne collection (holed) = Gibbs, 692 = Guttag, 2253B = Ulex, 2202.

6. Two Reales

Obv.: (Obverse die of 5)

Rev.: As reverse die of 4 and 5, but ·∀ and TEGV / SIGAL / PA

6a. 6.8 gm. ← 24 mm. Stuart collection = Gibbs, 691 = Campaner y Fuertes, *Memorial Numismático Español* II (1868), pl. VIII, 9, "Colección Varela" = Maillet, *Monnaies Obsidionales* (Brussels, 1870), pl. CIX, 1.[11]

7. Two Reales

Obv.: (Reverse die of 1–2)

Rev.: (Reverse die of 4–5)

7a. 24 mm. Medina, *Monedas Obsidionales* (Santiago, 1919), 252 = Campaner y Fuertes pl. VIII, 10, "Colección Varela" = Maillet, pl. CIX, 2.[12]

8. Half Real

Obv.: Pointed cross, lions and castles in arms.

Rev.: T. L. / 1823

[10] The diameter of the Vidal Quadras piece as illustrated is slightly smaller than the "25 mm" of his text.

[11] Again the drawings in Campaner and Maillet appear to be taken from the same coin, the Stuart example.

[12] Medina states erroneously that this type is that of Ulex, 2202, our number 5a.

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8a. 1.33 gm. ↙ $13^1/_2$ × 16 mm. ANS (holed) = Guttag, 2253C = Ulex, 2204.[13]

CONCORDANCE

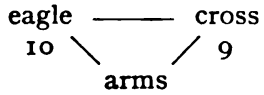
Buttrey	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	(9)[14]	(10)	(11)	–
Wood	1	8	7	5	4	–	6	–	2	–	–	3[15]

GROUP I — *Comayagua.*

1. This type was obviously struck under Imperial influence, though hardly at a regular mint. The dies are crude and the strike poor. The flan is too small for the dies. Letters and numbers were engraved directly on to the dies, not punched. The origin of the obverse type is plain: it is an imitation of the proclamation medals. Nowhere else is the legend in Spanish rather than Latin, nowhere else can be found an analogy to the peculiar border of the obverse and reverse types, nowhere else on all the coins and medals of Agustín is

[13] The denomination is established by the weight. Again the Ulex specimen is not illustrated but is described as holed and weak in the last digit of the date.
[14] For numbers 9–11 see the Appendix.
[15] This type was cited by Wood from the Appleton sale (Thomas Elder, New York, July 8, 1913), 1371, as a muling of Maillet, pl. CIX, 1 and 2. The coin was not illustrated. Maillet's plate sets up the Tegucigalpa types thus: cross $\overset{1}{=}$ arms $\overset{2}{=}$ eagle. Therefore the piece was of the cross/eagle types. Now there are two cross types, with single arcs (numbers 2–4) or double arcs (5–6). Maillet illustrated only the cross/arms piece which in his example bore the cross with double arcs (6). Wood therefore assumed that the Appleton specimen must equally have borne the cross with double arcs/eagle, and so listed it as a separate variety. Since no example of this variety is known, and since the cross with single arcs/eagle is the most common of all the issues, it is likely that Wood took Elder's description too literally. The coin must have been an example of Wood 8, our number 2.

Wood also thought he had found a second example of the variety. "Campaner y Fuertes in *Memorial Numismático Español*, indicates this combination in the illustrations on Plate VIII by a line connecting the two obverses of Nos. 4 and 6 of this article." Those illustrations are arranged thus:



The eagle/cross combination is not numbered on the plate and is not mentioned anywhere in Campaner's text, though his 9 and 10 are. The line connecting eagle and cross is doubtless an engraver's error.

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the portrait bust turned to the left. The Imperial eagle of the reverse could have been imitated from the regular coinage of Agustín, which had been struck at the Mexico City mint since 1822, or it could be the reverse type of the Chiapas medal without the oval. In either case the types are derivative and indicate that the coin was struck deliberately to be understood both as part of the Imperial coinage and in homage to the Emperor. With self-effacing modesty the name of the mint is omitted, contrary to the usage on the Spanish colonial coinage, but again consonant with the proclamation medals. In this case local pride counted for less than the announced support for the Empire. The pieces will have been struck during the first quarter of the year, while the Empire was tottering but before news of the abdication reached Honduras.

The attribution to Honduras is certain: the reverse die is linked to the signed Tegucigalpa issues. But it must be said firmly that attribution of this issue to Tegucigalpa is absolutely out of the question. Liberal sentiment ruled the city. Before the annexation the *ayuntamiento* of Tegucigalpa pressed for union under Guatemala. It was Comayagua who held for Mexico and almost brought the province of Honduras to a state of civil war. When the rule of the Mexican Empire was proclaimed in January, 1822, the realities of the situation had to be faced; Tegucigalpa behaved. When Iturbide became Emperor the *ayuntamiento* wrote to assure him of its loyalty and devotion. These assurances were *pro forma* and unadorned. More genuine feelings were expressed in the public subscription for the expenses of the proclamation of Agustín I in Tegucigalpa: a total of $36 was raised, of which $1 was pledged by the governor of the province.[16]

Under the circumstances we must look elsewhere for the mint of this first issue, and it can only be to Comayagua. This was the only other city of any size in Honduras, and the center of pro-Mexican sentiment. In addition we have documentary evidence that it had a mint. The evidence is to the effect that Don Joaquín Lindo suggested to the Assembly in Guatemala in 1823 that the coins struck at Comayagua be amortized.[17] Since this procedure would have been

[16] Durón, pp. 74–75.
[17] Manuel A. Zelaya, *Apuntes para la Historia de la Moneda en Honduras* (Tegucigalpa, 1958), p. 12.

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difficult, and economically pointless, we ought to conclude that it had a political motive, namely to remove from circulation the one issue struck in Central America bearing the portrait of the Mexican Emperor.

In attributing the piece to Comayagua it should be noted as well that while there is a certain irregularity in all the issues of Honduras, this one is more irregular than the rest. In Groups II and III 7 pieces of two reales weigh 5.61 – 6.85 grams, median 6.46, average 6.36. This is mostly rather low when set against the theoretical weight of 6.77. But none is as low as one portrait coin, 5.11 grams. Similarly the diameters of Groups II and II run in the range 23–24½ mm, with one piece as broad as 27 mm; the portrait issue of Group I measures only 21–22 mm. This dissimilarity of fabric is confirmation of the separate origin of Group I.

The abbreviation M.P. is to be expanded to *moneda provisional* here as on issues 2, 4–7, given the legend of the reverse die of number 3.[18]

GROUP II — *Tegucigalpa.*

From this point on, all the issues bear the new mint's name, in full or abbreviated. They are in substance city issues, not national, although number 2 retains the Mexican national emblem, the eagle.

2. The reverse die of issue 2 was transferred to Tegucigalpa after its use at Comayagua early in 1823. That this issue followed the Agustín portrait is assured by the break which can be seen to have developed in the reverse die, a vertical break connecting the eagle's tail with the intersection of the second and third cactus leaves from the right.

The obverse type must, in the first place, be identified as obverse because it is paired with 1) the eagle die already used as a reverse, and 2) the arms dies, numbers 3–6 below, which are imitated from Spanish colonial reverses. Our obverse here is also an imitation, of one face of the pre-columnar silver of Mexico struck prior to the introduction of the milled coinage in 1732. The cross with dulled points takes its form from the lobed cross used only at Mexico of all the Spanish

[18] Wood suggested that the initials be those of a mint official since "No. 1 cannot be considered a provisional issue" (p. 8). But it is.

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American mints. Some of this Mexican coin will still have been in circulation in 1823; indeed we find it counterstamped in Guatemala and Costa Rica around the middle of the nineteenth century.

The legends of the new obverse are hand cut. The letters L.A. have caused some difficulty of interpretation. Wood suggested that they are the initials of a mint official; Medina, that they somehow are the abbreviation of *Año* [*de*] *Libertad*. Actually, though the two initials appear here in sequence, they have nothing to do with each other, as the break in the reverse legend of numbers 4–6 makes clear. A.1823 is the abbreviation of *Año* (*de*) *1823*, a phrase paralleled on the proclamation medals for Quezaltenango and León, above, and on the Mexican coppers of 1829–1837. The letter L might of itself be considered an assayer's mark, yet it always follows the city name as if it were to be understood with it. The best evidence for that is the legend T.L. of the half real where the letters are of equal size and so, presumably, equal importance. I believe it can be explained as a title, *e.g.*, *Tegucigalpa libre*. I know of no documentary evidence to confirm the reading but it is supported by the city's political orientation.

We do have independent evidence for the establishment of a mint at Tegucigalpa. In 1822 Don Joaquín Lindo and his son, delegates from the province of Honduras to the Constituent Assembly at Mexico, put to the Mexican government the proposition that a mint be opened at Tegucigalpa. They went so far as to suggest that the venerable Guatemala mint be permanently closed and its machinery moved to the new site. The justification alleged was that the mint would be closer to the sources of silver supply, but it certainly would have been farther from the main body of population, and so from the bulk of commerce in Central America which centered on Guatemala.[19] The appeal was not granted. But when the Lindos returned to Honduras later in the year they brought with them from Mexico a press (*cuño*) which began to function in Tegucigalpa early in 1823.[20]

[19] Karnes, p. 5, quotes a population survey of Central America in 1824 which gave a total of 1,287,491 inhabitants divided in the proportions, Guatemala 51.5%, El Salvador 16.5%, Nicaragua 16%, Honduras 10.5%, Costa Rica 5.5%.

[20] Wood, p.3, takes *cuño* as "die," which it usually means today; but it also means "press" and must here since the new mint would have needed a pair of

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The coin struck now continued to be labelled *moneda provisional*, probably as a legal defense in the face of the fact that the mint seems never to have been authorized by anyone, except perhaps by the city government.

The date of this second Honduran issue is not quite certain. Since the Mexican eagle was retained as a type (note however that it is still crowned), the piece should be put before the *terminus ante quem* of July 1, 1823, when independence from Mexico was declared at Guatemala. But whether the *terminus post quem* of Agustín's abdication is equally valid is unclear. I date the coin after March, but it is conceivable that it was struck earlier and the imperial portrait simply omitted. Still it is worth remarking that if that were the case, civic pride must have been very strong to allow for the displacement of Agustín's head by a type prominent for the city name.

GROUP III — *Tegucigalpa.*

3. Beginning with this issue there is no further Mexican reference on the coins of Tegucigalpa, so that we may confidently date all of Group III to the last half of the year, after Central American independence was achieved. The obverse die of issue 2 was retained and a new reverse cut. The new type of crowned arms between the pillars of Hercules is in imitation of the reverse of the most common coinage then in circulation in Central America: the Spanish colonial bust silver had been struck at the Mexican mints and at Guatemala for the preceding half century. The mark of denomination is appropriate to this reverse, as is the mint mark, but for that we must wait until issue 4. Why Wood calls this face of the coin the obverse is mysterious. His suggestion, "The Royal Arms . . . may have significance as indicating that this piece was struck by the Spanish party" (p. 12) is quite impossible: there was no Spanish party at Tegucigalpa that we know of, certainly not in power. Rather, the reverse type, as the obverse before it, must be understood as an attempt to render an

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dies at the least. See Zelaya, p. 11, ". . . *dicho cuño comenzó afuncionar* . . ." And we must not infer that any of the dies used at Comayagua and Tegucigalpa originated at the Mexico City mint. They are much too crude for that.

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unauthorized issue of coin respectable by adapting its physical characteristics to coin already in circulation.

4–6. At this point occurs the one break in the two reales series which would otherwise form a completely die-linked lot. While the obverse and reverse dies of issue 4 are not linked to issue 3, they are clearly imitations of that issue. The legends have been rearranged, the obverse cross is larger and blunted, with new lion and castle punches, and the reverse type is smaller and neater. The obverse legend is an abbreviation of the reverse legend of issue 3; on the reverse M. TEGUCIGALPA is to be expanded to *moneda* [*de*] *Tegucigalpa*. Of great importance is the introduction of punches for the cutting of letters and numbers.

Issue 5 used a new obverse die, identical in type with that of issue 4 save that the arcs are doubled. Issue 6 matched this obverse with a new reverse die, identical with that of issues 4–5 save for minor differences in word division and punctuation. All three issues form a tightly knit group whose sequence is sure.

7. This piece is struck from a combination of the reverses of issues 1–2 and 4–5. The continuation of the Mexican type is inexplicable at this point. Since both dies had functioned as reverses, I prefer to consider the coin a mule.

8. So far the only denomination in question for either Comayagua or Tegucigalpa has been the two reales. This half real, now in the ANS, was hesitatingly attributed to Tegucigalpa by Guttag. The attribution is certainly correct. Though the type is unique, the arrangement of the obverse cross set against the reverse information of mint and date is that of issues 4–6. The legend T. L. is an appropriate abbreviation of the city's name and title, the date is correct, and the style of the borders the same as that of the reverse dies of issues 4–6. This piece however may have been struck slightly earlier, parallel with issue 3: the cross is pointed and the legend hand cut.

Taken as a whole these issues give us a picture of a province during the year that settled the fate of Central America. If union under Mexico was insupportable, union of the area independently has proved impossible. The Central American Republic, founded in 1823, was always a loose confederation, the provinces tending to become

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autonomous. Time and again since its failure attempts have been made in diplomacy and by force to bring together two or more of the independent republics of Central America to form a larger nation. These have failed without exception, and for much the same reasons that foiled the annexation: political instability, the unending play between conservatives and liberals, supporting a central and a federal republic respectively; provincialism of outlook, local rivalries, and the realities of an unequal distribution of population and resources.

In these pieces we have the rare phenomenon of a coinage which begins as Imperial and ends as local. While it follows the events of the times, moving from Agustín to the Mexican state without a government to the complete break with Mexico, it goes beyond in emphasizing at the end the city which created the coinage. The prominence of the mint name is quite unlike anything in the Spanish coinage then in circulation. For it was ultimately the city which was the focus of provincialism: it was not simply a convenient gathering place for an area, but rather the center which gave the area its identity. Even as the Central American Republic was being formed there could be seen in the coinage of Tegucigalpa the provincial point of view that would cause the Republic never to succeed.

Appendix

9. Two Reales

Obv.: Blunted cross; in arms, lions and castles under double arcs. At l. and r., M P. Above, PLVSVLTRA

Rev.: Pillars of Hercules upon waves. P 2 M / LV SVL TR / T 823 G
9a. 5.74 gm. ↗ 26 mm. ANS.

10. One Real

Obv.: As obverse of 9, but 2 above cross, 3 below. At upper l. border, [P]LVS (At lower l. border, VLTRA?)

Rev.: As reverse of 9, but denomination 1 and date 23
10a. ↑ 19 × 22 mm. Brand sale, 3315, "Tucuman."

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11. One Real

Obv.: (Obverse die of 10)
Rev.: As reverse of 10, a second die.
11a. ↘ 20 mm. Zelaya, p. 12.

9–11. Three more pieces must engage our attention since they have been attributed to Tegucigalpa and associated with issues 1–8. Of two denominations, they are identical in their type, an imitation of the seventeenth and eighteenth century cobs of the South American mints. The type was never struck in Mexico or Guatemala, but again mid-nineteenth century counterstamps prove that this material did circulate far north of its original mints. Imitation of the type at Tegucigalpa is then not impossible, though one might wonder whether there could be a distinction between imitation of types struck at an area's central mint, in this case Guatemala, as against imitation of imported types.

At any rate the problem of attribution is serious. For three reasons the coins have been thought Honduran: the date is appropriate, the letters M.P. suggestive of our other issues, and the letters T.G. an apparent abbreviation of Tegucigalpa. As to the first, little weight can be attached to the date since the same types were struck with the same date in South America: a variety of cobs of 1823 has been attributed to Mendoza in the Argentine.[21] The second point is equally weak. On the obverse of the Spanish colonial type the letters to the left and right of the cross had no relation with each other, representing the mint initial and the assayer's initial respectively. Even granting that our issue is peculiar, and that for some reason the initials of the obverse were intended to represent *moneda provisional*, how can we account for the inversion of the initials on the reverse? Wood's explanation, "The transposal of the M.P. to P.M. on the reverse is in accordance with the customs of the Lima and Potosi mints" (pp. 10–11) will not do; first, because that transposition regularly occurred in the third band of the reverse, not the first, and second, because if we see a phrase in the initials it must remain a phrase. *Provisional moneda* is not Spanish. For that matter "trans-

[21] Some examples in illustration: Guttag, 43; Brand sale, 3313; Gibbs sale, 737A–738, 739–745. See also *The Numismatist* (July, 1945), pp. 702f.

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posal" prejudges the question. It is simply true descriptively that on the colonial type the mint initials appear at the left on the obverse and at the upper left and lower right on the reverse; and the assayer's initials opposite. Moreover, the P.M. of our reverse is found equally on cobs of Mendoza which do not bear T.G. at all but a quite different set of letters, P.Y., in the lower corners.[22]

The third argument, that T.G. can represent the mint mark of Tegucigalpa, is also very doubtful. The mint mark of these types is normally not found solely on the lowest band of the reverse. Nor do Spanish mint abbreviations take this form. They are instead the initial letter of the name, L(ima), P(otosí), or the initials of a phrase, N(ueva) G(uatemala); or the first letters of the name taken serially, CUZ(co); or the first and last letters, B(ogot)A, Z(acateca)S; or a ligature of several letters as found later at Lima and Potosí. TG does not seem an appropriate abbreviation of Tegucigalpa. In fact we find the normal T as mint mark not only on our own half real, number 8 above, but on the coins struck at Tegucigalpa in the name of the Republic of Central America[23] and on the regular Honduran coinage up to 1862.

The positive evidence for the attribution of these pieces to Honduras will then not hold. To proceed from the other direction, if we attempt to place them in the certain Tegucigalpa series we run into unsolvable difficulties. The type of blunt cross with double arcs occurs at the end of the die-linked series. Since the style of 5–6 is so different from that of 9–11 they cannot have been struck simultaneously. Therefore 9–11 will have to be a derivation and stand last in the series. Yet the letters and digits of these dies are hand cut; on that score alone they should precede number 4, in which punches were first introduced. And their whole execution is very crude. If they are made to follow 5–6 we would have to postulate a complete breakdown of mint procedures in the brief period of six months of 1823. That this was not the case we can prove, for the two reales dies of 1825 were produced from punch-cut dies in style very similar to those used for issues 4–6 in 1823.[24]

[22] E.g., Gibbs sale, 743, 745, 747 (PLATE XLIX, E–G).

[23] Where also the same principle of abbreviation is followed for the other mints, G(uatemala) or N(ueva) G(uatemala), and C(osta) R(ica).

[24] Holland Wallace, *Central American Coinage* (Weslaco, Texas, 1965), p. 13 =Brand sale, 3243.

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Therefore 9–11 will have to be dated earlier in the year. But here too there are difficulties. The dies cut entirely by hand, issues 1–3, are linked from one to the next; those cut by punching, 4–6, are equally linked and are in type a direct continuation of 1–3. The problematical two and one reales cannot fit at any point, they can only have preceded the lot. But then they ought to have borne some reference to Agustín, or to Mexico at the least. Worse, the attribution to Tegucigalpa is now impossible, since coinage in Honduras had begun at Comayagua, and only after the production of the Agustín two reales was the eagle die, and presumably the minting establishment, transferred to Tegucigalpa. The presumption is necessary, since no other coinage for Comayagua is known or alluded to in the documents, while none of the coinage of Tegucigalpa can be shown to be earlier than the transfer, as the break in the eagle die proves.

We may also note, incidentally, that the castles of types 9–11 are of a block-like shape unlike anything of the Tegucigalpa coinage. And the peculiar capitals of the one real columns, similar to arrow heads, are exactly paralleled on some of the Argentine issues.[25] Since the attribution to Honduras cannot be supported, issues 9–11 should be removed from consideration here and associated with the issues of 1823 attributed to Mendoza.

[25] Gibbs sale, 737A, 741–747.

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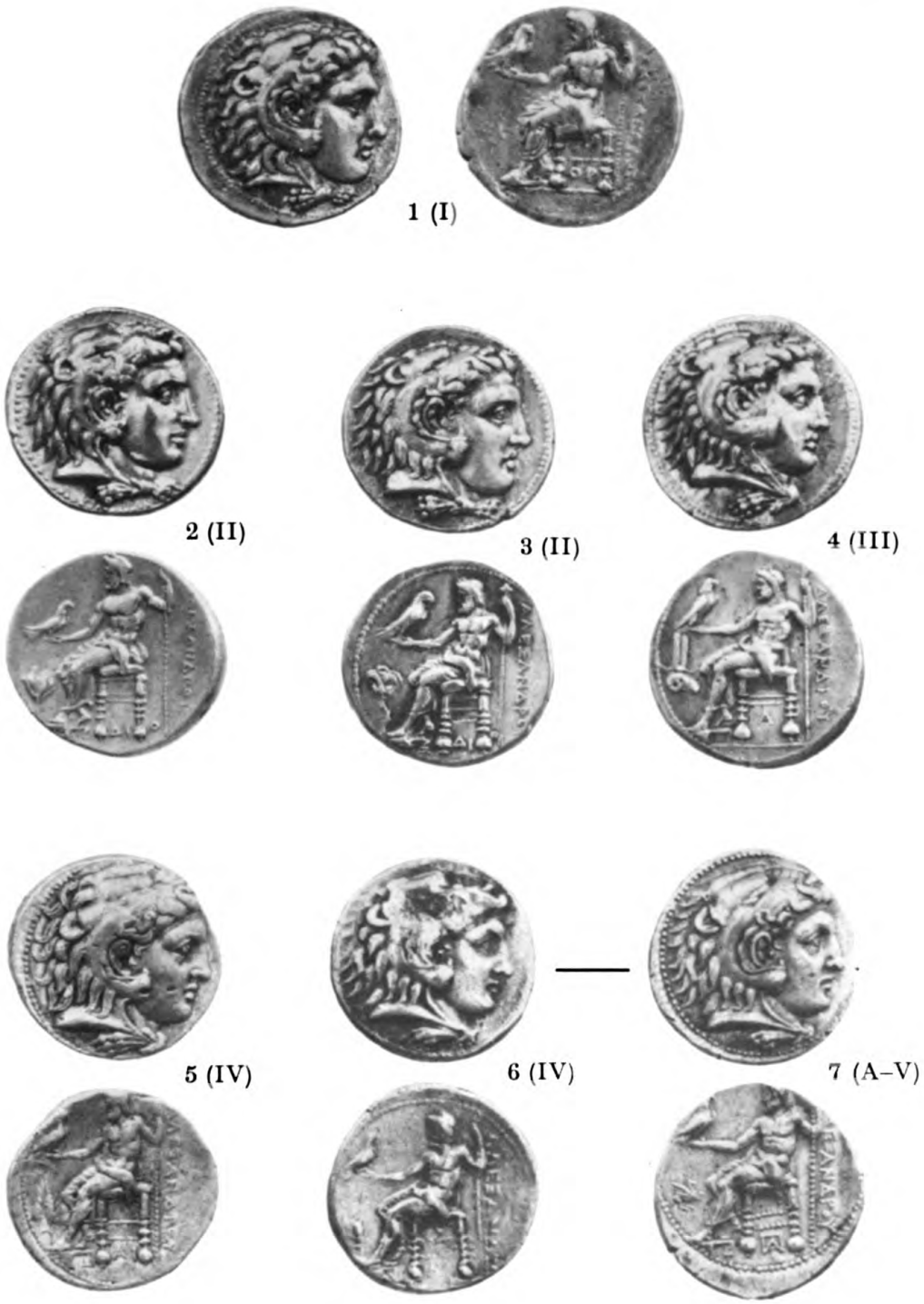
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1 (I)

2 (II)

3 (II)

4 (III)

5 (IV)

6 (IV)

7 (A–V)

EARLY TETRADRACHMS OF PTOLEMY I

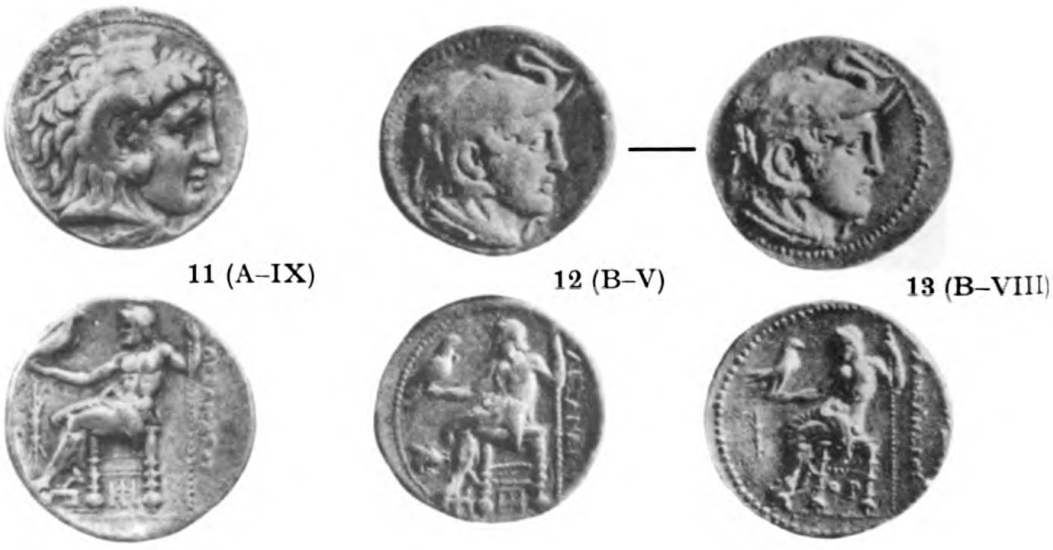
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8 (A–V) 9 (A–VI) 10 (A–VI)



11 (A–IX) 12 (B–V) 13 (B–VIII)

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14 (B–VI) 15 (B–VII) 16 (B–IX)

17 (B–X) 18 (B–XI) 19 (XII)

20 (XIII)

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21 (XIV) 22 (Sidon) 23 (XV)



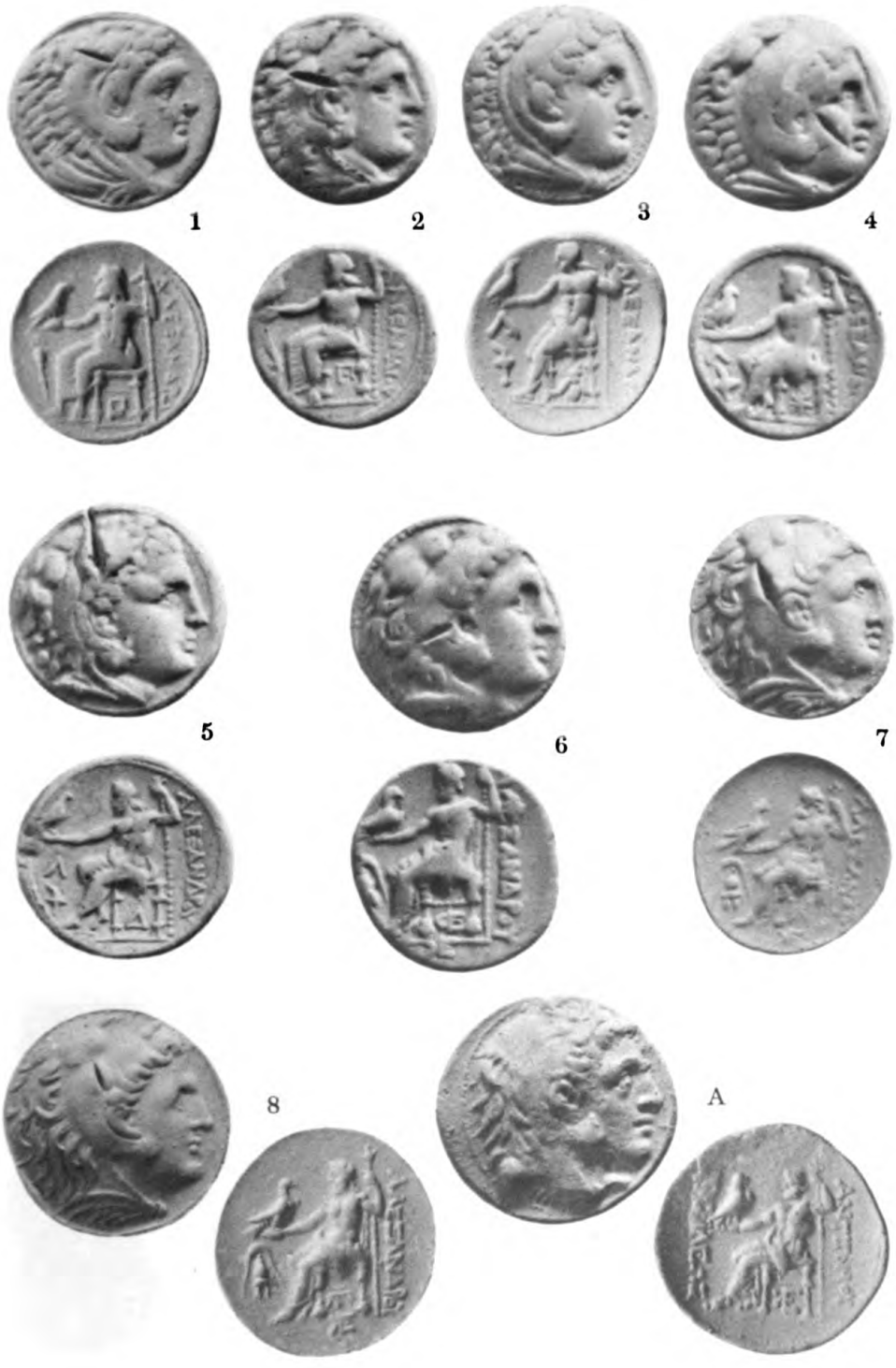
24 (XVI) 25 (XVII) 26

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B



9 10



11 12 13 14 15



16 17 18 19 20

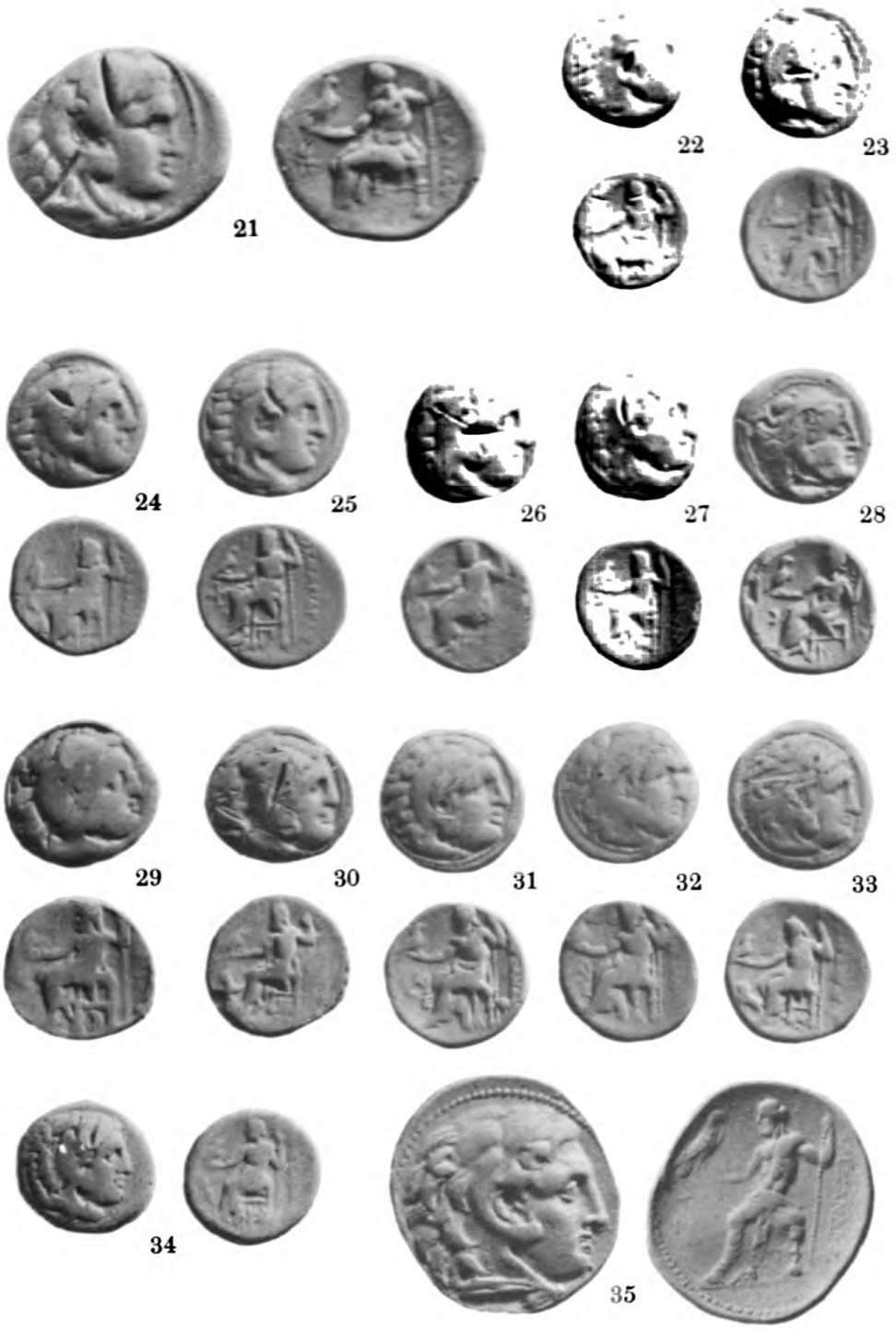


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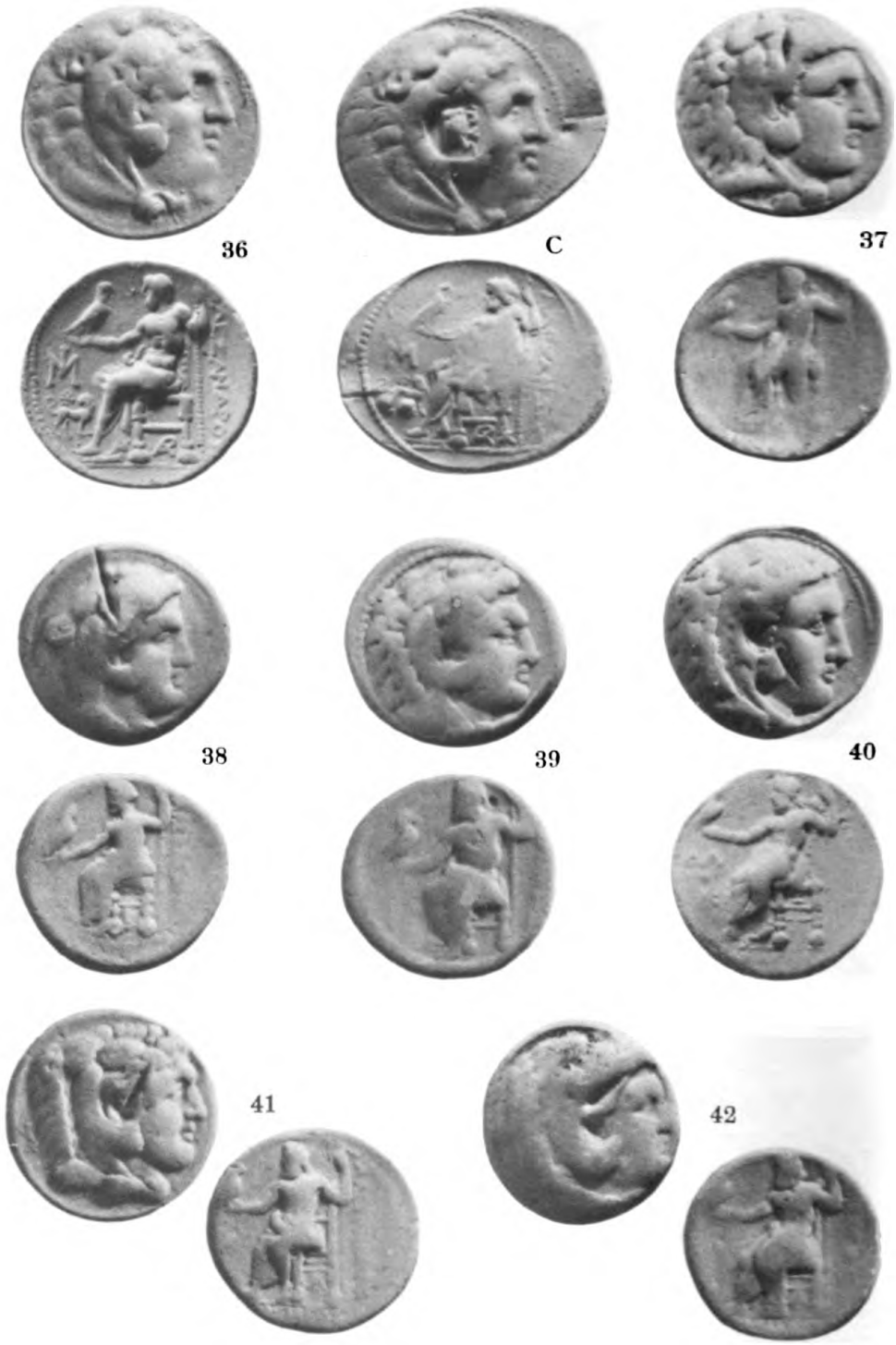
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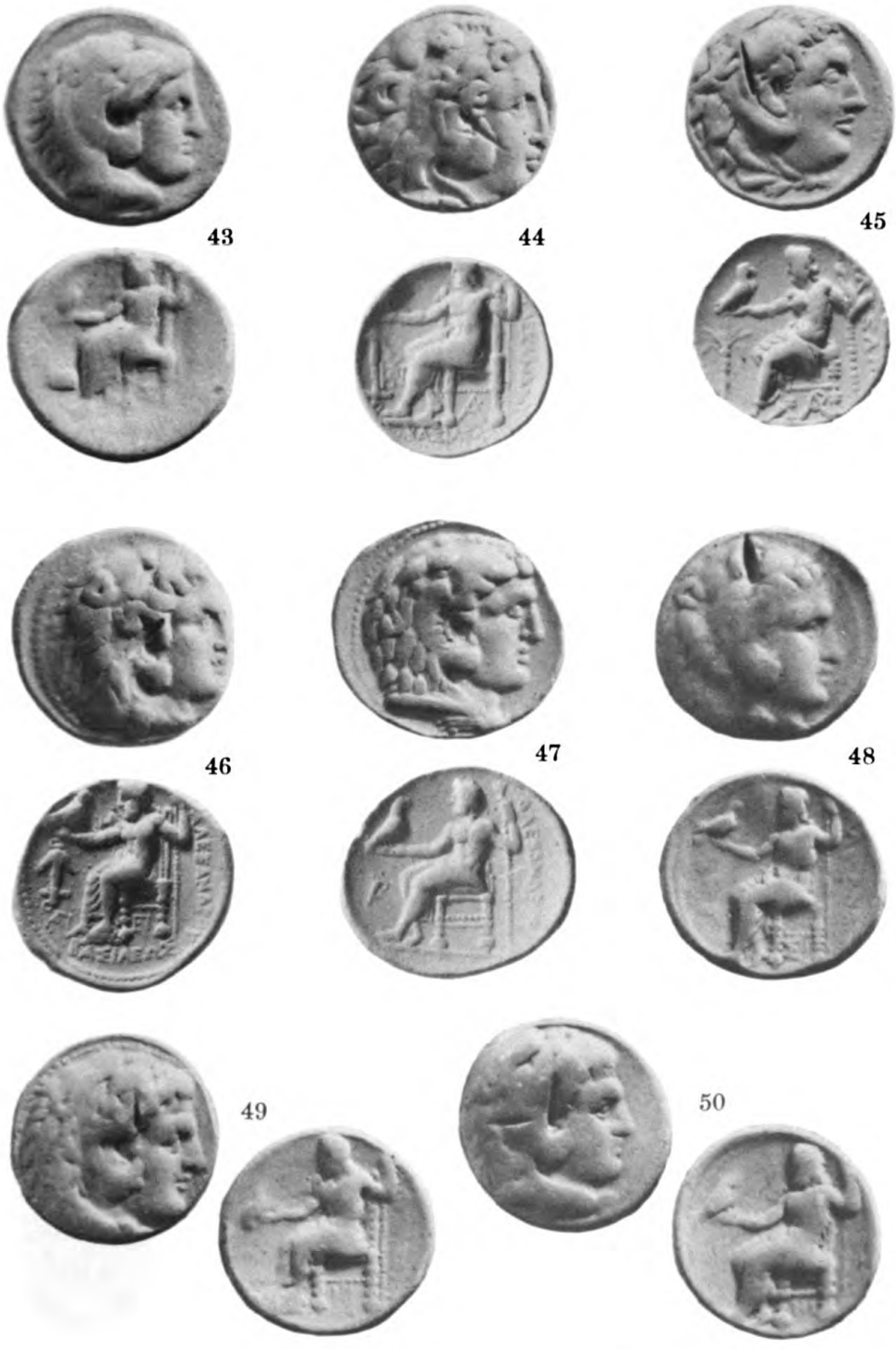
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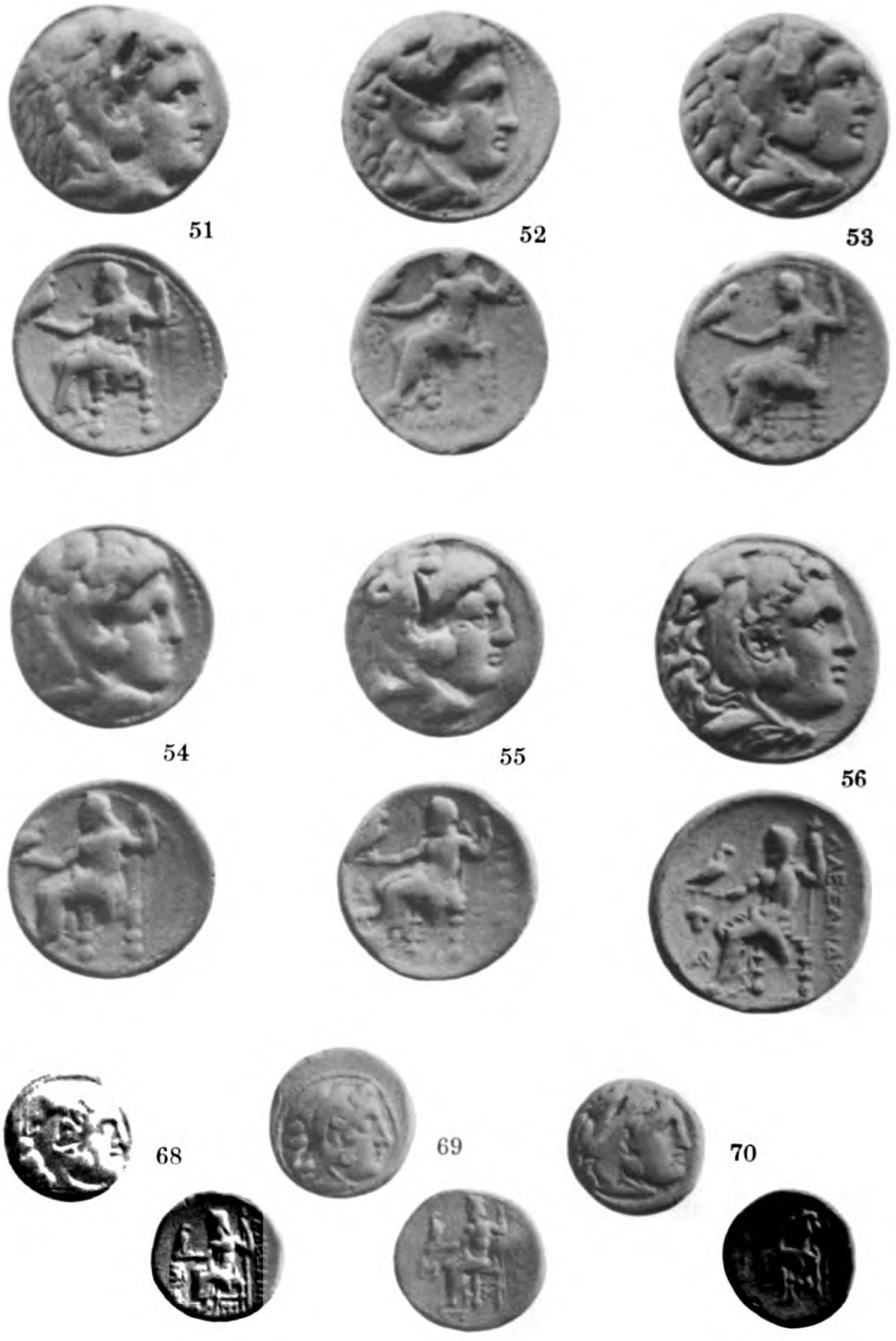
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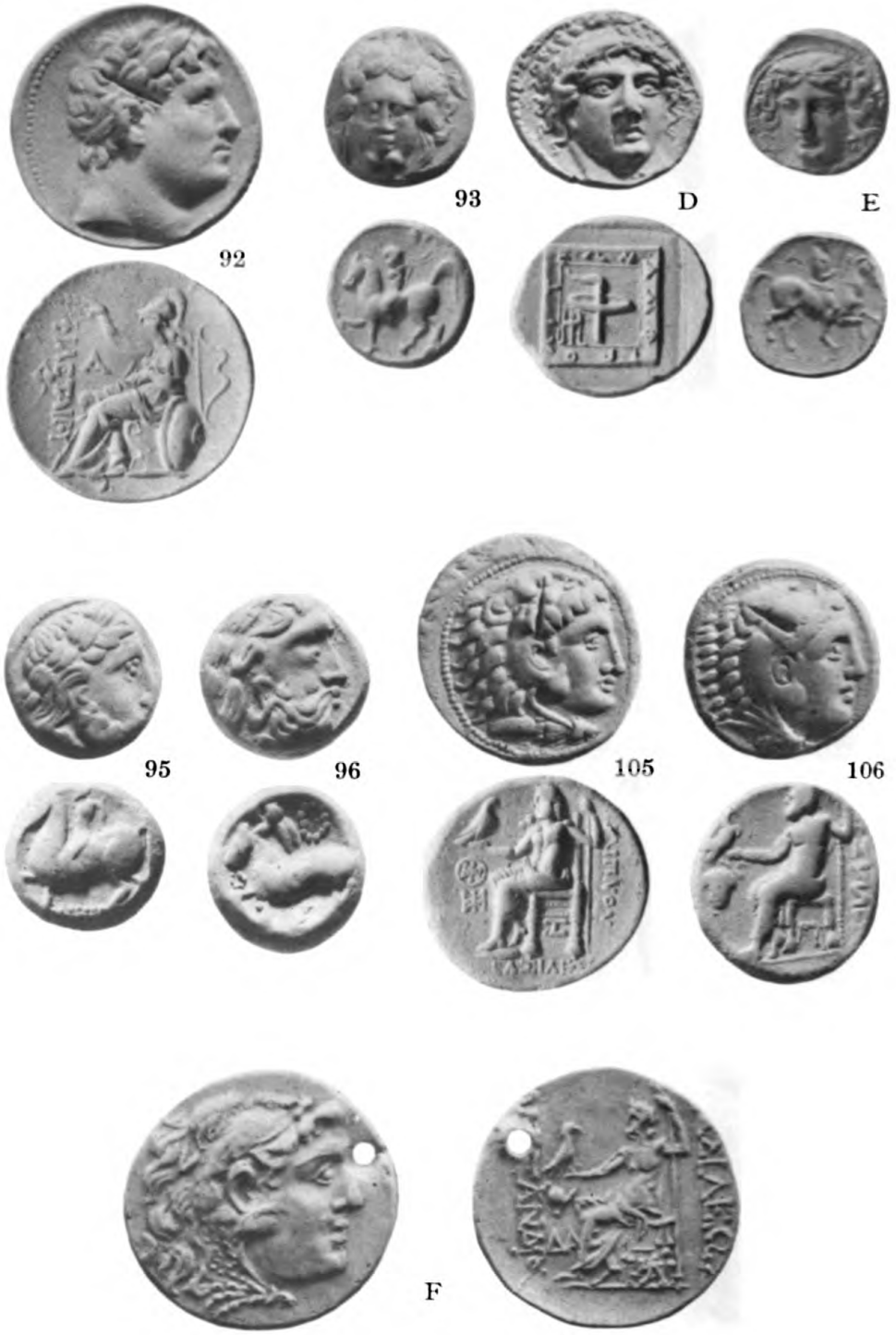
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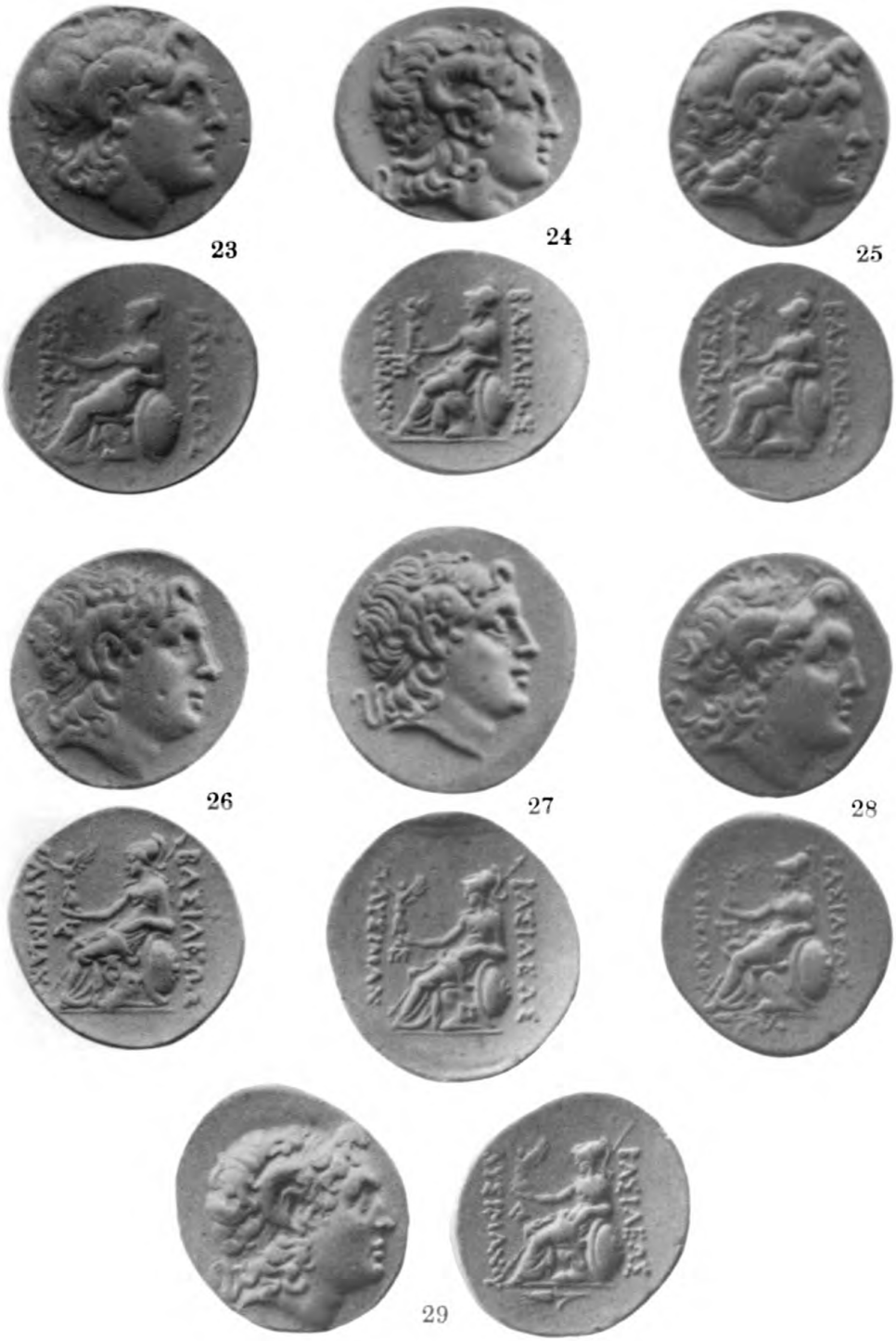
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XVI



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38

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88 99 100

A

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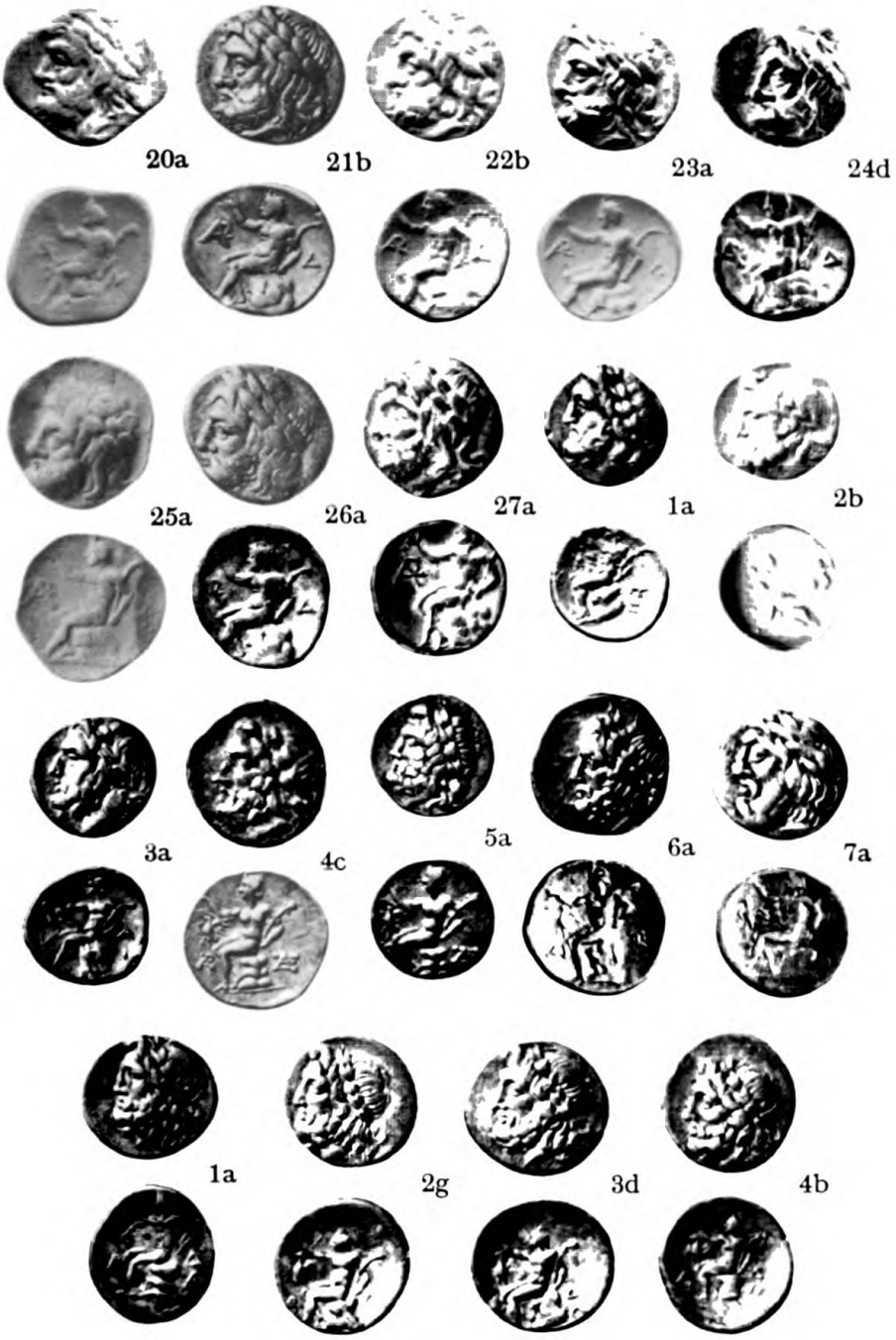
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Group II.

Group III.

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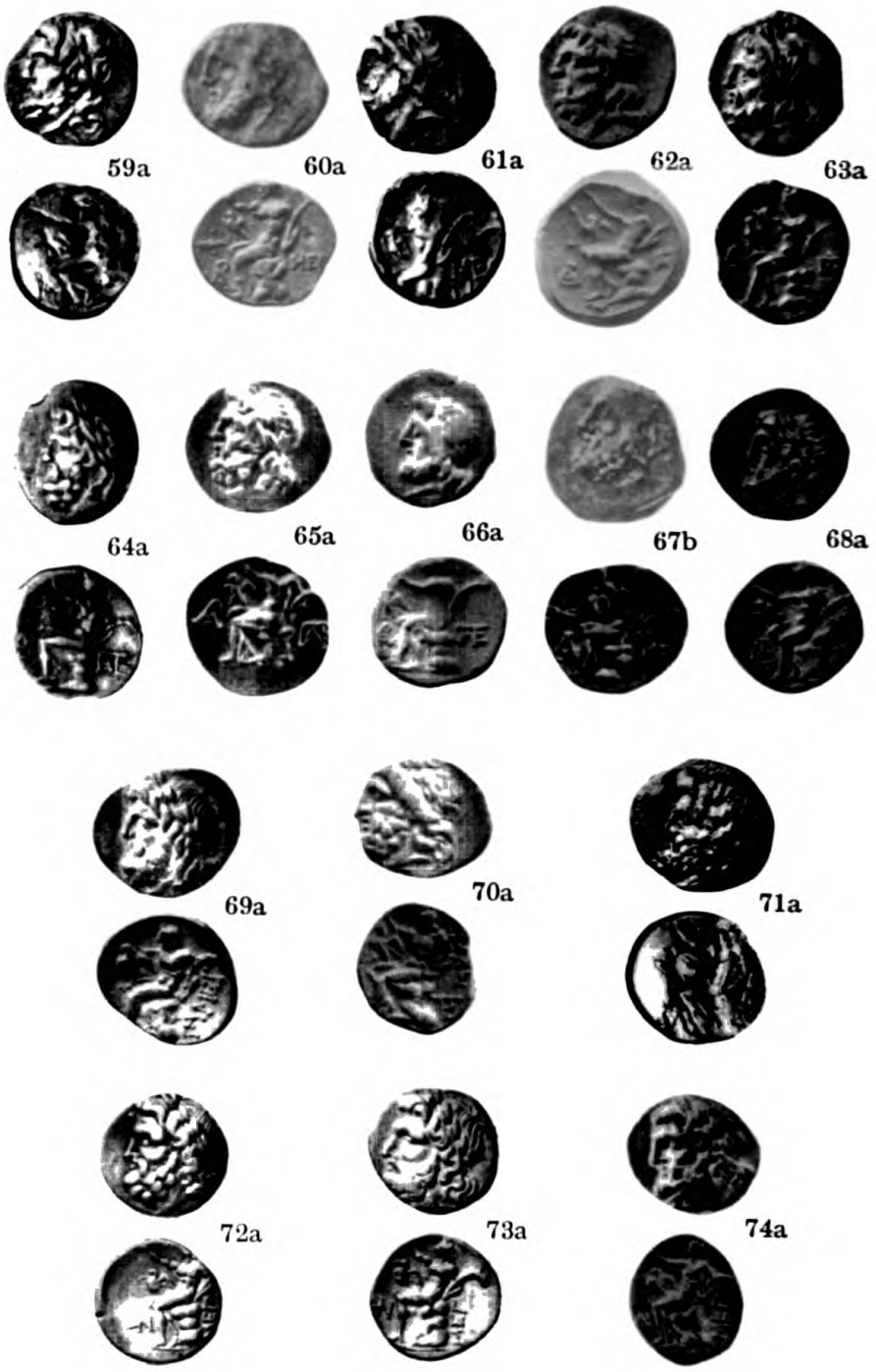
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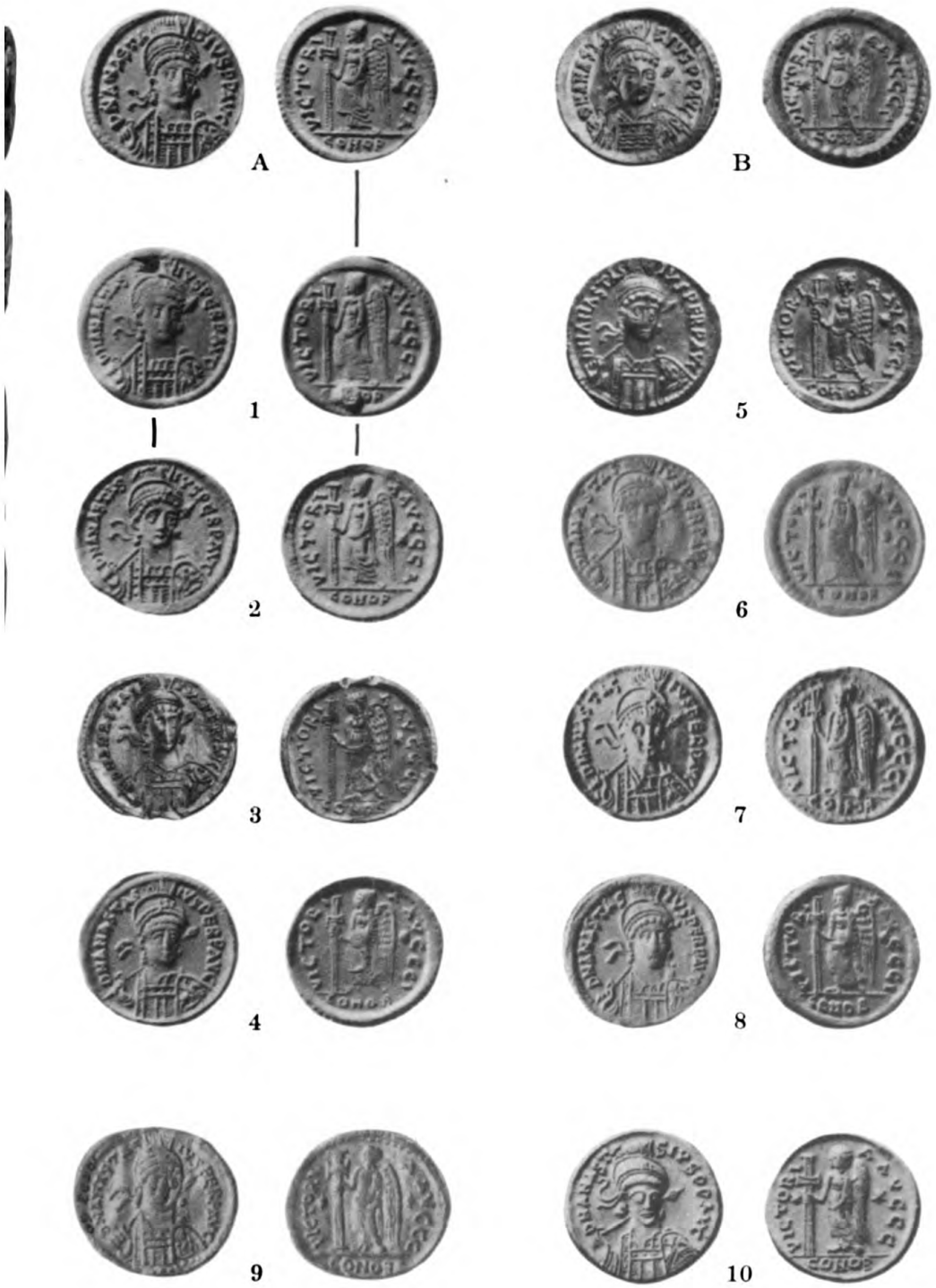
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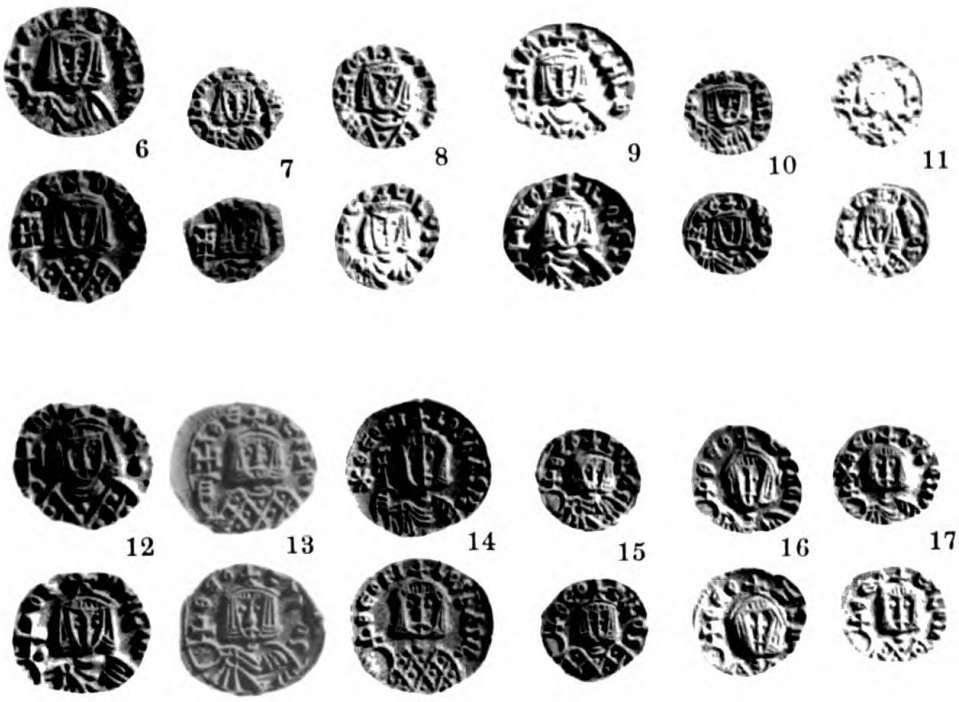
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I II (a) II (b) II (c)

II (d) II (e) II (f) II (g)

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COINAGE OF BASIL II

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II (j) III (a) III (b) III (c)

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I



II.A (1) II.A (2) II.A (6) II.A (7)





II.B (1) II.B (4) II.B (5)



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III





IV (a)



IV (b)



IV (c)









IV (d)



IV (e)





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CRUSADER HOARDS

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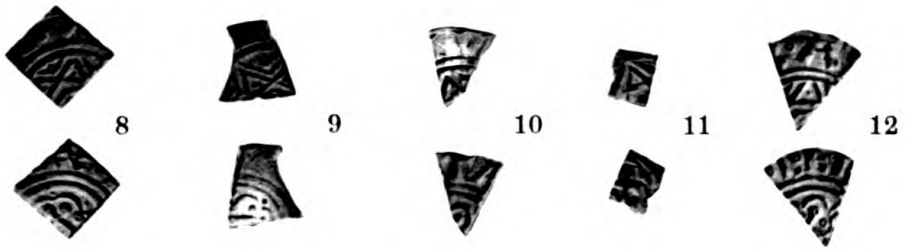
CRUSADER HOARDS

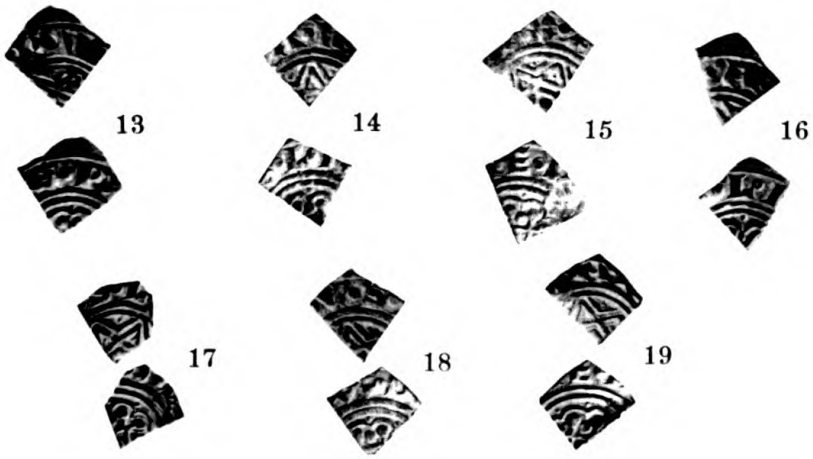
Hoard no. 8: 1–8 Hoard no. 9: 9–12

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CRUSADER HOARDS

Hoard no. 9: 1–12

Hoard no. 1: 13–19

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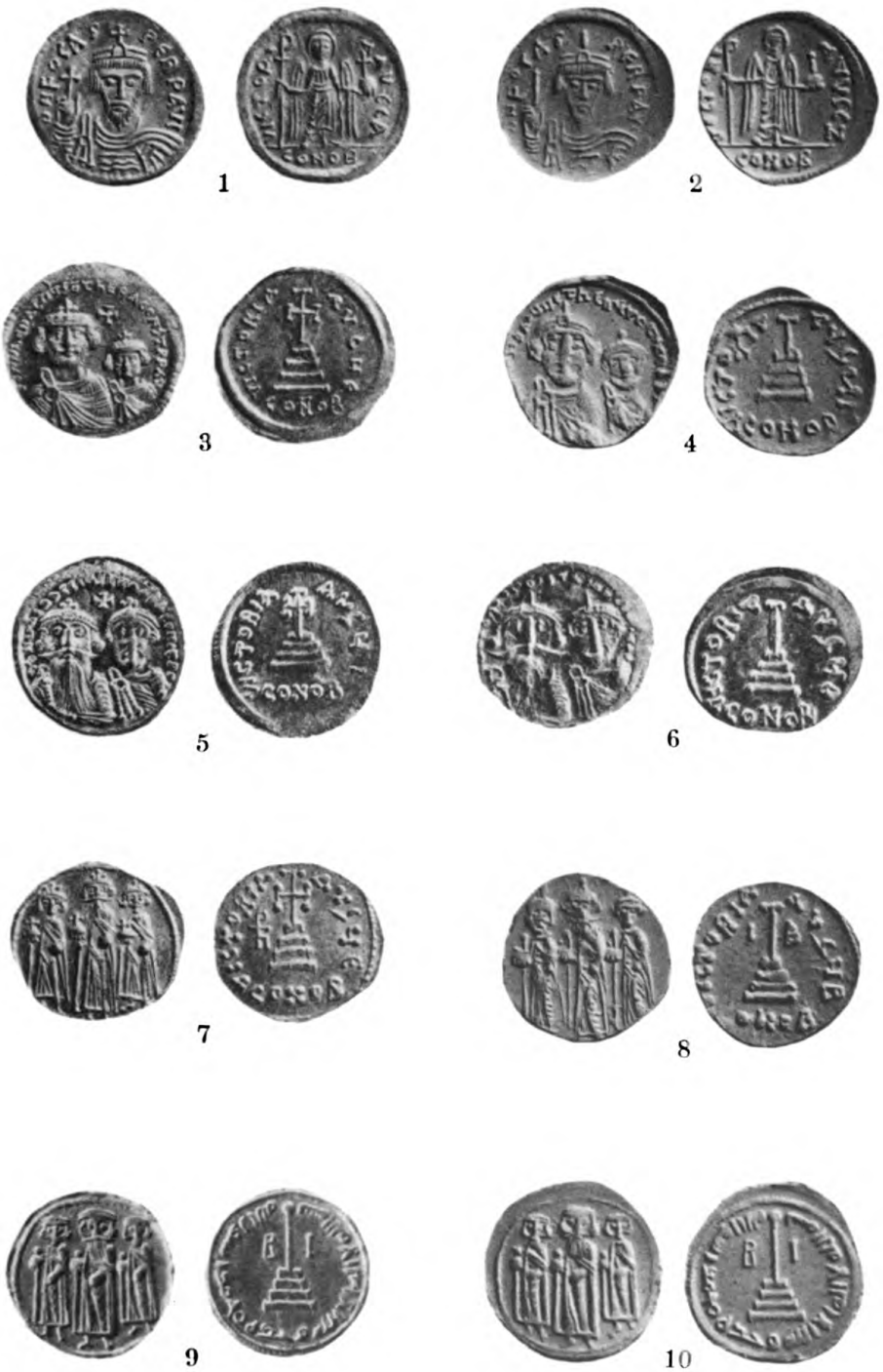
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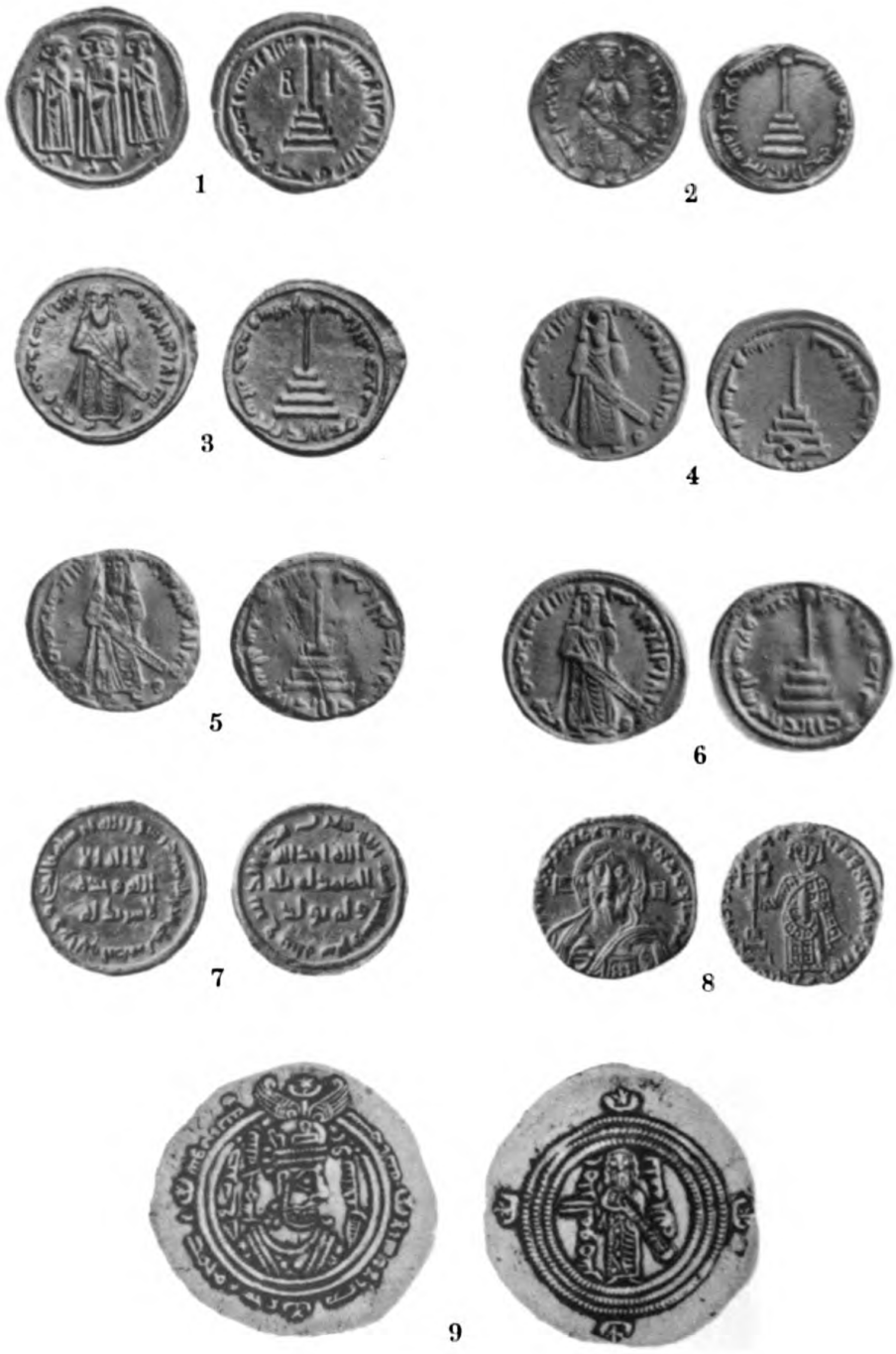
Hoard no. 10: 1–9

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Founded 1858 · Incorporated 1865

BROADWAY BETWEEN 155TH & 156TH STREETS
NEW YORK, N.Y., 10032

PURPOSES: The Society was founded for the collection and preservation of coins, medals, decorations and paper money and for the investigation of their history and other subjects connected therewith.

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The museum is open to Members and the public from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays. In addition, the public exhibition is open on Sundays from 1 to 4 P.M. The museum is closed on Mondays and the following holidays: New Year's Day, Lincoln's Birthday, Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, Independence Day, Election Day, Thanksgiving Day and Christmas Day.

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CONTENTS

GREEK

MABEL LANG. Five Hellenistic Lead Weights 1

PIERRE A. MACKAY. Bronze Coinage in Macedonia, 168–166 B.C. 5

PIERRE A. MACKAY. Macedonian Tetradrachms of 148–147 B.C. 15

PAUL Z. BEDOUKIAN. A Classification of the Coins of the Artaxiad Dynasty of Armenia 41

BYZANTINE

GEORGE E. BATES. A Byzantine Hoard from Coelesyria 67

GEORGE E. BATES. Three Byzantine Notes 111

D. M. METCALF. The Reformed Folles of Theophilus: Their Styles and Localization 121

ISLAMIC

GEORGE C. MILES. Two Unpublished Arab-Sasanian Dirhems of ʿAbdullāh b. Umayyah 155

N. M. LOWICK. A Sāmānid/Kākwayhid "Mule" 159

JERE L. BACHARACH. A Few Unpublished Mamlūk Dirhems 163

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FIVE HELLENISTIC LEAD WEIGHTS

(PLATES I–II)

MABEL LANG

Two lead weights were recently given to the Museum of the American Numismatic Society by Jerome Eisenberg.[1] These (Nos. 1 and 2 below) are published here along with three others still in the possession of Mr. Eisenberg. Nothing is know of the provenance of any of the pieces, nor is there any external evidence that they have anything in common.

1. Truncated pyramid with lower dimensions 0.032 × 0.032 m. and upper 0.03 × 0.03 m.; thickness 0.017 m. Relief design on upper surface seems to be head of Herakles in profile to right; on all four sides the same oblong stamp with the letters HPΓA; on lower surface in relief a club and bow in case with letters above ΔAM; indistinct traces of letters below. Weight 179.55 gr.

As far as the weight is concerned, the piece fits best into the Rhodian standard as a slightly underweight (because of wear) half-mna. The club and bow as symbols of Herakles and the probable head of Herakles combine with the weight standard to point to either Cos or Erythrae. If the relief inscription might be interpreted as δαμόσιον, the Doric dialect would require Cos, where the most nearly comparable coin is one of the early 2nd century B.C. (*BMCCaria*, p. 201, pl. XXXI, 16). Coins of Erythrae with Herakles head to right and club and bow-case occur in both the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. (*BMCIonia*, pp. 122 ff., pl. XV, 9–14; pp. 128 ff., pl. XV, 16).

Whether the stamped inscription on the sides might be interpreted with reference to Herakles is uncertain; for example, Ἡρ(ακλῆς) Γα( ). It does not seem possible as the abbreviation of a single name or word, unless it might be a mistake for HPAΓ ( ), a magistrate on a Coan coin of the 4th century B.C. (*BMCCaria*, p. 196).

[1] I am grateful to Mr. Eisenberg and the Museum for providing photographs and allowing me to publish these pieces.

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2. Roughly square lead plaque 0.041 × 0.041 m. On obverse, within a raised square frame is a relief head, full face, probably of Apollo, or possibly of Helios. On reverse, again within a raised square frame, is a much worn relief, apparently an animal going right, with uncertain letters below. Weight 188.87 gr.

This weight, which is less worn than No. 1, probably also belongs to the Rhodian standard, as a half-mna. By standard and by the head on the obverse it surely belongs in the Carian district and possibly to the 4th century B.C. Most nearly comparable are the heads of Apollo on the coins of the Carian satraps (*BMCCaria*, pp. 181–187, pl. XXVIII); but the Rhodian Helios is also a possibility, as symbolizing the standard while the reverse identified the issuing city or magistrate.

3. Rectangular lead plaque 0.068 × 0.057 m. On obverse, a lion in relief standing right with left forepaw raised; head much worn; no trace of letters. Reverse plain. Weight 653 gr.

The lion's pose is most reminiscent of the 2nd century (190–133 B.C.) coins of Smyrna (*McClean Collection of Greek Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, III, Nos. 8278–8280, pls. 286, 15, 16; 287, 1), which are on the Athenian standard. The weight confirms the connection, being roughly one and one-half Athenian mnas, a unit convenient chiefly as being the virtual equivalent of two mnas on the Cistophoric standard.

4. Rectangular lead plaque 0.05 × 0.04 m. On obverse, an anchor in relief; no trace of letters. Reverse plain. Weight 248 gr.

The anchor as well as the weight identifies this as Syrian, probably from Antiocheia. Compare the piece with an anchor which is inscribed Ἀντιοχείᾳ μνᾶ and dated both by the year (194 B.C.) and magistrates (R. Schillbach, loc. cit.); the weight is 498.6 gr. This is the so-called light mna, of which our piece is one-half. A close parallel is listed by E. Pernice (*Griechische Gewichte*, p. 193, No. 775) from Berlin: rectangle with anchor in relief; weight 261.06 gr.

5. Square lead plaque 0.095 × 0.095 m. On obverse, an elephant in relief, standing left on ground line, below which are remains of letters in relief Μ Ν Α. Reverse plain. Weight 1057 gr.

The weight and symbol both point to Antiocheia of Syria, from which is known another elephant weight, inscribed as an official mna and marked with the city's name as well as date (57 B.C.) and officials

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(Babelon-Blanchet, *Cat. des bronzes ant. de la Bibl. nat.*, No. 2246); its weight is 1069 gr. This is apparently the so-called heavy (or double) mna. For other weights on the same standard see Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* IV. 555 and R. Schillbach, "Beitrag zur griechischen Gewichtskunde," *Winckelmanns-Programm*, 1877, pp. 7–9.

Since it is most probable that the two Syrian weights came from the same source, we are left to speculate about the origin of the other three. If it seems more likely that they are not three singles, we should have little trouble in imagining a common source for Nos. 1 and 2. Not only are both on the Rhodian standard, but there is the further coincidence that some of the Coan coins which use club and bow in case (like No. 1) on reverse show a full face Helios (like No. 2?) on the obverse. There is no particular link between No. 3 and either of the other pairs.

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BRONZE COINAGE IN MACEDONIA, 168–166 B.C.

(PLATE III)

PIERRE A. MACKAY

On the basis of a study made by H. Gaebler in 1902, the quaestorships of two Romans who sign several types of the bronze coinage of Macedonia in the second century B.C. have usually been assigned to the years immediately following the defeat of Philip VI Andriscus in 148 B.C.[1] One type seems to be a sort of hybrid, with the head of Roma on the obverse, and the quaestor's name in Greek characters together with the ethnic MAKEΔONΩN on the reverse, while the others closely resemble known types of the semi-independent coinages which were being struck by the regional communities of Macedonia under the last Antigonid kings.

GAIUS PUBLILIUS (QUAESTOR)

Type of Roma

AMNG, p. 66–67, no. 203–206, pl. II, 8.

Obv.: Head of Roma, facing r., wearing helmet like that of the hero Perseus, which ends at the top in a griffin's head.

Rev.: Oak wreath, stems l. MAKEΔONΩN/TAMIOY ΓAIOY/ ΠOΠΛIΛIOY in three lines.

ANS, 9.66 gr. (PLATE III, 1)

Variants: MAKEΔONΩN/TAMIOY ΓAIOY in two lines; ΓAIOY TAMIOY/ΠOΠΛIΛIOY in two lines; various monograms, (not ⍋ or B̄).

ANS, 11.69 gr. (PLATE III, 2)

Uncertain Regional Type

AMNG, p. 66, no. 202, pl. II, 7; cf. p. 34–35, no. 39–48. *AMNG*², p. 8, no. 2, pl. III, 10; cf. p. 2, no. 10, 13.

Obv.: Head of Poseidon, facing r.

[1] Gaebler, *AMNG*, p. 9, and *zMM*, p. 157–159. For abbreviations, see p. 15 note 1 of the following article.

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Rev.: Oak wreath, stems l., club horizontally across center, handle l. ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ above, and ΤΑΜΙΟΥ ΓΑΙΟΥ/ΠΟΠΛΙΛΙΟΥ in two lines below club.

ANS, 8.26 gr. (PLATE III, 3)

Monogram and types of Amphaxitis

AMNG, p. 67, no. 207–208, pl. II, 9; cf. p. 41–42, no. 83–96. *AMNG*², p. 8, no. 3, pl. III, 11; cf. p. 4, no. 23.

Obv.: Head of Dionysus, wearing ivy wreath.

Rev.: Goat standing, facing r. ΤΑΜΙΟΥ/ΓΑΙΟΥ above, ΠΟΠΛΙΛΙΟΥ beneath. Monogram ⍋ (ΑΜΦΑξιῶν) to r. Variants: ΠΟΠΛΙΛΙΟΥ omitted and additional monograms ⍂ and ⍓ or ⍗ (the last two perhaps for ΠΟΠΛΙΛΙΟΥ).

ANS, 8.89 gr. (PLATE III, 4)

Monogram and types of Bottiaea

AMNG, p. 68, no. 209–210; cf. p. 48, no. 131–133. *AMNG*², p. 8, no. 4, pl. XII, 21; cf. p. 4, no. 29.

Obv.: Head of Athena Parthenos, facing r.

Rev.: Grazing ox, facing r. ΓΑΙΟΥ ΤΑΜΙΟΥ above, ΠΟΠΛΙΛΙΟΥ in exergue. Monogram ⍁ beneath ox.
Variant: ΓΑΙΟΥ ⍓ above, ΤΑΜΙΟΥ in exergue.

ANS, 9.15 gr. (PLATE III, 5)

Another Type of Bottiaea

AMNG, p. 68, no. 211; cf. p. 52, no. 153. *AMNG*², p. 8, no. 5, pl. XII, 20; cf. p. 5, no. 34.

Obv.: Head of Pan, facing r., with pedum at shoulder.

Rev.: Two goats recumbent, facing r. ΓΑΙΟΥ above, ΤΑΜΙΟΥ beneath. Monogram ⍁ in field above.

Berlin, 7.57 gr. (PLATE III, 6)

LUCIUS FULCINNIUS (QUAESTOR)

Type of Roma

AMNG, p. 65, no. 197–201. *AMNG*², p. 8, no. 1, pl. III, 9.

Obv.: Head of Roma as above.

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Rev.: Oak wreath, stems l. MAKEΔONΩN/TAMIOY/ΛEYKIOY/ΦOΛKINNIOY in four lines.
Variants: MAKEΔONΩN/TAMIOY ΛEYKIOY/ΦOΛKINNIOY in three lines, and various monograms (not ⍋ or ⍁).

Berlin, 9.03 gr. (PLATE III, 7)

The persistence of types from Bottiaea and Amphaxitis led F. Lenormant to place the coinage of Publilius in 168 or 167 B.C., after the defeat of the Macedonian monarchy, and to associate with it the coinage of Fulcinnius, since they share the Roma type.[2] According to Lenormant, Publilius, as quaestor for Aemilius Paulus, took over the existing provincial mints of Macedonia, and struck sometimes with a native type, sometimes with his own. The suggestion has considerable merit, and accounts for all the apparent evidence of the coin types, yet Gaebler totally rejected it in favor of an identification which would make Fulcinnius and Publilius the quaestors serving under Metellus and Mummius, more than twenty years later. There does not seem to have been any objection made to his argument, and Fulcinnius and Publilius are to be found in all major reference works as quaestors for 148 and 146 respectively.[3]

Gaebler's dating involves some very difficult hypotheses about the provincial types of Publilius. If we are to judge by the only coinages known to have been struck in Macedonia after Aemilius Paulus' settlement, we must conclude that the Antigonid provincial names were suppressed in favor of a simple numerical designation of the four districts into which Republican Macedonia was divided, and that the provincial types were abandoned. The mint for Bottiaea at least would seem to have closed down completely. It is not impossible that there was a revival of provincial types in 148 and the reopening of a mint at Pella, but there is no independent evidence for it, nor any convincing reason. The Macedonia of 148, in spite of a year under the rule of Andriscus, cannot have lost all the features of its republican

[2] "Memoire sur les Monnaies des Questeurs Romains de Macédoine," *RN* 1852, 317–333, pl. IX–X.
[3] T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, I (New York, 1951), pp. 461 and 466. F. Sobeck, *Die Quästoren der Römischen Republik* (Trebnitz, 1909), p. 14, offers no additional evidence.

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organization since we know that the four districts continued to exist into the imperial period.[4] The districts were a Roman creation, and Rome, in opposing Andriscus, was probably acting in alliance with Macedonian republicans (See the following article for arguments to this effect). It is hard to understand therefore why Roman quaestors should repudiate the names and types of the Roman settlement, and go back to a reminiscence of the Antigonid monarchy.

Gaebler's argument, which passes over these difficulties without mention, depends ultimately on a single picturesque, but far from certain identification. Associated with the coinage of Publilius and Fulcinnius is another issue of bronze coinage, which also shows both a Roman and a Macedonian content in the legend.

Macedonia under the Romans, 166–165 B.C.

AMNG, p. 69, no. 212, pl. III, 8. *AMNG*^{2}, p. 8, no. 6, pl. III, 12.

Obv.: Mask of Silenus, front, wearing ivy wreath.

Rev.: Ivy wreath. MAKE/ΔONΩN in two lines. D above (Roman character).

ANS, 8.11 gr., traces of earlier type on obverse and reverse (Plate III, 8)

ANS, 9.04 gr., traces of earlier type on reverse (Plate III, 9);

ANS, 10.48 gr. (Plate III, 10).

Most of the examples of this D coinage are recorded as overstrikes, and Gaebler positively identified at least one coin of Publilius and one of Fulcinnius underneath the new type. His conclusion was that the entire issue was overstruck, and that the letter D (ecreto) referred to a permission granted by the Roman Senate for the recall and restriking of the coins issued by the Roman officials.[5] The date for this action

[4] M. Rostovtzeff, *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Russe à Constantinople*, 4, part 3 (1889), 167, a publication which was little used until it was picked up by Larsen in "Hellenistic Federalism," *Classical Philology*, 40 (1945), 67, n. 13. D. Kanatsoulēs, *Ellēnika*, 4 (Festschrift St. Kyriakidēs), 294–304, speaks of some thirty inscriptions mentioning the existence of the districts in the Roman imperial period, most being from Beroea.

[5] *zMM*, p. 159, and cf. H.-F. Bompois, *Monnaies Frappées par la Communauté des Macédoniens* (Paris, 1876), p. 79.

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he read from the obverse type, where the mask of Silenus was taken to be a pun on the cognomen of D. Junius Silanus Manlianus, praetor for 141 B.C. The restriking would be pointless if the original issue were too old, and Gaebler therefore assigned Publilius and Fulcinnius to the years between 148 and 142 B.C., giving historical reasons for favoring the earlier years. The whole argument depends on the interpretation of a canting type in the absence of an explanatory legend, as does a similar argument which Gaebler uses in connection with the coinage which he assigns to P. Juventius (Thalna).[6] The objections to that other case, which are discussed at length in the following article, are valid for this too, but it must be admitted that the case for Silanus is far better than that for Thalna. The Silenus mask is not an ordinary type in Macedonia, and it is demonstrably used by the Junii Silani on at least one other coin.[7] The whole symbol would be a pun on the whole name, and the Macedonians could easily make the association, since they seem to have been more familiar than they would have wished with the name of Silanus.[8]

If the Silenus type were independent of the others, Gaebler's identification would prevail, in the absence of any other probable interpretation. It should be remembered, however, that without any part of the name of Silanus to guarantee it, the identification would only be probable, and as such, subject to evaluation against the other probable interpretations of the whole related group of coins. It has already been remarked that the use of the provincial types of Bottiaea and Amphaxitis makes Gaebler's argument difficult, and it may further be noted that the gap of at least four years between the issues of Publilius and their restriking under Silanus would be very odd. Gaebler apparently believed that only the Roma type was restruck, which rather indicates that it was the type as such that was considered offensive.[9] After four to six years under direct Roman rule, one would expect the Macedonians to have learned to suppress such

[6] *zMM*, p. 151.
[7] E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (London, 1952), p. 95.
[8] He was prosecuted on a complaint from the Macedonians, Cicero, *De Finibus* 1.24, and see *RE*, s.v. "Iunius (161) Silanus" 1089.
[9] *AMNG*, p. 69, "Der Zweck dieser Emission mit D(ecreto) war, wie es scheint, die Einziehung und Umprägung der Quaestorenmünzen mit dem Romakopf."

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sensitivities. The time to object to a coin type implying Macedonian subjection to Rome was earlier, and certainly not after such coins had been in circulation for several years. Gaebler sees a similarity between the Roma head on the coins of Fulcinnius and that on contemporary issues in Italy, but contemporary must be given a broad meaning in this case. An inspection of the Roma coins from the second century B.C., as they are published in either Mattingly or Sydenham, offers little hope of a close stylistic distinction between imitations of a Roman type from 168 and one from 148.[10]

Lenormant's argument from the use of the provincial types is at least as strong as Gaebler's from the pun on the name Silanus. Set against an outline of the historical events of the period it is far stronger. Where recall and re-issue of the Roma type is strange in 141 B.C., it makes perfect sense in 167. The defeat of Perseus took place in the summer of 168, and it was not until winter of 167 that the final settlement of Macedonia was arranged. During the intervening time, Macedonia was the province of Aemilius Paulus, and Publilius and Fulcinnius could have functioned as his quaestors in those two years. Since Aemilius Paulus had full consular *imperium*, and had taken over the most critical province in 168, it is entirely probable that regular quaestors were assigned to serve under him. Publilius would seem to have been the earlier of the two. His use of the regional types suggests that immediately on his arrival in Macedonia he set the king's mints to work with the dies that were available. An exhaustive study of the bronze coinage of this period ought to show obverse die links between the regional coinages proper and those signed by Publilius, and perhaps also recutting of the reverses to change the legend. The adoption of a Roman type is probably a subsequent imposition on the Macedonians, and perhaps the head of Roma wearing the helmet of Perseus intentionally symbolizes Roman control. If we accept the substance of Gaebler's belief that only the Roma coinage is overstruck with the D type, we may conclude also that it was not the type alone that was offensive, but perhaps even

[10] Gaebler, *zMM*, p. 157, "Der Kopf der *VS* ist eine genaue Nachahmung des Romakopfes der gleichzeitigen römischen Denare denen diese Bronzemünzen möglicherweise auch im Wert zwangsweise gleichgesetzt wurden," but cf. H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*[2] (Chicago, 1960), pls. IX–X.

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more the use in association with the name of a Roman official of the legend MAKEΔONΩN, since, of the regional types which seem not to have been recoined, the great majority give the quaestor's name and title only, and the Poseidon head type alone includes the name of the Macedonians. A re-study of the available examples of the D type should go far toward confirming this hypothesis.

Gaius Publilius then should be assigned to the quaestorship in the year 168, and probably held office until spring of 167, when he was relieved by Lucius Fulcinnius. Fulcinnius' activities ended in the winter of 167, with the declaration of Macedonian liberties. The D coinage should come immediately after, and represent the Roman Senate's desire to emphasize the complete independence of the new republics by removing from circulation coins bearing a legend which implied that Macedonians were subjected to Rome.[11] The choice of the Silenus mask for the obverze type is not accounted for by this argument, but two possibilities exist. Gaebler may be right about the allusive reference to the Junii Silani, in which case we need only imagine that the Macedonians wished to honor a member of this family for his part, unknown to us, in the Senate's decision. Alternatively and on the whole more probably, the type may have been chosen for no other reason than that it was unfamiliar in Macedonia, and marked a break as well from the royal period as from the period of Roman occupation. The recoining must have served primarily the needs of propaganda, for the most certain economic conclusion that can be drawn from the history of the coinage in the republican period is that native coinage is quite unimportant in the internal economy of Macedonia.

There is a small amount of bronze coinage from the fourth district of Macedonia which occurs in two varieties, one of which is clearly modelled on Roman types.

[11] It will be seen that this argument also answers the objections of Bompois, op. cit. (see n. 5), pp. 57–59. Bompois thought that the provisions against Roman interference in Macedonia (Livy 45.18.4, "ubi publicanus esset, ibi aut ius publicum vanum aut libertatem sociis nullam esse." Also Livy 45.29.4, the basic intent of the settlement.) precluded the idea that any Roman quaestors had been at work in Macedonia under Aemilius Paulus. He failed to take account of the year or more during which Aemilius Paulus had full consular *imperium* in Macedonia, before the declaration of Macedonian independence.

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MACEDONIA UNDER THE ROMANS

Fourth District, between 167 *and* 149 B.C.

AMNG, p. 61, no. 187, pl. II, 5; *AMNG*², p. 7, no. 42, pl. III, 7.

Obv.: Head of Athena in Corinthian helmet.

Rev.: The Dioscuri riding r. ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ above, ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗΣ in exergue. Monogram ⌒Ε.

ANS, 9.28 gr. (PLATE III, 11)

AMNG, p. 61, no. 188, pl. II, 6; *AMNG*², p. 7, no. 43, pl. III, 8.

Obv.: Head of Zeus with ivy wreath.

Rev.: Oak wreath, stems l., with club across center of field, handle l. ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ above and ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗΣ below. Monograms ⌒Ε above and ΛΚ below.

ANS, 9.27 gr. (PLATE III, 12)

This coinage is usually believed to have been started at the time of the resumption of silver coinage in the first and second districts in 158 B.C., but it cannot definitely be restricted to that date, since we have no evidence for a prohibition against coining at any time in the history of the districts.[12] The type based on a Roman model is by far the scarcer, and should perhaps be assigned to the earliest months of the fourth district's existence, before the permission to recoin the Roman types of the quaestors had arrived from Rome.[13] The Zeus type is very like the Poseidon type of Publilius, and without reawakening the question whether the head on this latter type and its model really does represent Poseidon, we may see a close family resemblance between him and the Zeus of the fourth district.[14] Neither

[12] The prohibition quoted in Livy 45.29.11 is against the *mining* of precious metals. Coining is not mentioned. In Cassiodorus, ed. Th. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora* II, (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, XI*, Berlin, 1893), p. 130, in the entry for A. U. C. 596 (158 B.C.), the phrase, "his consulibus metalla in Macedonia instituta," is often cited to fix the first year of issue of the silver tetradrachms of the first and second districts. Here again the reference is to mines, not to coining.

[13] Compare the roughly contemporary types in Mattingly, *Roman Coins*², pl. IX, 1–10.

[14] For references to this question, see the note in *AMNG*, p. 34, no. 39.

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variety seems to have been coined in any very large amount, and if they are both correctly assigned to the years immediately after 167, then it seems likely that shortly after the Roman withdrawal minting ceased altogether in the fourth district.

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MACEDONIAN TETRADRACHMS OF 148–147 B.C.

(PLATES IV–VIII)

PIERRE A. MACKAY

In the years around 148 B.C., the republican authority in Macedonia minted a small issue of silver tetradrachms similar in design to the extremely common variety which had been issued by the First District of Macedonia during the preceding decade.[1] The obverse type

[1] The following abbreviations are used:
AMNG—H. Gaebler, *Die Antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands* 3:1, *Makedonia und Paeonia* (Berlin, 1906).
*AMNG*²—H. Gaebler, *Die Antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands* 3:2, *Makedonia und Paeonia* (Berlin, 1935).
zMM—H. Gaebler, "Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens III, Makedonien im Aufstand unter Andriskos," *ZfN* 1902, 141–167.
Since, in the course of this study, I must attack the majority of Gaebler's conclusions about the period, I acknowledge particularly my debt to his exemplary presentation of his material, especially in the third volume of the general work, *Die Antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands*, begun under the direction of Imhoof-Blumer. The first fascicle of this is in many ways a model publication, whose thorough investigation of all available examples of each variety listed has made my present work possible. The second fascicle, which appeared almost thirty years later, is far less useful, since it offers only a description of each clearly separate variety. This latter work is not, one feels, what Gaebler would have liked to produce, but conforms rather to restrictions placed on him by the editors of the entire series, whose judgement on the excellent first fascicle is intimated in a review by M. L. Strack, in *Göttingsche Gelehrte Anzeiger* 170 (1908), pp. 171–181. The wealth of detail which Strack criticized, "Nur eine Klasse von Menschen wird sie freuen, die Kuriositätenjäger, les numismates éditeurs, wie Cohen sie in einer niedlichen Skizze der verschiedenartigen Numismatiker genannt hat," (p. 179), is precisely what makes a productive restudy of the material possible.
This article began as a footnote to a paper presented at the conclusion of the ANS Summer Seminar for 1962. It grew into a paper which was read at the General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Baltimore, in December, 1962. It then became a chapter of my doctoral dissertation at Berkeley, California, and from there it has been extracted and revised into its present form. Among the many who have assisted me over the past years with suggestions and criticism, I wish to make special note of Dr. E. Erxleben of the Numismatic Cabinet at Berlin, whom I hope I may yet convince, Mr. Christof Boehringer of Munich, who has generously shared with me his findings with regard to the royal coinage, and Margaret Thompson of the American Numismatic Society, who first drew my attention to this coinage.

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of the later coins is composed of essentially the same elements as are found on the coinage of the districts, but they are treated in a different style. The head of Artemis is rendered more delicately and in smaller dimensions than are found on any obverses of the district coinage, and the border decorations are elaborated to the point of fussiness. The goddess on the new type retains the essential attributes of the old, but she seems to be drawn from a maturer model than is to be seen in the best of the district obverses. On obverses 1, 2 and 3 of this issue, as they are arranged in the following catalogue, she wears a complicated earring which is probably intended to represent a flying Nike, while on the remaining obverses of the group her earring is a simple pendant. On obverses 5, 6 and 7, she wears a wreath of some sort. The whole portrait fits easily within the central panel of the obverse, and a tendency to crowding noticeable in many of the district obverses is thereby avoided. The reverse is the familiar type of oak wreath and club, but these elements are treated with unusual delicacy. The oak leaves, which are often barely distinguishable from fir twigs on the district coinage or the similar reverses of Philip V, are on these reverses carefully modelled, and there are several acorns, usually on long stalks. In the upper field of series 1 and 2, a hand, pointing left, holds a leafy branch, probably of olive, and the Roman letters LEG run above the handle of the club. The legend MAKEΔONΩN runs below the club, and in series 2 there is a monogram below that. The reverses of the third series have the legend MAKE/ΔONΩN divided above and below the club, and omit the hand with the branch. In this series a monogram appears over the right hand end of the club. The reverses of the entire group, so far as can be determined, have a thunderbolt to the left, outside the wreath. In the reverses of the first series, the letter Φ is superimposed on the handle of the thunderbolt.[2]

Series 1

Obv.: A Macedonian shield outlined by a ring of dots. Around the border, seven times repeated, a design of scallops outlined with

[2] On or behind the upper joint of the thumb on all the LEG reverses is a curious warty protuberance, sometimes quite pronounced. I have no idea what it represents, but it is clearly visible on every example, and must certainly have had some precise explanation.

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a double line, within which are centered eight-pointed rosettes. Between each pair of scallops a design of seven dots arranged close together in rows of three, two and two from the center out, the whole being set off from the center panel by a circular line. Within this line a ring of dots borders the field, in which is centered a bust of Artemis facing right, carrying bow and quiver on the left shoulder, and wearing an earring and a stephane.

Rev.: Two oak branches, with acorns, formed into a wreath, stems to the left, and horizontally across the field within the wreath a club, handle to the left. In the upper right field a hand, pointing left and holding a leafy (olive?) branch. Above the handle of the club, the letters LEG in Roman characters, and below, the legend MAKEΔONΩN in Greek. Outside the wreath to the left, a thunderbolt, with the letter Φ serving as the handle.

A. Reverse die undamaged.

1. *Obv.* 1—*Rev.* 1 a. 16.87 Merzbacher, Nov. 1909, 2709—J. Hirsch 19 (1907) 301—De Sartiges Coll. 182.

B. Reverse die breaks showing below the M and the EΔ of MAKEΔONΩN.

b. 16.72 Naville 13 (1928) 567—Naville 5 (1923) 1495.

c. 16.80 Cahn 35 (1913) 155—Naville 15 (1930) 540.

d. 16.61 Copenhagen (*SNG*) 1317—*AMNG*, p. 62, no. 189,3.

e. *AMNG*, p. 62, no. 189,6, pl. II, 12—Rollin et Feuardent, 26 May 1889, 46.

f. 15.6 Serrure, 30 Mar. 1914, 65, Irregular shape, probably clipped.

C. Reverse die breaks reduced in size, index finger of hand and lowest twig of branch recut.

g. 16.9 Schulman, 31 May, 1927, 180.

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D. Reverse die breaks increasing in size again.

h. 16.87 Berlin Museum Cat., 21,2—Hill, *Historical Greek Coins*, pl. XII, 87—*AMNG*, p. 62, no. 189,1—*zMM*, p. 149, c, drawing of reverse.

i. 16.86 ANS.

2. *Obv.* 1—*Rev.* 2 a. 16.69 Cahn 65 (1929) 134—Cahn 75 (1932) 294.

b. 16.85 Sotheby (Bunbury, 1896), 652—*AMNG*, p. 62, no. 190, 8—Anson, *Greek Coin Types*, II, 566. Shows trace of thunderbolt.

c. 16.7 Hamburger 96 (1932) 85.

d. 16.80 Lucien de Hirsch 945—*AMNG*, p. 62, no. 190,2.

e. 16.83 Munich, *AMNG*, p. 62, no. 190,5 ("die Rs von 2.5.8. sind stempelgleich").

3. *Obv.* 1—*Rev.* 3 a. 16.64 BM—Sotheby, (Montagu II, 1897), 149—*AMNG*, p. 62, no. 190,4—*AMNG*[2], p. 7, no. 44, pl. III, 4—*zMM*, p. 154, f, drawing of reverse.

b. 16.8 Hirsch, F. P. 17 (1907) 820.

c. 16.75 De Nanteuil 833.

d. 15.3 Hess, Oct. 1907, 1710. Coin badly corroded.

All examples struck too far left to show thunderbolt.

4. *Obv.* 1—*Rev.* 4 a. Feuardent Frères, 26 May 1914, 182—Bourgey, 5 Dec. 1932, 143.

b. Rollin et Feuardent (Durufle, 9 May 1910), 299—Rollin et Feuardent (Charvet, 30 Apr. 1903), 96.

c. 16.85 Hess, 18 Mar. 1918, 290.

d. 16.79 Kricheldorf 13 (1963) 65.

5. *Obv.* 1—*Rev.* 5 a. 16.64 Locker-Lampson Coll., 170—Gans 16 (1960) 264.

b. 16.84 Hirsch 13 (Rhousopoulos, 1905), 768—Hirsch 20 (1907) 225.

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c. 16.70 Athens, *AMNG*, p. 62, no. 190,1, cf. Coin 5f ("die Rs von 1.3.6. sind stempelgleich").
d. Paris, *AMNG*, p. 62, no. 190,6, cf. Coins 5c and 5f.
e. 16.92 Lockett Coll. (*SNG*), 1540—Naville 6 (1923) 806—Sotheby (O'Hagan, May 1908), 355. Reverse die beginning to crack.
f. 16.76 Head, *Guide* (1932) pl. 42,9—*BMCMacedon*, 69—*AMNG*, p. 62, no. 190,3. Reverse die badly cracked.

All examples struck too far left to show thunderbolt.

6. *Obv.* 1—*Rev.* 6 a. Schulman, 21 Oct. 1912, 48.
b. 16.68 Hirsch 33 (1913) 603.
c. 16.85 Sotheby (Carfrae, 23 May 1895), 17—*AMNG*, p. 62, no. 190,7.

7. *Obv.* 1—*Rev.* 7 16.45 Münzhdl. Basel, 15 Mar. 1938, 226—Hess 207 (1931) 378.

Struck too far left to show thunderbolt.

8. *Obv.* 1—*Rev.* 8 16.72 Sotheby (Cumberland Clark, 19 Jan. 1914), 149.

Series 2

Obv.: Like series 1, but without circular line around central field. Dots between points of rosettes.

Rev.: Like series 1, but with monogram in lower field. Winged thunderbolt alone to left of wreath.

Variants: Obverse, ornaments in border of shield six or seven times repeated, loose tufts of hair at back of Artemis' head omitted. Monogram on reverse  or . All points noted in catalogue.

Ornaments seven times. Loose tufts of hair at back. Monogram . All examples struck too far left to show thunderbolt.

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9. *Obv.* 2—*Rev.* 9 a. 16.91 Weber Coll. 2250—Naville 5 (1923) 1496.
b. 16.94 *AMNG*, p. 63, no. 192,1, pl. II, 13.
c. 16.04 *BMCMacedon*, 70—*AMNG*, p. 63, no. 192,2 ("1.2 aus denselben Stempeln").

Monogram ⌘. Struck too far left to show thunderbolt.

10. *Obv.* 2—*Rev.* 10 16.75 Vienna, *AMNG*, p. 62, no. 191,1 ("192 ebenso (derselbe [obverse] Stempel).") —*zMM*, p. 147, b, drawing of reverse.

Monogram ⍀. Wings of thunderbolt indicated by pattern of dots.

A. Reverse has small flaw under A of legend.

11. *Obv.* 2—*Rev.* 11 a. 16.33 Naville 15 (1930) 541.
b. 16.67 Schulman (v. Belle, 26 Nov. 1913), 2237.
c. 16.91 Sotheby (Schles. y Guzman, 20 July 1914), 73—Hirsch 13 (Rhousopoulos, 1905), 772.

B. Reverse flaw in lower field quite marked.

d. 16.87 Hirsch 16 (1906) 353—*AMNG*², p. 7, no. 45, pl. III, 5.
e. 16.72 Ratto (*Num. Stran.*, 13 May 1912), 593—Platt, 3 Apr. 1933, 87.

Ornaments six times on obverse; loose tufts of hair.

A. Obverse undamaged.

12. *Obv.* 3—*Rev.* 11 a. 16.82 ANS—Merzbacher, 15 Nov. 1910, 346—Hirsch 8 (1903) 1131.
b. 16.62 Hamburger, June 1930, 67.

Monogram ⌘.

13. *Obv.* 3—*Rev.* 12 a. 16.81 Egger 40 (Prowe, 1912), 468—Helbing, 24 Oct. 1927, 2869.
b. 16.57 Boston, MFA, 733.

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c. 16.1 Helbing, 20 Mar. 1928, 202—Feuardent Frères, 26 Jan. 1920, 259.

B. Obverse die break directly over head of Artemis.

d. 16.82 Hirsch 14 (1906) 276—Platt (Luneau, 27 May 1922), 396—Hirsch 33 (1913) 604.
e. Morgenthau 375 (1937) 284.
f. 16.87 Cahn 66 (1930) 201—Ratto, 4 Apr. 1927, 768.
g. 16.74 ANS—Bourgey (Rous, 29 May 1911), 111.
h. 16.67 Philadelphia, U. of Penn.—Hirsch 13 (Rhousopoulos, 1905), 774.
i. 16.71 Hirsch 13 (Rhousopoulos, 1905), 775.
j. 16.63 Naville 1 (Pozzi, 1921), 999.
k. 16.91 Lucien de Hirsch 946—*AMNG*, p. 63, no. 193,1. Thunderbolt visible only on this example.

Monogram ⍓.

14. *Obv.* 3—*Rev.* 13 a. 16.84 Jameson Coll. 1017.
b. 16.86 Naville 13 (1928) 568—Hirsch 14 (1905) 274.
c. 17.04 Vienna, Bundessammlung—Egger 41 (1912) 320.
d. 16.89 Egger 41 (1912) 321.
e. *Hesperia Art* 23 (1962) 20.
f. 16.71 Paris, *AMNG*, p. 63, no. 194,4—Hoffmann (Créau, 10 Nov. 1867), 1098.

C. Obverse die break in tufts of hair behind head.

g. 16.80 Walcher de Molthien 948—*AMNG*, p. 63, no. 194,5.

Monogram ⍓.

15. *Obv.* 3 — *Rev.* 14 16.99 Riechmann 30 (1924) 485—Hirsch 25 (1909) 301.

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Ornaments six times. Hair at back in three neat curls. Order of striking suggested by development of die break under chin of Artemis.

16. *Obv.* 4—*Rev.* 14 a. 16.78 Hirsch (Weber, 1908), 1057.
b. 16.80 Vienna, Bundessammlung.
c. 16.75 Hamburger 98 (1933) 527.
d. 16.61 Fitzwilliam (*SNG*), 3710—Sotheby, 9 May 1904, 152.

Monogram ⍀.

17. *Obv.* 4—*Rev.* 15 16.73 Ratto, F. P. 14 (1935) 1618—Ratto, F. P. 6 (1922) 1305—Ratto, 4 Apr. 1927, 769—Baranowsky, 25 Feb. 1931, 460.

Series 3

Obv.: Like Series 2, but Artemis wears a wreath.
Rev.: Like Series 2, but without hand or LEG. Legend above club MAKE followed by a monogram, below club, ΔΟΝΩΝ.
Variants: Ornaments six or seven times on border of shield. Six or seven dot pattern between scallops. Loose tufts of hair at back omitted. Monogram ⍓ or ⍀. All points noted in catalogue.

Ornament seven times, seven dot pattern, hair at back in three neat curls. Monogram ⍓.

18. *Obv.* 5—*Rev.* 16 a. 17.06 Fitzwilliam (*SNG*), 3711—Hirsch 13 (Rhousopoulos, 1905), 766—Anson, *Greek Coin Types* II, 564.
b. 16.87 Lucien de Hirsch 947—*AMNG*, p. 64, no. 196a,1.

Ornaments six times, seven dot pattern, loose tufts at back. Monogram ⍓.

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19. *Obv.* 6—*Rev.* 17 17.10 Hirsch 13 (1905, Rhousopoulos), 765—Egger 40 (1912) 469—Hirsch 21 (1908) 1058—De Sartiges 468.

Ornaments seven times, six dots in triangular pattern, loose tufts at back. Monogram ⍁. Legend corrected under Δ of ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ.

A. Obverse has eight-pointed rosettes in scallops.

20. *Obv.* 7—*Rev.* 18 16.90 Paris, *AMNG*, p. 64, no. 196,3, pl. II, 10.

Monogram ⍁.

21. *Obv.* 7—*Rev.* 19 a. 16.97 Hirsch 13 (Rhousopoulos, 1905), 767.
b. 17.10 Jameson Coll. 1994—Feuardent Frères (Collignon, 17 Dec. 1919), 214.
c. 16.83 Sotheby, 28 May 1900, 223—*AMNG*, p. 63, no. 195,4.
d. 16.92 Berlin, *AMNG*, p. 63, no. 195,1—*zMM*, p. 147, a, drawing of reverse—Bompois, p. 74, 3, pl. I, 2.

Monogram ⍁.

B. Obverse has border reworked, rosettes irregular.

22. *Obv.* 7—*Rev.* 20 a. 16.70 *BMCMacedon*, 66—Head, *Guide* (1895), pl. 54, 11—*AMNG*, p. 64, no. 196,2—Reinach, *JIAN* 15 (1913), pl. XVII, 14—Bompois, p. 73,1, pl. I, 1.
b. 16.85 Berlin, *AMNG*, p. 64, no. 196,1.

Monogram ⍁.

23. *Obv.* 7—*Rev.* 21 a. 16.83 Sotheby (Montagu I, 23 Mar. 1896), 264—*AMNG*, p. 63, no. 195,3, pl. II, 11—*AMNG*², p. 7, 46, pl. III, 6—Naville 1 (Pozzi, 1921), 1000—Anson, *Greek Coin Types* II, 565.
b. 17.15 Cambridge, *AMNG*, p. 63, no. 195,2.

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Monogram ⍓. Faulty legend, MAK/ΔONΩN.

24. *Obv.* 7—*Rev.* 22 16.88 ANS—Hirsch F. P. 17 (1907), 819—Hirsch 14 (1905) 273.

Hugo Gaebler identified series 1 and 2 of this issue as the coinage of the Roman praetor P. Juventius Thalna. His conclusions about this coinage, offered in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* for 1902, and in the third volume of *Die Antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands*, published in 1906, made a significant addition to the meager evidence available from texts about the period, and they were enthusiastically adopted by historians. As P. R. Franke noted in a survey of numismatic literature on Macedonia in 1956, Gaebler's numismatic arguments, which fixed a number of chronological points, and much of the historical interpretation of the period, have gone virtually unchallenged.[3] He believed that he could establish absolutely, by physical evidence, the relation of the coins here studied with those he assigned to the contemporary pretender to the Macedonian kingship, Philip VI Andriscus, and he interpreted the symbols and legends according to the historical development implied by this relationship. His historical arguments were reasonable and logical, though wrong, I think, in several details, but it is remarkable that no critic has commented on the absolutely revolutionary nature of his numismatic evidence.

On one reverse of the LEG variety, Gaebler believed he could see traces of the letters ΙΛΕΩΣ following the LEG above the club, and of the letters ΓΓΟΥ underneath the last five letters of MAKEΔONΩN. These traces, together with the trace of a monogram in the lower left field, suggested the appearance of a reverse die of Philip V.[4] So far the evidence might appear to indicate an example of overstriking, a common enough practice in ancient coinage, but Gaebler found another example of the same reverse, on which he saw the same traces in exactly the same position. This consistency could only mean that the traces were not on the coin but on the die, and Gaebler suggested therefore, that a die which had once been used for Philip's coinage had been incompletely shaved off, and a new reverse type sunk into

[3] "Literaturüberblick der griechischen Numismatik; Makedonien," *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 7 (1956), 107.
[4] *zMM*, pp. 148–149.

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the old die blank. This was taken as an indication that the LEG dies were cut in Amphipolis, since only in Amphipolis would there be a store of old dies of Philip V.[5] Another similar sequence of issue was established on the evidence of traces of the LEG type under the MAKE/ΔONΩN type on a reverse of series 3, and a third example of the same sort of evidence was seen on a coin attributed to Andriscus, where traces of another LEG reverse were noted.[6] Gaebler used this evidence to establish the relation between the three coins studied, and since he believed that the hand with the branch was a canting badge standing for the cognomen Thalna of the praetor P. Juventius, who was defeated and killed by Andriscus, he worked from this fixed point to develop a historical explanation for the recut dies which has in large part contributed to all subsequent treatments of the period.

It should be noted that the process Gaebler described, the recutting of one type of die over a refaced blank from an entirely different type, is absolutely unique. Gaebler gave no parallels, and the procedure is so unusual that several numismatists have failed to understand what he was claiming, and have treated his article as if it spoke of overstrikes.[7] This is not to say that the recutting of dies to essentially the same type is unknown, since it is well attested, and three examples of it are discussed below. In every case, however, other than the three claimed by Gaebler, the recutting affects only minor features of the type, and an obvious economy of labor results from the practice. Very often it is the legend that is changed. If a die is still usable at the end of a magistrate's term of office, it is a needless waste to retire it; the old magistrate's name may be erased, and the new cut over it. In extreme cases this may even be done several times.[8] The advantage of such recutting is obvious. As little as possible is cut from the old die, and the new one is made ready with a minimum of additional effort. Alternatively, recutting may add or subtract some minor detail, whether for purely aesthetic reasons or because of some political change. Finally, and this last case may well be far more common than

[5] *zMM*, p. 150.
[6] *zMM*, pp. 147 and 153.
[7] A. Bellinger, "Greek Coins," *YCS* 12 (1951), 258, and S. W. Grose, *Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins*, II (Paris, 1925), 85, note 4.
[8] M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens* (New York, 1961), 726, pl. 78.

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has until now been noted, recutting may be used to eliminate a flaw in the metal of the die, and to extend its life slightly.[9] In all three cases the main features of the type are preserved, and it is evident that the die-cutter's skilled labor is what gives the die its value.

No economy of labor can be cited to explain the recutting of a different type on top of an old die. Gaebler's illustrations make it quite clear that, far from being an aid to the engraver, the traces of the old die would have been rather a nuisance. In the case of the LEG die, indeed, he says that the engraver was forced to accept a "strikingly awkward arrangement" of the details on his reverse to avoid the traces of the old type.[10] Aesthetically speaking this judgement is dubious, mechanically it is incomprehensible. If the engraver could superimpose his letters over the old letters in the other cases, he could in this case as well, and he had every reason to do so.[11] The shadowy traces noted by Gaebler were presumably not supposed to be there at all, and the die-cutter would have no reason for being careful to avoid them. He would surely be far more inclined, by cutting the new legend over them, to obscure any traces he could see, while, if he could see nothing, there was nothing for him to avoid.

A study of several coins struck from the LEG reverse used by Gaebler for his demonstration (*Rev.* 1) reveals that while there is evidence of recutting on the coin he studied (1h), it cannot be interpreted as Gaebler wished. Gaebler noted, in his study of this coin, the existence of a die break in the lower field, running horizontally under the center of the lower legend.[12] Since such die breaks increase slightly in size with each striking, and leave ever larger flaws on the surface of the coins struck, it is possible to arrange these coins in approximately the order in which they were struck. The coin struck earliest should be the one with the slightest evidence of the die break. This is clearly

[9] Cf. G. Le Rider, "Sur la Fabrication des Coins Monétaires dans l'Antiquité Grecque," *Schweizer Münzblätter* 8 (1958), 1–5, on the recutting of a die for a coin of Antiochus Hierax, especially p. 3, fig. 1–2; also D. G. Sellwood, "Some experiments in Greek minting technique," *NC* 1963, 227–228.

[10] "auffallend ungeschickte Anordnung," *zMM*, p. 149.

[11] Compare the illustrations in *zMM*, pp. 147 and 154.

[12] "Die unregelmässige, strichförmige Verdickung i. F. unten, in welcher Bompois eine Harpe erkennen wollte, rührt von einer (vielleicht beim Umarbeiten geschehenen) Verletzung des Stempels her und ist kein Beizeichen," *zMM*. pp. 149–150.

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coin 1a, which is in excellent condition, very little worn, and which is published in two clear photographs in different auction catalogues. On this coin, the only sign of a flaw in the die is a very small spot appearing below the right-hand hasta of the M in the legend. On coins 1b, 1c and 1d, which are arranged as far as possible in the order of striking, the long horizontal break appears, and grows to become quite prominent on coin 1e. Coin 1f is in too worn a condition or too poorly photographed to be included in this survey. The reverse die used for the next example, coin 1g, is in the majority of its details clearly the same as that used for the previous six coins, but it has obviously been reworked. The hand with the olive branch has been recut rather crudely, and the arrangement of the leaves on the lowest twig of the branch has been changed. Apparently, a sufficient thickness of metal has been removed from the die to erase these features, and to require that they be touched up again. On this same coin, the size of the flaw in the lower field is substantially reduced, which suggests the most likely reason for the recutting. As Gaebler himself remarks, independently of his principal argument, the engraver has attempted to preserve a cracked die for several hundred more strikings by cutting away the crack.[13] Since details in the upper field were for no apparent reason erased at the same time as the flaw below, we may guess that the repair was accomplished by the removal of a certain thickness of metal across the entire central surface of the die, probably by scraping it against an abrasive.[14] Details such as the fingers of the hand in the upper field were hastily and rather clumsily restored where necessary. The greatest significance of this history lies in the fact that the coin on which Gaebler believed he could see the traces of an old royal die, coin 1h, belongs, as his own catalogue in-

[13] "Der Stempel, dessen erste Form nach der Umarbeitung n. 189, 2 zeigt [not included in my catalogue, no representation available], hat sich augenscheinlich beim Prägen sehr schnell abgenutzt und ist zweimal durch ziemlich rohes Nachgravieren (bes. an den Fingern der Hand und am Ölzweig) für die weitere Prägung (n. 189, 3 [coin 1d]. 6[coin 1e] u. sodann 1 [coin 1h].4.5.) wieder brauchbar gemacht worden." *AMNG*, p. 62, no. 189, note. Cf. G. F. Hill, "Ancient Methods of Coining," *NC* 1922, 24, "The Greeks were so little particular about the appearance of their coins that they went on using a die long after it should have been scrapped," which is an oddly pejorative way to put it.
[14] Since the reverse dies are all slightly convex, this process would be the obvious one.

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dicates, among the coins struck from the repaired die.[15] But on these coins such evidence cannot possibly exist. If shadowy traces of a previous legend were to appear at all, it would only be on coins 1a to 1e, since, after the die had been repaired in the manner described above, Gaebler's evidence would have been entirely cut away. Clearly visible details like the index finger of the hand and the leaves of the olive branch seem to have disappeared; the "ganz flachen Spuren" described by Gaebler could not possibly have remained.

In connection with this argument, it is worth noting another example from Macedonia of a die refaced to bring it back into service. Among the tetradrachms of the type assigned by Gaebler to Philip VI Andriscus, there occurs a variant represented in the Jameson and in the Yale Numismatic Collections.[16] The obverse is a common royal type, showing the head of the hero Perseus on a Macedonian shield, and the reverse is of the so-called Andriscus type, with the addition of a small lion's scalp above the club. In this instance it is the obverse that has been refaced. The coin in the Jameson collection shows the original obverse, which later apparently suffered some sort of damage, quite possibly rust, affecting only the border of the design. Before the Yale coin was struck, the old border was completely erased, and a new one was scratched in hastily and clumsily. Erasing the border also removed the shallower parts of the engraving of the head of Perseus, with the result that the deep central mass of the head was left surrounded by semi-detached features whose connection with it is all but obliterated. Thus, the more deeply carved parts of the nose and mouth float free of the head, as do the primary feathers of the wing behind the helmet, while the griffin's head at the top has separated into discontinuous features. The line in front of Perseus' nose, which looks at first like a faint double striking, may represent a half hearted attempt to restore the features to their original shape and depth, but the job was obviously not completed.[17]

[15] See above, n. 13.

[16] R. Jameson, *Monnaies Grecques Antiques* (Jameson Coll.), p. 225, no. 1010, pl. LII, 1010; A. Bellinger, *YCS* 12 (1951), 256–260.

[17] Sellwood (see above, n. 9) describes this very process applied to one of his experimental dies, and compare Le Rider, p. 3, "... avant d'effectuer la retouche, le graveur a légèrement raboté le champ du coin pour le rendre plus lisse, et cette opération a rétréçi la fissure derrière la tête, ainsi que les fanons."

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The evidence for the first case claimed by Gaebler, that of the MAKE/ΔONΩN type cut over a die of the LEG type, cannot so circumstantially be eliminated, but it is condemned by its fundamental improbability. One is inclined to wonder, on looking carefully at Gaebler's illustrations, how it is that the traces of letters remain when no traces of the more deeply engraved hand, or of the acorns on the wreath of the earlier type remain visible on the later.[18]

Gaebler's third case of recutting, that of a reverse of the so-called Andriscus type over one of the LEG dies,[19] is rendered unlikely by the difference in design and material of the dies for the two coinages. Coins 14f, 19 and 23a were struck far enough off center to show the rounding off of the die to its outer edge, and give a clear picture of a die with a neatly trimmed circular face, set off by a curve or bevel from the cylindrical body of the die. A hairline circle, which appears outside the design on the last two examples is evidence that at least two blows on the trussel were required to shape the coin between the dies. The line is left by the edge of the trussel after the first blow, and it is driven symmetrically away from the trussel by the slight outward flow of the metal under the compression of the second blow. It therefore gives an absolutely certain indication of the maximum dimensions of the working face of the die.[20] From the more than 90° of arc visible on coin 23a, a center can be determined by a simple geometrical construction, and the die is found to have a diameter of about 3.4 cm., although allowance of about 0.1 cm. should be made for possible distortion in photographs, or irregularity in manufacture. A circular template of 3.5 cm. diameter can be fitted convincingly over all examples available to me of the LEG and MAKE/ΔONΩN coinage. These reverses show a fine handling of detail, and a capacity to hold together even when seamed over with cracks (see coin 5f), which suggest that the die blanks were of a relatively soft, workable metal, probably bronze, which could be given added strength by being mounted in iron cases. A characteristic royal reverse of the "Andriscus" variety can be shown to be quite different in its physical de-

[18] *zMM*, p. 147.
[19] *zMM*, p. 154.
[20] Sellwood, "Some Experiments," *NC* 1963, 226, "similar lines . . . make possible a sort of 'tree-ring' analysis of striking history."

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scription from the LEG dies. Two examples from a single pair of dies (PLATE VIII, A–Naville 4 [Evans, 1922] 478; B–Merzbacher, 15 Nov. 1910, 411) were struck well off center by the trussel in almost diametrically opposite directions, and by superimposing the two resultant outlines, it is possible to show that this particular reverse die had a working face at least 3.85 cm. in diameter, and possibly larger since there is no sign of the edge of the die. No other examples of the variety directly confirm a diameter as large as this, but none contradicts it, and it is more likely than not that the other dies for the "Andriscus" reverse were of about the same size. The general appearance of all examples suggests that they were cut with a great deal of drill work, and little subsequent refinement, from significantly harder stock than was used for the republican dies.[21] It seems unlikely that blank die stock intended for either of these two essentially different designs of

[21] This may best be illustrated from the peculiar shape of the leaves in the oak wreath on a reverse such as Hill, *Historical Greek Coins*, (London, 1906), 149, no. 89, pl. XII (BM). On this the engraver seems to have fixed the position of the lobes of each leaf by drilling a dot, and then to have carved out the intervening space to a much slighter depth, perhaps also with the drill, so that the whole has, on the coin, the appearance of a membrane stretched over a central rib and tacked down by pellets at its extremities. On many other reverses of this variety, the pellets are crowded more closely together, and often the membrane-like center is absent altogether. The drilling out of the pellets at the lobes is presumably the first step toward the design of a realistic leaf, and the process was carried to a successful completion on Naville 15 (1930) 542, but in others we see crude and unfinished stages of the work, and in reverses like that illustrated in *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, (London, 1959), pl. 42, 10, the pellets alone are used as a sort of short-hand suggestion of an oak-leaf. In this reverse we get a combination of clumsy design with crisp delineation of each element which suggests that little or no hand finishing was done to smooth out the sharp outlines left by the drill. On the reverse die of ANS-Newell 16.98 gr. (also Rollin et Feuardent, 2 May 1898 (Hoffmann), 285,), a circular line was scribed outside the wreath, presumably as a guide for the engraver. The left hasta of the M to the left of the wreath is cut over this line. On this die also, the engraver's hand slipped with the drill in forming the alpha and the omega of the legend. The engraver's drill can only be used on a material considerably harder than itself, since the drill shaft acts merely as a carrier for particles of emery or some other abrasive which become embedded in it. It must, nevertheless, be firm enough not to buckle under the heat and pressure of the work. The likelihood is, therefore, that whenever the drill was favored, the stock was hard, and when other methods of tooling were preferred, the stock was softer, or perhaps temperable. I have seen no examples of striking from cracked dies in this variety of the royal coinage, which may indicate that the die was hard enough to shatter irreparably if it cracked at all.

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die would have been of much use for the other. Finally it may be noted that, except for Gaebler's die, the evidence for dating the "Andriscus" variety strongly favors its assignment to Philip V.[22]

A suggestion that dies used for the LEG and MAKE/ΔONΩN reverses were mounted in iron cases may perhaps be strengthened by the fact that the coins seem to show a fixed die orientation. I have seen too few of the coins themselves to be completely certain, and the information is rarely provided by any but the most modern catalogues, but wherever it is recorded, the orientation of the reverse type is approximately 90° from that of the obverse, a detail which sets this coinage apart from both the district and the royal issues, neither of which show much consistency. Although fixed orientation would thus appear to be introduced in connection with a Roman legend, it seems not to be related to contemporary Roman practice. Fixed orientation does not seem to be adopted for the Roman currency until the imperial period. An orientation of 90° is not common, but is found in some coinages of Hellenistic Asia Minor. It seems never to have been favored by the Roman mints, which restrict themselves to 0° or 180°.[23]

Gaebler's identification of the types considered above rested heavily on his argument from recut dies. Once this argument fails, it becomes necessary to re-examine the coinage in all its aspects, in the hope of finding new evidence for its interpretation. There is abundant material for the LEG and MAKE/ΔONΩN issues. The examples I have recorded give, for the obverses, a proportion of eleven coins preserved for each die represented, and if the LEG coins are considered alone, the proportion rises to over fifteen coins to a die. This is so far above the minimum proportion of six coins to a die, which would permit a conclusion that we had all the dies ever used for this coinage represented in the catalogue, that we may say with almost complete confidence that the LEG coinage was struck from only four obverses. The MAKE/ΔONΩN coinage of series 3, taken separately, is less certain, with only 4.6 coins to a die represented, but if, as I believe, series 3 is only a variety of the whole issue, it ought to be averaged in with the LEG coinage, and the whole group may then be said to have been

[22] M. Thompson, "A Hoard from Northern Greece," *ANSMN* 12 (1966), 61–63.
[23] G. MacDonald, "Fixed and Loose Dies in Ancient Coinage," *Corolla Numismatica* (London, 1906), 178–188.

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struck from only seven obverses. The reverses are represented in a proportion of only just over four coins to a die in the most favorable calculation, so that no useful conclusion can be drawn yet about their number.

There are several indications that dies were used to the limit of their capacities. Obverse 3 was in service to the very end of its useful life, and obverse 7 has been retouched at least once. Reverses 1, 5 and 11 show clear signs of continued use after the die had begun to break up. From Sellwood's estimates it would appear that the seven obverses represented, if used to capacity on cold flans, could have produced up to 60,000 coins, perhaps even more.[24] With sixty-two coins listed, the rate of preservation would be about 1:1,000, which for random finds seems good. The only hoard evidence recorded is the recent Siderocastro hoard, but the numerous examples assembled in the Rhousopoulos collection may also originally have been part of a hoard.[25] There are about three and a half reverse dies to each obverse in the whole issue, which is more than Sellwood's experiments would seem to demand. The obverses, however, were possibly made very strong by being sunk directly into an anvil of generous dimensions. One or two coins show a bulge of silver forced out past the edge of the obverse design, and in no case is there any indication of a separation between the die proper and the anvil. Obverse 1 was kept in service with at least eight reverses, some of which were demonstrably kept at work until late in their useful lives. This seems to argue a difference in longevity between obverse and reverse dies far greater than is indicated by Sellwood's experiments, and I am not sure how heavily to depend therefore on his evidence for comparative life of dies.[26]

The history of use for the dies of series 2 can be inferred from the examples recorded here. Obverses 2, 3 and 4 are connected in series by reverse die links, and a sufficient number of die breaks occurs to indicate the order of striking. Obverse 2 is struck with reverses 9, 10 and an early stage of 11. Obverse 3 is struck in its earliest form with a late stage of reverse 11, and is subsequently struck with reverse 12, during

[24] Sellwood, "Some Experiments," *NC* 1963, 217–218 and 229–230.
[25] Siderocastro Hoard, M. Thompson, "Athens Again," *NC* 1962, 319. Collection Rhousopoulos, Auction Catalogue of J. Hirsch, 13, 15 May 1905.
[26] Sellwood, "Some Experiments," *NC* 1963, 229–230.

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which time the characteristic flaw over the head at 12 o'clock develops. Die pair No. 14 follows (Obv. 3 with Rev. 13), the last coin of which, coin 14g shows the obverse in an advanced state of wear, as it appears also on coin 15, struck with reverse 14. This last reverse is used also in combination with obverse 4 (die pair No. 16), which is used at a later stage with reverse 15. It should be noted that if these sequences are correct, the two monograms used alternatively on reverses of series 2 cannot be placed one after the other, but seem rather to have been used contemporaneously. The alternation of monograms would also suggest that some of these reverse dies were probably used concurrently, and not in so strict a sequence as the evidence in the catalogue so far seems to imply. I cannot, however, suggest any reason why there should be alternative monograms at all. The obvious answer would be to call them the signatures of two engravers, but then the change from one series to the other would be very hard to explain. I am convinced, therefore, that the monograms must represent some variety of magistrates, but I do not know how to account for their signing alternatively and not together.

The portrait of Artemis on the last obverse of series 2 (Obv. 4) is extremely like that on obverse 5, which for that reason alone is taken to be the next in sequence, but this cannot be considered certain. The next die-pair (No. 19) is represented by a single coin, which is the only evidence for either die. The coins struck from obverse 7 are not connected by die links to Obv. 5 or to Obv. 6, and they are placed at the end of the series on rather arbitrary grounds of style. A sequence of striking can be established for these last die pairs which shows that the two monograms which appear alternatively on the reverses are related to each other as are the two monograms of series 2, and cannot be used to show a succession of magistrates.

Die pairs No. 1–8 form an independent series which must come either before No. 9 or after No. 17. Since series 3 seems the more natural successor to No. 17, series 1 is placed at the beginning of the group. The order in which the eight reverses were used with obverse 1 is not to be determined. I have given precedence to Gaebler's "recut" reverse, but there is no good reason why it should occupy that position. It might just as well be the last reverse used with obverse 1, and the resurfacing could then be explained as an attempt to make it last

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out the year. The official for the first series seems to have used a Φ superimposed on the handle of the thunderbolt to the left of the wreath as a substitute for the more usual monogram.

The group as a whole is not connected by any physical evidence such as overstrikes with other coinages of the period, and it must therefore be placed chronologically by interpretation of the types. Bompois put these coins at the very beginning of the Macedonian republics, but the evidence of the Siderocastro hoard confirms other objections which might be raised against that view. The British Museum catalogue assigned them to an indefinite period following 146 B.C., and Gaebler placed them in 149–8 by connecting series 1 and 2 with the praetor P. Juventius, who was defeated and killed in Macedonia in 148.[27] He explained the hand with the branch as a canting badge recalling the cognomen *Thalna* of an important branch of the Juventii, and on this basis assigned that cognomen to the praetor, who is, in the literary sources, known only as P. Juventius. One objection to this interpretation lies in the rather abstruse nature of the "symbole parlant." Symbols used on a coin type, if they are meant to be read by the public, should be rather obvious, and easy to interpret, which the hand with the branch would not be. Here we have a coin, apparently for use in Macedonia, where the peculiarities of the Roman name are not generally known, and yet a canting badge, which is not positively attested for any of the other Juventii is used alone to render the praetor's name. Not even his title is given, and the only Roman official demonstrably connected with the coinage is a legate, said, according to this argument, to be Juventius' *legatus pro quaestore*. Gaebler assembles a formidable list of parallels for the use of canting badges on Roman coins, and others might be added, but in all these examples, there is only one which uses the canting badge alone, with

[27] *zMM*, 150–151, this article is the sole foundation for subsequent references to the praetor of 149 B.C. as P. Juventius *Thalna*, as it is also for the picture of his extensive activities in Macedonia before his death. The literary evidence says only that P. Juventius was praetor in 148, and was defeated and killed on the Thessalian border in that year. The defeat came early in the campaigning season, moreover, since Rome had time to organize a second expedition under Metellus Macedonicus in the same year. The whole of P. Juventius' known activities in Macedonia will therefore fit easily into a period of two or three months.

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no legend to explain it. Usually the name symbolized is spelled out in full, and placed in such a way as to explain the symbol. On three examples collected from the lists of Babelon and Longpérier, monograms or abbreviations are used, but on one only the gentile name Junius is used alone, and the cognomen Silanus is presumably to be derived from the symbol of an ass's head, by way of the traditional association of that beast with Silenus.[28]

Even if the so-called badge of P. Juventius Thalna were characteristic of the Juventii bearing that cognomen, which it does not really seem to be, the badge's position immediately to the right of the letters LEG would lead one naturally to identify the owner of the badge as the legate, who could not, in this case be P. Juventius, whose office we know to have been the praetorship. We may dismiss at once any suggestion that Juventius would style himself any sort of legate when he had the right to the title *praetor*. On the one hand then, the association of the so-called canting badge with P. Juventius is far from certain, while on the other, the presence of Juventius in Greece for any length of time before his death, when he might have been engaged in the issuing of coinage, is arguable solely from the badge.

Not only the hand with the branch but the letters LEG as well present a problem of interpretation. According to Gaebler's reconstruction of the period, and those based on Gaebler's, it should stand for *legatus pro quaestore*.[29] If so, it is a curious choice of abbreviation, for it gives the least specific information about the title. Surely the Q of *quaestor*, as it appears on the later coins of Aesillas or Sura, should be the essential part of the inscription.[30] The control of the mineral resources of Macedonia which is implied by the Roman letters is an exercise of quaestorial duties, and we might expect to see it expressed. Instead, we have only LEG. The evidence referred to above for

[28] A. de Longpérier, "Interpretation du Type Figuré de la Famille Hosidia," *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France* 21 (1852), 359. E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine* I (Paris, 1885), Introduction, xlvii–xlviii. Two other possibilities for the use of the symbol alone are the wren for Todillus, and the prawn for Squilla, H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* I (London, 1910), 75–76.

[29] *zMM*, p. 150.

[30] *AMNG*, pp. 69–73.

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the Roman use of symbolic devices on coinage would suggest that the legend and symbol should not be interpreted independent of each other, but that the two should explain each other. The LEG should provide a key to the interpretation of the symbol, and the symbol should make clearer the meaning of the LEG. This abbreviation, taken by itself, suggests the reading *legatus* or *legatio*, and no more.[31]

When the news of Andriscus' activities was first taken seriously in Rome, the Romans sent not an army but a legate, hoping that things could be settled peaceably.[32] They apparently had some confidence in the strength of republican sentiments in the new Macedonia, and thought the matter little more serious than the earlier disturbances that had occasionally troubled the country. Militarily, Andriscus turned out to be more dangerous than they had imagined, but until his defeat by Metellus, they probably had little knowledge of how serious the political results of the uprising might be. If the Macedonian republics had fallen victim to an adventurer, that was one thing, but if they had willingly cooperated with him, in violation of their agreements with Rome, that was quite another. There is every indication that, on the whole, the Macedonians were, and Rome believed that they were, the victims of Andriscus. During the second century the Romans repeatedly took exemplary retribution from any people they felt had betrayed them, but in such sources as we have preserved, sources which have a tendency to moralize, we learn of Andriscus' wanton reprisals against the Macedonians, but not of Rome's. Florus' suggestion that the establishment of a Roman province of Macedonia was considered essentially as a reprisal cannot be taken seriously.[33] We know next to nothing about the decision to convert Macedonia into a province, not even the date. The Macedonian Era, whose base date is fixed in the autumn of 148 B.C., presumably records the official date for the beginning of the province, but this may be a fiction. The date was most probably chosen to celebrate not the change in administration but the victory of Metellus. It may even

[31] Bompois's arguments for this reading are still perfectly good; *Monnaies Frappées par la Communauté des Macédoniens* (Paris, 1876), 27–28.
[32] Zonaras, *Epitome Historiarum*. 9.28.
[33] Florus, *Epitoma*. 1.30.5, "Macedoniam servitute multavit."

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have been so chosen before the Macedonians knew they were to become subject to a regularly appointed provincial governor, and have been intended to record Macedonian gratitude rather than Roman interference.[34]

The reign of Andriscus interrupted the functioning of the institutions of republican Macedonia, but it did not necessarily end its official existence. Andriscus' first two victories were against the Macedonians, and his acts of terrorism and repression, as also the apparent Roman restraint later on, suggest a certain continuing disagreement between the pretender and his subjects. Diodorus placed the most unpleasant period of Andriscus' reign after the victory over Juventius, and said that it was then that Andriscus, "shifted to a course of savage cruelty and disregard for law. He put many of the well-to-do to death, on false and slanderous accusations, and murdered not a few of his friends."[35] The accusations need not have been so false as Diodorus imagined, but have been made on evidence of pro-Roman activity, such as that of Telestes a little later.[36] The arrival of the praetor Juventius in Thessaly with a Roman army would be the occasion for pro-Roman sentiments to appear, and his defeat would leave a number of Macedonians seriously compromised.

Andriscus' persecutions undoubtedly made it difficult to reestablish republican order in Macedonia. His victims would naturally include the most practiced and sincere republicans. Even if the relative independence of Macedonia were to continue, some adjustment would have to be made in the Macedonian constitution. We would in any case expect a senatorial legation to be sent out from Rome, and when we find a coin, most probably from this period, bearing the abbreviation LEG, we may regard the expectation as in some degree confirmed. A further confirmation may be suggested in connection with the hand and branch beside the abbreviation. A leafy branch held out in the hand has in many contexts a general connotation of peace, and Bompois wished accordingly to see in this representation a simple

[34] M. N. Tod, "The Macedonian Era, I," *Annual of the British School in Athens* 23 (1918–1919), 206–217, and "The Macedonian Era, II," *BSA* 24 (1919–1920), 54–67.
[35] Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*. 32.9a.1.
[36] Diodorus 32.9b.

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commemoration of the return of peace in 168 B.C. after the wars with Perseus.[37] In connection with a Roman embassy, however, the reference may be far more specific, since the branch may be intended as a representation of the *verbena* carried by the fetial priest as part of the ritual for the making of a treaty. The general sense of this symbolism would suggest itself even to the uninformed, while to those having any knowledge of Roman customs it would be obvious. It is not necessary even to relate the symbol to an actual treaty made on this occasion, since it may stand simply as a sign of harmonious relations between Macedonia and Rome. In any case, the branch held in the hand and the abbreviation LEG are to be closely associated with each other, and together indicate the presence in Macedonia of an embassy from Rome to an essentially friendly allied state.

The embassy probably arrived in Macedonia immediately after Metellus' victory. At this time the republican government had been non-existent for more than a year, and the constitution under which it operated was subject to some modification to eliminate the weakness made so apparent by Andriscus' success. The Macedonian state was under the direct protection of a Roman army so long as Andriscus was at large, and a considerable degree of Roman interference in Macedonian internal affairs could therefore be expected. To judge by the imposition of a Roman device on the coinage, a Roman legate, or legates, would seem to have supervised very closely and virtually to have taken over some branches of the administration.

Despite this interference, the continued existence of republican Macedonia is indicated by the use of an obverse type which in Macedonia is exclusively associated with the four districts of Aemilius Paulus' settlement. The head of Artemis on a Macedonian shield together with a reverse bearing the legend MAKEΔONΩN is used at no other time, and since the hoard evidence fixes the LEG coinage at a date close to 148 B.C., the association is inescapable. It is this association which argues against the interpretation of the wreath on the Artemis of the third series as a mark of victory over the Romans.[38] Andriscus' victory could not in any sense be to the advantage of

[37] *Monnaies*, 28. The Siderocastro hoard shows that 168 is almost certainly too early for these coins.
[38] *AMNG*, p. 5.

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republican Macedonia. The pretender's first victories had been against the Macedonians and at the head of Thracian troops, while his subsequent behavior leaves little doubt about his probable view of republicans. For Reinach's suggestion that Andriscus, with commendable modesty, himself issued the coins with the head of Artemis wreathed, there is nothing to be said.[39] Andriscus' claim to the throne did not depend on his "winning his spurs" in a battle with the Romans, but on his pretence to hereditary right. If he had authorized any coining at all during the period of his usurpation, nothing is less likely than that he would, in his position, have permitted it under any name but his own. The true Antigonids, confident in their long popularity, might permit some semi-independent coinages, but not so the pretender, particularly when the independent coinage would represent a sentiment of hostility to monarchy in general.

The occurrence of the symbols and monograms on the three series of the republican coins suggests a precise dating of all three. The presence of the legate's mark runs over a change of magistrates, and the first series under the legate is limited to strikings from a single obverse. Since the Macedonian year ran from approximately October to October, this suggests that the coinage began some time in the summer of 148, and ran until the end of that Macedonian year under the official who signed himself Φ and was then taken over by the officials who sign themselves ΦΕ and Α. When the embassy departed, probably in the spring of 147, and perhaps later, the reverse type was modified to express the re-establishment of Macedonian independence, and, if the wreath on the head of Artemis represents any sort of celebration, it is probably this. That the celebration turned out to be illusory is not to say that it never took place. It may well be that affairs in Greece were what finally exasperated the Romans to the point of declaring their direct annexation of the entire Hellenic peninsula, or it may simply have seemed the only solution available to them for an impossible military situation.

Despite the assurances (quite unsupported in any case) to the contrary of Rostovtzeff and others, the change was probably to the

[39] "La Base aux Trophées de Delos et les Monnaies de Philippe-Andriskos," *JIAN* 1913, 136.

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worse for the Macedonians.[40] Events of the succeeding century confirmed with a vengeance the opinion of Flamininus that the Macedonians were the bulwark of Greece. The Romans cannot entirely be blamed for the depredations of the various tribes that invaded during this century, since the Macedonian border seems to have been unusually active then, but it was felt that in several cases the Roman governor had not been active enough. Moreover, most governors undoubtedly engaged in moderate peculation and extortion. The Senate's control over Romans outside Rome was notoriously inadequate, and redress of grievances was difficult and uncertain for the subject peoples. We hear, if at all, only of the most extreme cases which justified the risk of taking a complaint to Rome.

[40] *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford, 1941), 758. Cf. W. S. Ferguson, "The Lex Calpurnia of 149 B.C.," *JRS* 11 (1921), 100, and *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, I (Baltimore, 1938), 298.

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A CLASSIFICATION OF THE COINS OF THE ARTAXIAD DYNASTY OF ARMENIA[1]

(PLATES IX–XI)

PAUL Z. BEDOUKIAN

During the reign of the Artaxiads which lasted almost two hundred years (189 B.C.–A.D. 6), Armenia rose to the height of its political power, and under one of its kings, Tigranes the Great, became an empire ranging from the Caspian and Black Seas to the Mediterranean.

Very little is known about the coinage of this period, however, and the published information is largely speculative, often contradictory. One reason for this confusion is the fact that, with the exception of certain coins of Tigranes the Great, not much material was available for a comprehensive study because political conditions in historical Armenia made archaeological excavations impossible. In recent years the situation has improved sufficiently and with reliable references on the history of this dynasty now available,[2] an attempt to classify the coinage of the Artaxiad period is perhaps in order.

The origin of the Artaxiads has been conclusively established by occidental sources and is supported by recent archaeological discoveries in Soviet Armenia. According to Strabo,[3] Zariadres and Artaxias ruled over Armenia as governors appointed by Antiochus the Great (223–187). When Antiochus was defeated in the battle of Magnesia, they took advantage of the situation and declared themselves independent. Both Strabo and Polybus[4] state that Artaxias ruled over the major portion of Armenia. From their accounts, it would appear that in the third century B.C., Armenia occupied a large

[1] The author is grateful to the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Mechitarist Monastery in Vienna, Prof. A. Donabedian of Beirut, and the American Numismatic Society for permission to study and publish the material in their collections.

[2] H. Manandian, A Critical History of the Armenian People (in Armenian), 4 Vols. (Erevan, Armenia, 1944–46); R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie* (Paris, 1947).

[3] Strabo XI. 14.5.

[4] Polybus XXV. 2.12.

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territory and the Armenian language was spoken uniformly throughout the land. The Indo-European Armenians who had come from the west some four centuries earlier had thus completely blended with the local population and become a well-organized, national entity.

The report of the Armenian historian, Moses of Khoren, that the Artaxiads were of Parthian origin is rejected by modern historians.[5] It was this report that led Petrowicz to assume that certain Parthian coins belonged to the kings of Armenia.[6]

Artaxias, son of Zariadres[7] founded the capital city of Artaxata on the banks of the Araxes river. Located in the fertile valley of the Araxes, Artaxata was capable of supporting a relatively large population. In addition, the main trade routes from Central Asia and China passed through this region to reach the Black Sea. Artaxata remained the capital of the kingdom, and in all likelihood, the royal mint was situated in this city.

It appears that Artaxias left several sons,[8] two of whom, Artavasdes and Tigranes, became kings. Artavasdes was forced to wage war against Mithridates II of Parthia.[9] The Parthians did not accomplish their aim of subjugating Armenia, but they achieved a measure of success as witnessed by the fact that the king's nephew, Tigranes, was taken to Parthia as a hostage.[10]

According to Strabo the Parthians again tried to conquer Armenia but were opposed by Tigranes and defeated by him.[11] It is clear from these reports that Artavasdes succeeded his father, Artaxias, and in

[5] Moses of Khorene, II (Tiflis, 1913), p. 3, but he confuses them with the later Arsacids, cf. C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Washington, D. C., 1963), p. 111.

[6] A. Petrowicz, *Arsaciden Munzen* (Vienna, 1904), pp. 183–199.

[7] Two land markers found on the shores of Lake Sevan list King Artaxias as the son of a Zariadres who, however, does not bear the title of king. The latest study of this Aramaic inscription is A. Perikhanian, "Une inscription araméenne du roi Artašēs trouvée à Zanghézour (Siwnikʿ)," *Revue des Etudes arméniennes* (1966), pp. 17–29. The Zariadres listed is not to be confused with the homonymous strategus who declared himself king of Sophene.

[8] Moses of Khorene, II, p. 184. Georgian sources also mention two sons of Artaxias, Melikset-Peg, Georgian Sources Concerning Armenia and the Armenians (in Armenian, Erevan, 1934), pp. 158–160.

[9] Justin, *Epit.* XLII. 2.3–6; Moses of Khorene, II, Ch. XXX.

[10] Justin XXXVIII. 3.1; Strabo XI. 14.15.

[11] Strabo XVI. 1.19.

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turn was succeeded by his brother, Tigranes I. Reinach's conclusion based on the writings of Appian is the most acceptable, and supposes that Tigranes II was the son of Tigranes I, the brother of Artavasdes.[12]

Tigranes II (the Great) secured his freedom from the Parthians upon returning to them seventy valleys.[13] He probably ascended the throne in the year 95 B.C. as the report of Plutarch states that when Appius Claudius visited Tigranes in the year 70 B.C., the latter had been reigning for twenty-five years.[14]

Tigranes was able to expand his territory rapidly. First, he conquered the neighboring Armenian kingdom of Sophene. Then, in 93 B.C., he attacked Cappadocia, forcing Ariobarzanes I to seek asylum in Rome. This brought Armenia in conflict with the expansionist policies of Rome. The struggles, which lasted for decades, have been described in detail by Plutarch, Appian, and others, and have been the subject of detailed studies by modern historians.[15]

After the conquest of Cappadocia and Sophene, and the subjugation of Commagene and neighboring lands, Tigranes turned his attention to the east. The seventy valleys given to Mithridates II were recaptured and the defeated Parthians were forced to give up additional territories in Mesopotamia. Furthermore, the Parthian king had to abandon the title of "King of Kings" to Tigranes.[16] Tigranes took special pains to organize Mesopotamia and its trade routes. The government of Nisibis was given to Guras, a brother of Tigranes.[17] These territorial expansions took place in the period 89–85 B.C.

Thereafter, according to Strabo, Syria and, probably later, Phoenicia were added to the Armenian empire.[18] In 83 B.C., Antioch was acquired,[19] and some time later, part of Cilicia.

[12] Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator* (Paris, 1890), p. 104, citing Appian, *Syr.* 48.
[13] Strabo XI. 14.15.
[14] Plutarch, *Lucullus* 21.7.
[15] Reinach, *Mithridates Eupator*; H. Manandian, Tigranes Second and Rome (in Armenian, Erevan, 1940 — French trans. *Tigrane II et Rome* [Lisbon, 1963]); *CAH*, Vol. IX, Ch. 14; H. Asdourian, Political Relations between Armenia and Rome (in Armenian, Venice, 1912); R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie* (Paris, 1947).
[16] Justin XL. 3.
[17] Plutarch, *Lucullus* 21; Plinus VI. 28.142.
[18] Strabo XI. 14.15.
[19] Justin XL. 1.1–3.

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The center of the empire was the newly founded city of Tigranocerta. It was apparently populated by forcibly bringing several hundred thousand inhabitants from Cappadocia[20] and Cilicia.[21]

It appears that the capture of Phoenicia and Palestine took place at a later date. Ptolemais was taken in 70 B.C.[22] It was during this period that Tigranes heard that the Roman army under Lucullus had put Mithridates of Pontus to flight and was approaching Armenia proper.

Mithridates was an ally and father-in-law of Tigranes. Lucullus demanded that Mithridates, who had taken refuge in Armenia, be handed over to him. Upon being refused, the Roman army marched into Armenia in 70 B.C. without a declaration of war. A decisive battle took place near Tigranocerta on October 6, 69 B.C. The disciplined Romans won the victory, and after several months of siege, Tigranocerta itself was captured. According to Plutarch, Lucullus seized in booty eight thousand talents, and in addition, each soldier was given the sum of eight hundred drachms.[23] These figures give an indication of the tremendous wealth of Tigranes.

Tigranes, on the advice of Mithridates, reorganized his army and employed a new strategy against the Romans—hit and run tactics and avoidance of large-scale decisive battles against the superior Roman forces.

In order to force a decisive battle, Lucullus decided to strike at the capital where Tigranes had his royal residence. Tigranes could not avoid this challenge, and a battle took place near Artaxata.[24] The Romans were the victors on the battlefield, but their losses at the hands of the Armenian heavy cavalry were so serious that there was danger of open rebellion. Lucullus was forced to retreat rapidly. Tigranes with his armies not only recovered the lost lands but also assisted Mithridates in freeing his own people from Roman domination.

Faced with disaster, Rome elected Pompey to continue the war against Tigranes. Pompey defeated Mithridates, incited the Parthians

[20] Appian, *Mithr.* 67; Strabo XII. 2.9.
[21] Plutarch, *Pomp.* XXVIII. 4.
[22] Plutarch XXI. 2.
[23] Plutarch, *Lucullus* XXIX. 3.
[24] Plutarch, *Lucullus* XXXI. 7–8; Cass. Dio XXXVI. 4–5.

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against Tigranes, and secured the assistance of a younger son of the king, also named Tigranes. When Pompey moved with his legions on Artaxata, assisted by the forces of the younger Tigranes, the aged monarch went to the camp of Pompey and accepted the terms imposed on him. Pompey received six thousand talents as the price of peace. Tigranes was allowed to keep his title of "King of Kings" and was left as master of Armenia proper. The kingdoms of Asia Minor which the Romans had conquered became Roman provinces.

In effect, Armenia became a buffer state between Rome and Parthia. Tigranes reigned until 56 or 55 B.C., as evidenced by a speech of Cicero.[25] In the wars of Crassus in 54 B.C., the son of Tigranes, Artavasdes II, was king of Armenia.

Crassus entered Mesopotamia in 54 B.C. and won initial victories against the Parthians. He did not pursue his victories, however, and the Parthians under Orodes had a full year to make war preparations. The following year, the Parthians entered Mesopotamia under the able general, Suren, and at the same time, invaded Armenia which was allied to Rome. Artavasdes sent envoys to Crassus explaining his inability to aid Rome since he was forced to protect his own country against the Parthians.[26] He also advised Crassus to avoid the plains in favor of the mountainous regions in order to avoid the maneuvers of the Parthian cavalry. This advice went unheeded, and in the battle of Carrhae the Roman army was defeated and Crassus killed.

Just as the Romans under Pompey had wanted an ally in Armenia to face the Parthians, so Orodes wanted an alliance with Armenia against the Romans. He sealed this alliance by marrying his son to the sister of Artavasdes. The head of Crassus was exhibited at the wedding banquet held in Artaxata.

As a result of the Parthian-Armenian alliance, the combined armies of the two countries under the command of an Armenian, Osaces, reached Antioch but were unable to capture it. The internal struggles between Pompey and Julius Caesar prevented the Romans from stopping these incursions. The Parthian-Armenian armies, under Pacorus, the son-in-law of Artavasdes, seized Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine. For a second time, the people of these countries were moved

[25] *Pro Sestio* XXVII. 59.
[26] Plutarch, *Crassus* XXII. 2.

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to Armenia to populate cities which had been laid waste during these extended wars.

Finally, Mark Antony, who was given the eastern provinces, sent an army in 39 B.C. and inflicted a severe defeat on the Parthians the following year.

The death of Pacorus in this battle was a sorrowful blow to Orodes. He gave the crown to his son, Phraates IV, who in order to secure his position, had his father and brothers, along with their partisans, put to death. This weakened the kingdom and gave Mark Antony an opportunity to move against Parthia. Although Mark Antony planned eventually to convert Armenia into a province, he thought it wise for the moment to establish friendly relations with Artavasdes; as a result of these negotiations, Armenia again became an ally of Rome in 37 B.C.

In moving against Parthia, Mark Antony followed the advice which Artavasdes had given Crassus. He moved through Armenia and entered Parthia from the north. The movement of this huge army of Romans, Spaniards and Gauls, along with their war machines, is described by Plutarch.[27] The movement necessitated the use of well-paved and wide roads, and is evidence of the existence of such highways in mountainous Armenia. The Roman armies failed in their plans and, as the summer advanced, they were forced to retreat. Their lack of success at this point prompted Artavasdes to return to Armenia. As the Romans retreated, they were under constant attack by the Parthians.

The Roman losses were disastrous, and Mark Antony put the entire blame on what he considered the desertion of Artavasdes. He now planned to punish him and to subdue Armenia. He invited Artavasdes to visit him in Egypt but the invitation was not accepted.[28] The following year (34 B.C.), he again called on Artavasdes to visit him in order to discuss a marriage between his son and the daughter of Artavasdes. As a last resort, Mark Antony suddenly invaded Armenia and marched on Artaxata. This military measure forced Artavasdes to go to the camp of Mark Antony, where he was put in chains and imprisoned in spite of prior assurances and guarantees of his safety.

[27] Plutarch, *Antonius* XXXVII. 2.
[28] Cass. Dio XLIX. 33.2–3.

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Following this act, Mark Antony attempted to sack the Armenian towns in an effort to acquire their wealth. The Armenian noblemen, however, opposed his moves and declared Artaxias (Artashes) II, son of Artavasdes, to be their lawful king. Mark Antony succeeded in destroying the opposition and continued his program of impoverishing the country. Artaxias was forced to take refuge in Parthia. In 34 B.C., Mark Antony returned to Cleopatra in Egypt, taking with him Artavasdes, two of his sons, Tigranes III and Artavasdes III, and other members of the royal family. To commemorate his victories, Antony struck portrait denarii on which he is entitled *Armenia Devicta*.

In 32 B.C., the antagonism of Octavian toward Mark Antony resulted in the Roman Senate's proclaiming the latter an enemy of Rome. The battle of Actium in 31 B.C. ended the career of Mark Antony. In the hope of securing the assistance of Artavasdes of Media Atropatene, Cleopatra had the imprisoned Artavasdes II decapitated.

During the struggles between Octavian and Mark Antony, Artaxias II, probably aided by the Parthians, re-established himself in Armenia. The country was still well-organized and the memories of the glorious period of Tigranes the Great had not been forgotten. Artaxias continued the policy of expanding over Sophene, Armenia Minor, and other lands adjacent to Armenia, at the same time encouraging the influx of large numbers of people from Syria and Palestine. He wished to prevent the transformation of Armenia into a Roman province, such as Spain or Gaul, where national identities had been obliterated.

From 30 to 20 B.C., Artaxias II ruled as an independent king.[29] Octavian was not in a position to assert his authority over Armenia because the extensive wars against Mark Antony had exhausted his army. Nevertheless, diplomatic measures were taken to weaken both Armenia and Parthia with a view to their eventual conquest. A show of force cowed the Parthians into returning the Roman prisoners and the insignias captured by Suren. In Armenia, the pro-Roman party asked Octavian to send Tigranes, the son of Artavasdes II, to be placed on the throne in Armenia. The reigning monarch, Artaxias II, was assassinated, and the Roman general, Tiberius Claudius Nero,

[29] Tacitus, *Annales* II. 3.

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crowned Tigranes III, king of Armenia.[30] The Romans had achieved their aims without a major war, and Armenia again fell under the influence of Rome. Media Atropatene, which had been conquered by Artaxias II, was given to Ariobarzanes II. In commemoration of this event, Tiberius struck many coins bearing inscriptions such as *Armenia Capta*.

The Armenians were aware of the danger of their situation. To them, Rome was a mortal enemy with the single purpose of ending their national entity. The Parthians, on the other hand, were their natural allies against Rome and had no ambitions of destroying their national aspirations. Actually, Armenia was still as powerful as Parthia, but suffered from the geographical disadvantage of being first in line against Rome. Just as Pontus was destroyed before Armenia could be invaded, Armenia had to be destroyed to reduce Parthia.

Tigranes III died in 8/6 B.C. and was succeeded by Tigranes IV who had married his half-sister, Erato. This was a rash move on the part of Armenia as it was done without the consent of Rome. A Roman army was sent to Armenia, Tigranes IV was dethroned in 5 B.C., and a brother of Tigranes III, Artavasdes III, was placed on the throne.

The Armenians who were opposed to Artavasdes III succeeded in defeating the Roman garrisons and forced Artavasdes to flee.[31] Tigranes IV, who had apparently taken refuge in Parthia, returned to the throne in 2 B.C. Rome, again forced to take action, organized a large army and sent it east. The Parthians sought peace, and the Armenian king followed suit. Arrangements were made for Tigranes to receive the crown from Augustus, but it appears that he was killed in a war against northern barbarians in A.D. 1 before he received his crown.[32]

With the death of Tigranes IV, the only remaining Artaxiad of royal blood was Queen Erato. Gaius Caesar, Augustus' grandson, gave the Armenian throne to Ariobarzanes II of Media Atropatene, the son of the faithful ally of Rome, Artavasdes of Media Atropatene. The

[30] Tacitus, *Annales* II. 3; see also Cass. Dio LIV. 94–95.
[31] Tacitus, *Annales* II. 4; Velleius Paterculus II. 94.4.
[32] Cass. Dio LV. 10.5.

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Armenian nobles were unwilling to accept a foreigner as their king and rebelled. The rebellion was crushed by Gaius himself in A.D. 2. Ariobarzanes died two years later, and the crown was given to his son, Artavasdes IV, who governed both Media Atropatene and Armenia from A.D. 4 to 6.

The Armenian princes rebelled again and, according to Tacitus, assassinated this foreign king.[33] Seeing that they were unwilling to be governed by foreign rulers, Augustus sent to the throne Tigranes V, who was distantly related to the Artaxiads and who ruled for less than a year, in A.D. 6.[34] An attempt was apparently made to establish the former queen, Erato, on the throne but this was short-lived and the Artaxiad dynasty ended with her death.

The coins issued by the Artaxiads are not difficult to identify. All the known specimens have the characteristic Armenian tiara, distinctly different from the tiaras used on the coinage of adjacent lands such as Commagene or Media. In addition to its general shape, the Armenian tiara as depicted on the coinage is easily recognized in that it is always adorned with a star and almost always with an eagle or eagles.[35]

ZARIADRES This single specimen may be attributed to Zariadres, the father of Artaxias I, but one must agree with Basmadjian[36] that it is a forgery. The king's head is turned right and bears a tiara. The name ΖΑΔΡΙ-ΑΔΟΥ appears on the obverse, and the reverse says: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. It is almost unthinkable that this minor ruler, probably appointed by the Seleucids, could have taken upon himself such a pompous title. Yet the presence of the tiara dissociates this coin from Zariadres of Sophene who is always represented on the coins wearing yet another distinctive headdress (see Babylon, *Rois de Syrie*, etc., pp. cxcvii–cxcix).

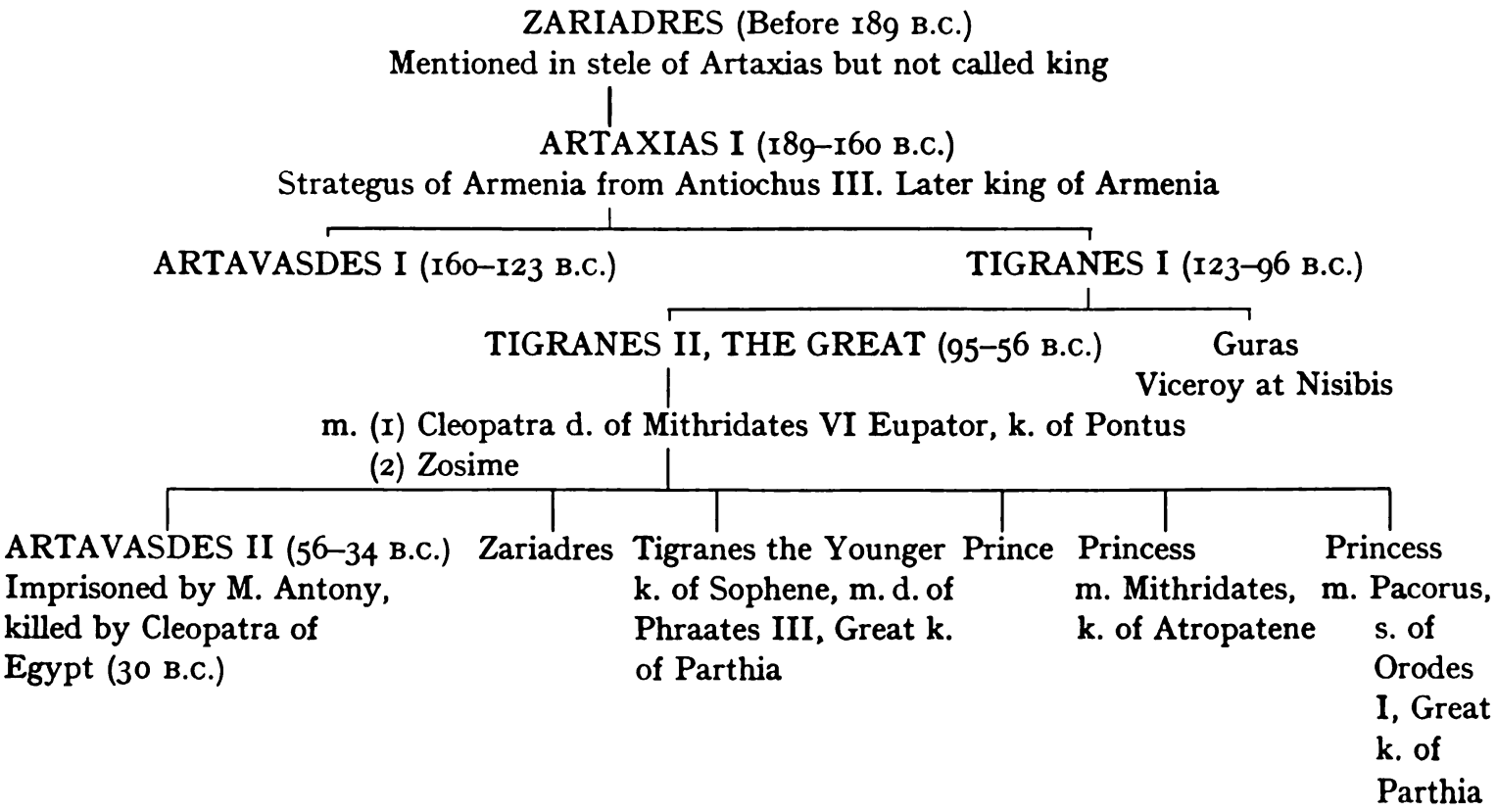
ARTAXIAS I AND ARTAVASDES I No coins have yet been found which can be attributed to Artaxias I or his son, Artavasdes I.

[33] Tacitus, *Annales* II. 4.
[34] *CAH*, Vol. X, p. 277.
[35] J. H. Young, *AJA* 1964, pp. 30–31, pl. 11.
[36] K. J. Basmadjian, General Numismatics of Armenia (in Armenian, Venice, 1936), p. 32.

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ARTAXIAD DYNASTY OF ARMENIA



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TIGRANES I In his studies on the hoard of Nisibis,[37] Seyrig reviewed the coinage of the Artaxiads and attributed the eleven copper Tigranes coins of the hoard to Tigranes II. The writer believes that more convincing arguments can be made in favor of attributing these eleven coppers to Tigranes I, father of Tigranes II. It may be mentioned here that the hoard consisted of 715 copper coins, of which 624 have been attributed. The attributions cover a period from 147 B.C. to 31 B.C., with the great majority of coins assigned to the later dates.

The evidence in support of the attribution of the eleven Tigranes coppers to Tigranes I is as follows:

1. Tigranes I ruled circa 123–96 B.C. Tigranes II reigned from 95 to 56 B.C. The coins of the Nisibis hoard encompass both periods and it is not possible to attribute them definitely to either king purely on the basis of the span of the dates of the hoard.

2. Seyrig reports that nine of the eleven Tigranes copper coins bear dates—16, 30, and 41. He assumed that these dates designated regnal years. If so, the first two numbers may apply to either king. The last may possibly apply to Tigranes II who ruled for forty years, from 95 to 56 B.C. He may have issued coins for the beginning of a 41st year. But this assumption of the indication of regnal years is considered untenable by Macdonald who pointed out that some numbers are too large to indicate regnal years and appear to fit in perfectly with a different dating system.[38] On the other hand, only one of the numerous known issues of Tigranes II has a number on it.

3. Seyrig rightly points out the different styling of these coins as compared with the known copper coins of Tigranes II. The differences are so great that there does not seem to be any justification for attributing these coins to Tigranes II.

4. Furthermore, in all eleven cases, the king's head is turned left, whereas on all the known specimens of the silver and copper coins of Tigranes II and his successors, the king's head is invariably turned right. The reason for this significant difference may be that until the conquests of Tigranes II, Armenia was closely allied to Parthia, both politically and culturally. The Armenian kings preceding Tigranes II may have wished to follow the Parthian custom of showing the king's

[37] H. Seyrig, *RN* 1955, pp. 85–128.
[38] G. MacDonald, *NC* 1902, pp. 193–201.

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head facing left. Tigranes II, however, was an enemy of Parthia from the beginning and did all he could to encourage Hellenization of his country. Armenia turned west and adopted the customs and the coinage of the Greeks and the Seleucids.

6. The legends on all eleven coppers read:

ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC/ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ//ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ
ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC/ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ//ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟC
ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC/ΜΕΓΑΝΟΥ//ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ/ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟC

and are thus radically different from those found on the coins of Tigranes II. This fact strongly supports their attribution to Tigranes I.

7. A total of 63 Tigranes II copper coins are known to the writer, all with the king's head facing right. In addition, there are four coins of the Nisibis hoard type in museums. Thus, until the discovery of the Nisibis oard, the frequency of occurrence was in the ratio of 16:1 in favor of the Tigranes II type coin. If the Nisibis hoard coins belonged to Tigranes II, the odds are that the hoard would contain about 176 pieces of the regular Tigranes II coins. The absence of a single specimen may be taken as strong evidence that the Nisibis hoard contained no Tigranes II coins.

8. Recently, the author acquired a hoard of seven coppers; six of them were the regular Tigranes II types (all three varieties), and one belonged to a successor. The lack of a single Nisibis hoard type Tigranes is again significant.

We can thus assign with a reasonable degree of certainty all the Tigranes coppers with the king's head turned left to Tigranes I.

TIGRANES II (The Great) (95–56 B.C.) Because of his long reign and political successes, by far the largest portion of the surviving coins of the Artaxiads belong to this king.

Tetradrachms, drachms, and large and small coppers were struck by Tigranes II, but all his known gold coins have been proven to be forgeries.[39] Most of the tetradrachms were struck in Antioch, but we have examples from Damascus[40] and possibly from Tigranocerta.[41]

[39] P. Bedoukian, *MN* 11 (1964), pp. 303–306.
[40] E. T. Newell, *Late Seleucid Mints in Ake-Ptolemais and Damascus* (New York, 1939), pp. 95–100.
[41] The title "King of Kings" indicates an eastern mint.

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The drachms may have been struck in Armenia proper,[42] most likely in his new capital, Tigranocerta. While the tetradrachms carry the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ and rarely, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ/ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ, the drachms invariably bear the legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ/ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ in keeping with the accepted custom of the East. It is possible that Tigranes brought die cutters and metal workers from Antioch in order to establish a mint in his new capital. This may explain the similarity in design between the drachms and tetradrachms.

The bronze coins of Tigranes include several varieties. The Antiochene type is similar to the drachms and bears the legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ/ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Although there is a considerable variation in the weight of the bronze coins, they were undoubtedly struck in full weight, half weight, and possibly one-third weight bronzes.

Another type of bronze struck in Damascus[43] has the draped figure of Tyche of Damascus on the reverse, and the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ.

A third type of Tigranes bronze has on the reverse Heracles holding a club in his right hand and a lion's skin in his left. It would be more appropriate, perhaps, to say that the figure represented Vahagn, the Armenian counterpart of Heracles. The king's title, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ/ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ indicates that this type coin was struck in Armenia, possibly in Artaxata. Although full weight and half weight bronzes of this type have been found, no specimen of one-third weight has been discovered.

A fourth type represents Victory marching left with a crown in the right hand. The king's title, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ points to a Seleucid mint for this coin. Garabetian's[44] contention that it was struck in Damascus has been convincingly disproven by Le Rider,[45] and the opinion that it was struck in Antioch appears to be justifiable. Both full weights and half weights of this type are known.

In addition to these four main types which account for most of the bronze coins of Tigranes II, there are a number of other types which cannot be attributed to any mint with certainty. Since at various

[42] Newell, p. 98 and MacDonald, pp. 193–201.
[43] Newell, p. 100.
[44] M. Garabetian, *CIN*, Vol. 2, *Actes* (Paris, 1953), pp. 133–136.

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times Tigranes controlled large territories, it is possible that some of these types were struck in the mints of conquered lands.

ARTAVASDES II (56–34 B.C.) In spite of the length of his reign, the coins of this ruler are quite scarce. We do have, however, specimens of his drachms and coppers, and the recent discovery of a tetradrachm completes the series of this monarch.[46]

The tetradrachm was in all probability struck in Artaxata. It has the typical Armenian tiara on the obverse and an entirely new design on the reverse—a chariot driven by the king, and the title, BAϹIΛEΩϹ/ BAϹIΛEΩN//APTAYAZΔEΩ/ΘEIOY.

The drachms are similar in design to the tetradrachms and bear the title, BAΣIΛEΩΣ//BAΣIΛEΩN/APTAYAZΔOY.

The bronze coins, of which only two are known, also have a new design—Nike facing left—but the same title, BACIΛEΩϹ//BAϹIΛEΩN/ APTAVAϹΔOY.

ALEXANDER (son of Antony and Cleopatra, 34–30 B.C.) Mark Antony designated his six year old son as king of Armenia. It is not known whether any coins were issued in his name.

ARTAXIAS II (30–20 B.C.) When Antony went to Greece to face Octavian, an opportunity was presented to the Armenians to regain control of their country. The eldest son of Artavasdes, Artaxias, who had taken refuge at the court of Phraates IV of Parthia, now returned to Armenia and was declared king in 30 B.C.

No coins have been attributed to this king who ruled for ten years. The writer recently acquired a hoard of seven copper coins discovered in a village not far from the site of ancient Tigranocerta. Six of them represented the known types of Tigranes II bronzes, but the seventh is a new type with the typical Armenian tiara on the obverse and a figure on the reverse. Unfortunately, the inscription is not legible. The reverse is quite different from the known specimens, the legend being circular rather than vertical or square. In the absence of any

[45] G. Le Rider, *RN* 1959/60, pp. 22–24.
[46] Kh. Mousheghian, "A Tetradrachm of Artavasdes II," *Badma-Panasiragan Handes*, 2(25) (in Armenian, Erevan, 1964), 317–323.

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feature identifying this coin with that of any of the other rulers, one may tentatively attribute it to Artaxias II.

TIGRANES III (20–8/6 B.C.). Artaxias II was succeeded by his younger brother; and during his reign, Armenia and Parthia drew closer together in a developing opposition to the imperialistic policies of Rome.

Newell first reported a drachm of this monarch, noting the distinguishing bearded portrait of the king on the obverse; reverse Tigranes, bearded, standing left.[47]

The obverse type of the copper coins is similar to that of the drachm, noticeably the tiara with its five very pointed spikes and large, eight-pointed star without eagles. However, the king is beardless on the copper coins.

On the drachm the legend reads:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ//ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ
ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ/ΚΑΙΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ

The bronze coins also introduce new elements. The legend is inscribed so as to form a square. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ//ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ//ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ//ΘΕΟΥ. Within the square are, variously, an elephant, a horse or a lion's head.

During the reign of Tigranes III, Armenia and Parthia were united in their enmity toward Rome. The adoption of the square legend was perhaps a reflection of Parthian influence, the formula Βασιλεὺς Μέγας most certainly was.

TIGRANES IV (8–5 B.C.; 2 B.C.–A.D. 1) The succession of Tigranes IV in 8 B.C. took place without the approval of Rome. He was forced by the Romans to leave the throne in 5 B.C. but was restored through the assistance of the Parthians in 2 B.C. No attempt is made here to distinguish between the issues of the first and second reigns of Tigranes IV. To this ruler are assigned a number of bronze coins with the obverse showing a heavily bearded king, quite different in appearance from the portraits of previous kings. Since Tigranes IV is the only Artaxiad left bearing that name to whom a homogeneous series has not been assigned, it is logical to attribute these coins to him. Three different types of bronzes are known, the obverse of each bearing

[47] E. T. Newell, *Some Unpublished Coins of Eastern Dynasts* (New York, 1926), pp. 13–15, pl. II.

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a portrait of the same king. The reverse of each type has a different design, indicating either issues from different mints or changes in the design of the coinage during the divided reign of this monarch.

The legends, although exhibiting differences, do not constitute a serious objection to the attribution of the coins to the same ruler.

Legends: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ/ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ/ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟC.

ARTAVASDES III (5–2 B.C.) The rule of Tigranes IV was interrupted by the Romans who replaced him with his paternal uncle, Artavasdes III. The latter ruled for three years. No coins are known which can be attributed to him.

TIGRANES IV AND ERATO (2 B.C.–A.D. 1) It is curious to note the use of the title Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων at this time. It is inconsistent with the evidence of the coins of the period. Toumanoff argues effectively that the successors of Tigranes II continued to use the title[48] but, in fact, this exact title is not found on the coinage of any other Artaxiad following the reign of Artavasdes II.

In the year 1 B.C., Augustus sent his grandson, Gaius Caesar, with a powerful army to depose Tigranes and establish Roman rule over Armenia. According to Xiphilinus,[49] Tigranes followed the example of the Parthians and arranged for a meeting with the Romans. His death came before the meeting took place, thus ending the Artaxiad dynasty. Reports from various sources state that several years later an attempt was made to declare Erato, the last Artaxiad, queen of Armenia, but if this attempt succeeded, her reign in any case was of very short duration and no coins have been found bearing her name alone.

ARTAVASDES IV (A.D. 4–6) After the death of Tigranes IV, Gaius placed Ariobarzanes of Media Atropatene on the throne of Armenia; and when the latter died in A.D. 4, the throne passed to his son Artavasdes. His son ruled for only two years and it is therefore interesting that a coin was struck to commemorate this short reign. It is also noteworthy that this does not at all resemble an Artaxiad coin.

[48] C. Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 77–78. Toumanoff considers Βασιλεὺς Μέγας as the equivalent of Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων, cf. p. 47, n. 86.
[49] Xiphilinus, *Epitome* 55.100.3.

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In both style and appearance it suggests a Roman-Seleucid issue. The legend too is unusual: ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΥΑΞΔΟΥ.

TIGRANES V (ca. A.D. 6) After the assassination of Artavasdes, Augustus tried to conciliate the Armenians by appointing as their ruler Tigranes V who was distantly related to the Artaxiads.

There is one copper coin bearing the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ/ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ which may be assigned tentatively to Tigranes V. The modelling of both obverse and reverse strongly suggests a later Tigranes especially with reference to the appearance of the tiara in comparison to the copper coins of Tigranes III. That the king is shown beardless on this coin dissociates it from the issues of Tigranes IV.

THE CATALOGUE

ZARIADRES (Before 189 B.C.)

Copper

1. *Obv.*: Head of Zariadres r. wearing Armenian tiara without star or eagles. Circular legend clockwise ΖΑΔΡΙ-ΑΔΟΥ.
   Rev.: Above ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Below ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. Thunderbolt between two lines of legend.
   Mechitarist Museum, Vienna, 4.70 gr. (forgery).

ARTAXIAS I (189–160 B.C.)

No coins known.

ARTAVASDES I (160–123 B.C.)

No coins known.

TIGRANES I (123–96 B.C.)

Copper

2. *Obv.*: Head of king l., beardless, wearing Armenian tiara. Overstruck with letters ΑΡΚ to right of king's head.
   Rev.: To l. ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC/ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ; To r. ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. A tree or branch between legends. To l. of tree I and to r. Ϛ.

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BN, 2.50 gr.[50] Seyrig (*RN* 1955) attributes both BN specimens to Tigranes II.

3. *Obv.*: Head of king l., beardless, wearing Armenian tiara.
   Rev.: BACIΛEωC/TIΓPANOY//ΦIΛEΛΛHNOC. Zeus Nicephorus seated to l. and resting l. hand on scepter. In l. field Λ.
   BN, 5.28 gr. Seyrig (*RN* 1955) attributes this to Tigranes II.
4. *Obv.*: As 3.
   Rev.: BACIΛEωC/MEΓAΛOY//TIΓPANOY/ΦIΛEΛΛHNOC. Type as 3.
   BM, 4.27 gr. Seyrig (*RN* 1955) attributes this to Tigranes II.
5. *Obv.*: As 3.
   Rev.: To l. BACIΛEωC/MEΓAΛOY To r. TIΓPANOY/ΦIΛEΛΛHNOC. Nike standing to l. with crown (?) in l. hand. In the field to l. M, to r. A.
   BN, 5.00 gr. Seyrig (*RN* 1955) attributes this to Tigranes II and Babelon (*Rois de Syrie*) to Tigranes III.
6. *Obv.*: As 3.
   Rev.: To l. BACIΛEωC/MEΓAΛOY. To r. TIΓPANOY/ΦIΛEΛΛHNOC Standing figure r. wearing tiara, tunic descending to his knees; l. hand holds an eagle and r. hand a long spear or scepter.
   BN, 3.68 gr. Seyrig (*RN* 1955) attributes this to Tigranes II and Babelon (*Rois de Syrie*) to Tigranes III.

Tigranes II (95–56 B.C.)

Tetradrachms

7. *Obv.*: Head of Tigranes r., diademed and wearing ornate five pointed tiara, edged with pearls. Eight pointed star flanked with two eagles back to back and heads turned toward each other. Fillet border.
   Rev.: To r. BAΣIΛEΩΣ To l. BAΣIΛEΩN/TIΓPANOY Tyche of Antioch, draped and wearing turreted crown, seated r. on rock, holding palm-branch in her r. hand; at her feet, the river-god Orontes swimming r.; whole within wreath. To r. NΛ and below river god ΞK.
   BN, 16.20 gr. Another specimen with the title "King of Kings" is known, (Leningrad, 14.40 gr.). Both weights are abnormal. These specimens were probably struck in Tigranocerta.

[50] Weight given is, in each case, for the specimen here illustrated. In general, the weights of the copper coins vary considerably.

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8. *Obv.*: As 7.

Rev.: To r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. To l. ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Type as 7. Various monograms or letters on the rock or in the field, but none similar to 7.

ANS, 14.92 gr. This is commonest of all the coins of Tigranes. Of the nearly 100 specimens known to the author the weights vary from 14.92 to 15.90. All were struck in Antioch.

9. *Obv.*: As 7, but eight pointed star and a single eagle to r. facing r., head turned back.

Rev.: To r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. To l. ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Turreted and draped Tyche of Damascus seated to l. upon a rock and at her feet, the upper portion of a swimming figure. Tyche extends her r. arm at full length and in her l. hand holds cornucopiae. In field and in exergue various letters, dates or monograms. The whole surrounded by a laurel wreath.

BM, 15.80 gr. Newell (*NNM* 84) has shown that these were struck in Damascus. Weights similar to tetradrachms struck in Antioch.

Drachms

10. *Obv.*: Head of Tigranes as 7. Border of dots.

Rev.: To r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. To l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ/ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Type as 7. Various letters in field, to r. of the head of Tyche and below river-god Orontes.

ANS, 4.13 gr. The workmanship of the 25 drachms known to the writer is somewhat more artistic than that of the tetradrachms. The drachms were struck in Tigranocerta.

Copper coins-Tigranocerta Mint

Unit Bronze

11. *Obv.*: As 10. One specimen has countermark A on tiara.

Rev.: As 10. Letter T between Tyche and palm on certain specimens.

P. Bedoukian, 6.13 gr. The weights of 20 known specimens vary considerably. Most are in poor condition and some are overstruck on other coins.

Half Unit Bronze

12. *Obv.*: As 11.

Rev.: As 11.

BM, 4.65 gr. These are no doubt smaller denominations of the unit bronze struck in Tigranocerta. Another specimen (Mme. Kapamadji Coll.) has T in the field.

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Copper Coins-Damascus Mint
Unit Bronze

13. *Obv.*: As 9 (Damascus tetradrachm). Circle of dots.
Rev.: As 9. Circle of dots. In most there is the letter N in the field. Some have in l. field ΘE above OΦ.
BM, 8.47 gr. Twelve specimens known.

Half Unit Bronze

14. *Obv.*: As 13.
Rev.: As 13.
ANS, 4.60 gr. The BN specimen (3.00 gr.) is a half unit bronze.

One-Third Unit Bronze (?)

15. *Obv.*: As 13.
Rev.: Legend as 13. Nike advancing l. with outstretched r. hand holding wreath. Palm in l. hand. In outer l. field ΘE above OΦ.
State Museum of Armenia (Erevan), 2.67 gr. Newell (*NNM* 84) considers the possibility that this may be a one-third unit bronze.

Copper Coins-Unknown Mint (Nike Reverse)
Unit Bronze

16. *Obv.*: Head of Tigranes r. wearing Armenian tiara with centered eight pointed star, no eagles. Some specimens have A to l. Border of dots.
Rev.: To r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. To l. ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Nike advancing l., holding crown or wreath in l. hand and r. arm extending downward. Various letters below Nike and in field.
State Museum of Armenia (Erevan), 7.0 gr. Le Rider (*RN* 1959/60) attributes this type to Antioch.

Half Unit Bronze

17. *Obv.*: As 16.
Rev.: As 16.
BM, 5.33 gr.

(Ornate Tiara and Nike reverse)
Half Unit Bronze

18. *Obv.*: Head of Tigranes r. wearing very ornate tiara with four spikes instead of the usual five. Centered eight-sided star is

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flanked by columns of beads (?). All have letter A to left of king's head.

Rev.: As 17, but no letters in field.

BM, 3.67 gr. The styling of this coin definitely suggests a different mint. Possibly struck in Media.

(Heracles [Vahagn] reverse)

Half Unit Bronze

19. *Obv.*: Typical head of Tigranes r. with star and two eagles.

Rev.: To r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. To l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ/ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Bearded nude Heracles (Vahagn) standing, head l; l. hand leaning on club and r. arm folded holding lion's skin. On some, letter to l. and r. of figure.

BN, 3.02 gr. These were most likely struck in Artaxata as indicated by Le Rider (*RN* 1959/60).

(Palm Branch reverse)

Half Unit Bronze

20. *Obv.*: As 19.

Rev.: To r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. To l. ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Palm branch between legends. Monogram to l. of stem and letters to r.

BN, 4.15 gr. Described by Babelon (*Rois de Syrie*, p. 214). Possibly an early issue struck in Artaxata.

(Seated figure reverse)

Half Unit Bronze

21.[51] *Obv.*: as 19. Border of dots.

Rev.: To r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. To l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ/ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Figure seated l. (?). Letters in field and below figure.

BM, 2.44 gr. Possibly a one-third unit bronze. The legend suggests Armenia proper as the location of the mint.

ARTAVASDES II (56–34 B.C.)

Tetradrachm

22. *Obv.*: Head of Artavasdes r., diademed, wearing earrings and Armenian five pointed tiara with eight pointed square star flanked by floral design. Bead and reel border.

Rev.: Above ΒΑϹΙΛΕΩϹ/ΒΑϹΙΛΕΩΝ. Below ΑΡΤΑΥΑΖΔΕΩ/ΘΕΙΟΥ.

[51] A Unit Bronze of this type has recently been reported to the author.

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Quadriga l. Charioteer wearing crown and holding reins. In l. field, IH below monogram. All in wreath.

State Museum of Armenia (Erevan), 14.85 gr. This unique tetradrachm was recently reported by Mousheghian (see n. 46).

Drachms

23. *Obv.*: Head of king r., diademed, wearing earrings and five pointed Armenian tiara with eight pointed star flanked by eagles. Fillet border.

Rev.: Above ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC. Below ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ/ΑΡΤΑΥΑΖΔΟΥ. Type as 22 but monogram to l. and letter above.

P. Bedoukian, 3.78 gr. Of the eight specimens known to the author, all have the same monogram but different letters in the field.

Copper coins

24. *Obv.*: As 22 but no earrings visible. In l. field, A.

Rev.: To r. ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC. To l. ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ/ΑΡΤΑΥΑCΔΟΥ. Nike advancing l., holding a crown (?) in extended r. hand.

BN, 9.0 gr. Another specimen (State Museum of Armenia) is overstruck on a Phoenician bronze.

Artaxias II (30–20 B.C.)

Copper coin

25. *Obv.*: Head of king r. wearing Armenian tiara with five (?) pointed star.

Rev.: Traces of Βαειλεὺς Μεγας inscription. Nike standing to r. with crown (?) in l. hand.

P. Bedoukian, 4.35 gr. Found in a small hoard of Tigranes II copper coins.

Tigranes III (20–8/6 B.C.)

Drachm

26. *Obv.*: Head of king r., slightly bearded, wearing a tall five pointed tiara adorned with a large eight pointed star. Fillet border.

Rev.: To r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. To l. ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ/ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ/ΚΑΙΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. Bearded figure standing l., draped in mantle and wearing three pointed tiara. Holds thunderbolt (?) in his outstretched r. hand and rests l. hand on tall scepter or spear.

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ANS, 3.83 gr. (small piece broken off). Newell (*NNM* 30) attributes this coin to Tigranes III. Both styling and legend support this attribution. Probably struck in Artaxata.

Copper coins

Unit Bronze

27. *Obv.*: Bust of diademed king r., beardless, wearing a tall five pointed tiara with a large eight pointed star.

Rev.: Square legend reading clockwise. Above ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; to r. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ; bottom ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ; to l. ΘΕΟΥ. Elephant to l. with trunk turned down.

P. Bedoukian, 7.08 gr. Probably struck in Artaxata.

28. *Obv.*: As 27.

Rev.: Square legend reading clockwise as 27, but beginning to r. Nike advancing l., holding crown (?) in l. hand and r. arm extending downward.

A. Donabedian.

Half Unit Bronze

29. *Obv.*: As 27.

Rev.: Square legend as 27 but does not read clockwise. Above ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; to r. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ; bottom ΓΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ; to l. ΘΕΟΥ. Lion's head to r.

A. Donabedian, 1.60 gr.

30.[52] *Obv.*: As 27.

Rev.: Square legend as 27. Horse l. with foreleg raised.

BN 2.85 gr. Babelon (*Rois de Syrie*, p. 216) attributes this to Tigranes IV. However, the style of the portrait and the identical square legend on the reverse leave little doubt that this coin belongs to Tigranes III.

TIGRANES IV (8–5 B.C).

Copper coins

Unit Bronze

31. *Obv.*: Head of heavily bearded king r., diademed and wearing Armenian tiara.

Rev.: To r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Fortune seated on throne l. In her l. hand holding cornucopiae and in r. an uncertain object.

[52] A Unit Bronze (4.5 gr.) of this type has recently been acquired by Professor A. Donabedian.

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BN, 5.55 gr. Babelon (*Rois de Syrie*, p. 215) attributes his coin to Tigranes III.

32. *Obv.*: Heavily bearded Tigranes as 31. Dotted border.
Rev.: To r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. To l. illegible inscription. Victory standing r. Upraised r. hand holding wreath and l. arm holding cornucopiae.
Mechitarist Museum, 6.5 gr.

33. *Obv.*: Head of Tigranes r. as 31.
Rev.: To r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. To l. ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ/ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ Athena standing l., shield in l. hand and in r. hand a spear.
BN, 4.78 gr. Le Rider (*RN* 1959/60) attributes this to Tigranes III.

34. *Obv.*: Head of Tigranes r. as 30.
Rev.: To r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. To l. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ/ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Bearded nude Heracles (Vahagn) standing l. Left hand leaning on club and r. arm folded holding lion's skin.
P. Bedoukian, 6.77 gr. The coin was acquired in Iran.

Half Unit Bronze

35. *Obv.*: Heavily bearded Tigranes as 31.
Rev.: Above ΒΑΣΛΕΩΣ. Below ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ/ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Elephant to l. with trunk turned up.
P. Bedoukian, 4.47 gr. The obverse of this coin (two specimens in the author's collection) is strikingly similar to no. 31 and must be attributed to the same king.

36. *Obv.*: Heavily bearded Tigranes as 31.
Rev.: Inscription illegible. Eagle standing r.
P. Bedoukian, 2.45 gr.

37. *Obv.*: Uncertain.
Rev.: To r. only ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ legible but probably inscription as 33. Athena standing as 33.
Mechitarist Museum, probably the half unit of No. 33.

Tigranes IV and Erato (2 B.C.–A.D. 1)

Copper coin

38. *Obv.*: Bust of Tigranes r. wearing Armenian tiara and diademed. Clockwise legend ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΗC.
Rev.: Bust of Queen Erato l. Counterclockwise legend ΕΡΑΤΩ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΗ.
BN, 7.0 gr. Recorded by Babelon (*Rois de Syrie*, p. 216).

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ARTAVASDES IV (A.D. 4–6)

Silver coin

39. *Obv.*: Head of Augustus r., laureate. Clockwise legend ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ.
Rev.: Head of Artavasdes IV r., diademed. Clockwise legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΥΑΞΔΟΥ.
BM, 3.53 gr.

TIGRANES V (Ca. A.D. 6)

Copper coin

40. *Obv.*: Head of Tigranes r., beardless. In l. field, A.
Rev.: Above ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. Below ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ. Biga l. The king wearing a tiara and holding reins with l. hand and palm (?) with r. hand.
BN, 6.44 gr. Le Rider (*RN* 1959/60) lists this coin as uncertain and in the discussion which follows, he did not consider this late Tigranes as a possibility.

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A BYZANTINE HOARD FROM COELESYRIA

(PLATES XII–XVIII)

GEORGE E. BATES

A savings hoard[1] of 272 Byzantine folles and one half-follis was found in the vicinity of Heliopolis (modern Baalbek) in 1959, and acquired by the writer shortly after its discovery. The hoard practically filled the ceramic jug in which it was found.[2] The coins ranged in date from ca. A.D. 500 to 631, although two-thirds of them were struck in the 33 years, 583 to 616. The earlier coins show much the greater wear. Most of the coins minted from the last decade of the sixth century onward show little wear, though they are badly corroded and are often poorly struck or overstruck on earlier flans from which the original impressions were not completely effaced.

As Heliopolis was captured by the Arabs in 635 while the latest coin in the hoard was struck in Constantinople in 630/1, it may be surmised that the jug with its collection of folles was buried shortly before the Arab invasion of Coelesyria. That only 14 folles struck after 615/6 were added to the hoard might be explained by the Persian forays to the south of Antioch which probably began after 615 and would have disrupted commercial relations with the rest of the Byzantine empire.

There is a hiatus in coin dates between the years 538 and 556. It would not have been until 544/5, however, that the large dated folles of Justinian I would have been reduced to a diameter suited to the narrow neck of the container. This leaves one decade not accounted for, but the succeeding decade exhibits only 6 folles and the next only 12. This implies that the dated folles of Justinian I had become scarce in Coelesyria by the latter part of the century when this col-

[1] Because of the relatively few duplicates (there was only one die identity: the obverse of Nos. 145 and 146) one would be tempted to call this a "collection." Judged by condition, the collecting was begun in the latter years of Maurice's reign.

[2] The jug, dated as not later than the fifth century, is 19.5 cm. in overall height and has a maximum diameter of 14.5 cm. The neck is 5.3 cm. high and has an inside diameter of 3.8 cm.

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lection was begun. Bellinger suggests the possibility that the familiar profile types may have proved more acceptable in Coelesyria at that period than the new facing bust type.

Among noteworthy features of the hoard, apart from the variety of types, dates, mints, and officinae, are the several previously unpublished folles, the inclusion of a Seleucian coin which adds confirmation that more than two officinae were in operation in that mint, and the remarkable number of what I have called the "paludamentum type." There is also one of the relatively rare folles of the joint reign of Justin and Justinian as well as two of the curious dated folles of Justin I from Cyzicus.

Commentary on certain coins in the hoard is given in the following three notes: 1. Dated Folles of Justin I, 2. Paludamentum Type, and 3. Mint Officinae at Seleucia.

1. Dated Folles of Justin I

In the first draft of this note, what appeared to be dated folles of Justin I issued by the Cyzicus mint presented something of an enigma because the date was indicated by IN∫Δ rather than INΔΔ as representing the fourth Indiction (1 September 525–31 August 526), the next to last year of Justin's reign. It had also previously been assumed that Byzantine coinage was not dated before 538/9, and then by regnal years rather than indictions, in the twelfth year of Justinian's reign after the promulgation of *Novel* XLVII in 537. In the original version of the note I had suggested that the form IN∫Δ had been adopted by the die sinker to avoid the possible confusion of doubling the deltas, and who had consequently inserted the ∫ as a mark of abbreviation in place of the first delta.

Two subsequent finds have confirmed this original hypothesis. Mr. Grierson has acquired in 1967 for Dumbarton Oaks a Justin I follis from Cyzicus with the date IN∫Є.[3] This continuation of dating in the fifth indiction, the last year of Justin's reign, is consistent with the hypothesis that IN∫Δ represented the fourth indiction, and could

[3] Grierson also reports that there is an IN∫Є follis in the Bolvin collection in Austria.

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have been anticipated. There is no evidence that the Cyzicus mint was operative between 527 and 538. The second and more recent acquisition was that of Mr. Metcalf of a Nicomedian follis of Justin I, officina B, dated INΔSA which confirms as fact that INS was an abbreviation for INΔ and that the mark of abbreviation S was inserted to avoid a doubling of the deltas in the contracted Cyzicus version. There are other implications of this Nicomedian follis; a minor one is that the S as a sign of abbreviation may mean that the genitive case, *indictionis*, was intended, with *anno* implied.[4]

Two of the dated folles from Cyzicus (Nos. 28 and 29) were in the hoard, and were assigned to the year 525/6 although the illegibility of the final character in the date could mean that one or both are of the year 526/7. On these and similar folles of Justin I at Cyzicus the mint is indicated by K and Y to left and right of the mark of value, M.[5] This mint mark accords with the K and Y to left and right of the long cross on the half-folles.[6] All known dated folles of Justin I from Cyzicus, as well as the one from Nicomedia, are of officina B. Instead of K/Y, the Nicomedia follis conforms to the type in having the mint mark N/I, which is similar to the N and I to left and right of the long cross on the half-folles from officinae A and B of Nicomedia.[7] An unusual

[4] This may be an appropriate place in which to express my appreciation of the gracious and generous assistance rendered by Messrs. Grierson, Metcalf, and P. D. Whitting in providing material for the revision of this note. Mr. Grierson has not only sent me a photograph of the INSE follis at Dumbarton Oaks but also made available to me his notes on other Cyzicus coins of Justin I to which reference is made herein. Mr. Metcalf has supplied me with photographs of the important INΔSA follis of Nicomedia and of two dated folles of Cyzicus in the Ashmolean Museum. It is hoped that Mr. Metcalf may soon publish the Nicomedia follis. Mr. Whitting has made available to me the several Cyzicus folles of Justin I in his magnificent collection. Finally, I should acknowledge the antecedent encouragement and advice of Mr. Bellinger, not only in undertaking this note, but in publishing the hoard itself.

[5] Bellinger, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, Vol. I (1966), p. 51, no. 40, and p. 52, nos. (41), (42), 43, and (44), the text gives the mint mark as K/V but the illustrations clearly show the mint mark as K/Y. The same contradiction of text and illustration is true of Tolstoi, *Monnaies Byzantines* (1912–1914), nos. 50 and 66, pl. 17. All other dated folles which I have seen have the mint mark K/Y.

[6] Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* (1908), no. 63, pl. III, 13, and Bellinger, *D.O.Cat.* I, no. 43, pl. X, for officina A; and Tolstoi no. 66, pl. 17, without officina mark.

[7] Bellinger, *D.O.Cat.* I, nos. 34a.1–35, pls. IX and X.

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feature of the dated folles, in addition to the date itself, is that the date replaces the usual mint mark KYZ or NIKM in the exergue. Because the two dated folles in the hoard are in such poor condition that they cannot be reproduced clearly, the reverses of two others in my collection are illustrated for the purposes of this note (PLATE XII, A, B).

Three of the dated folles from Cyzicus have previously been published: one in 1952 by Waage,[8] a second in 1957 by Longuet,[9] and the third by Bellinger in 1966.[10] In addition to these three, the two in the hoard, and the two others in my collection, seven more are known to me. Two are in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, one in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, one in Dumbarton Oaks (in addition to the one published by Bellinger), one in the collection of P. D. Whitting, one in the Bolvin collection, and one in the collection of George Zacos. Of this total of 14, two have the date IN∫Є, eight have the date IN∫Δ, and on four the date is illegible.

The undated folles of Justin I from Cyzicus appear to be even more rare. My notes indicate only five from officina A, four from officina B, and one without officina mark.[11] Three half-folles, undated, have been published: an A by Wroth,[12] an A by Bellinger,[13] and one without officina mark by Tolstoi.[14] While Wroth dated the reopening of the Cyzicus mint[15] as ca. 518,[16] the first year of Justin's reign, the scarcity of these undated coins would indicate that this mint only commenced operation in or shortly before 525. After Justin's death the Cyzicus

[8] Waage, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, IV, part 2 (Princeton, 1952), Antioch no. 2091, pl.

[9] Longuet, "Die unedierten byzantinischen Münzen des Wiener Kabinettes," *NZ* 1957, no. 191, pl. II.

[10] Bellinger, *D.O.Cat.* I, no. 40, pl. X.

[11] Two of the A and one of the B are in the Whitting Collection; one B is in the Carroll Wales collection; one A is in my collection; one B is in Longuet (*NZ* 1957, no. 52); one A is in Wroth (*BMCByz.*, no. 62); one A is in Tolstoi (no. 50, pl. 17); and Grierson has informed me of two B, one in the Fitzwilliam Museum and the other in the Hollschek sale.

[12] *BMCByz.* no. 63; pl. III, 13.

[13] *D.O.Cat.* I, no. 43, pl. X.

[14] No. 66; pl. 17.

[15] After a lapse beginning about 474 or earlier. Cf. Carson and Kent, *Late Roman Bronze Coinage* (London, 1960), p. 99.

[16] *BMCByz.*, page c.

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mint seems to have been closed for a decade until the year 538/9 when Justinian inaugurated his facing-bust coinage dated by regnal years.

This brief operation of a mint at Cyzicus ca. 525–527 would imply an increased Asiatic demand for coinage at that time which it was considered might better or more appropriately be met at Cyzicus than by a permanent increase in the number of officinae at Nicomedia.[17] The Nicomedian dated follis of 522/3 from officina B, followed by the dated folles of Cyzicus in 525/6 and 526/7, all bearing the officina mark B, however, might indicate that there were problems of providing an adequate staff at Cyzicus and that the new mint's output had to be assisted by personnel from the Nicomedia mint. It may have been this staffing problem, coupled with a diminution in the Asiatic demand and possibly other factors, which led to the closing of the mint in 527.

When dating of bronze coins by indictions occurred at Carthage in the reign of Maurice the abbreviation used for *indictione* was IND;[18] and at Syracuse in the reigns of Constans II and Justinian II the abbreviation INΔ. Then why INΔS at Nicomedia and INS at Cyzicus in the reign of Justin I? Since the dating appears in the fourth indiction (1 September 525–31 August 526) at Cyzicus, one can readily appreciate that a mark of abbreviation S would have been a convenient device for avoiding the double deltas in the contracted form of the abbreviation used at Cyzicus. Having begun with this form it would have been natural to have continued the same abbreviation in the following year, INSЄ, even though the original problem no longer existed. The use of this abbreviation mark does raise the possibility, as previously noted, that the genitive *indictionis* (rather than *indictione*) was intended, with *anno* implied.

Still unanswered is the question of why a dated coinage should have been instituted in 522/3 and in 525/6 and not continued after 526/7. Such an innovation on the imperial coinage presumably would not have been undertaken without imperial authority. It is tempting to suggest that Justinian, who by that date had a powerful voice in imperial matters and would have been more likely than his uncle

[17] Cf. Bates, "Three Byzantine Notes," Note 1, "Officina Є of the Nicomedia Mint," ANSMN 14, p. 111–115.
[18] Ibid., Note 3, "INDS at the Carthage Mint," pp. 116–120.

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Justin to have concerned himself with such a matter, was responsible for the experiment. We know that in 537 he promulgated *Novel* XLVII which led to the dating of the bronze coinage by regnal years beginning in 538/9. It is possible that he had long had in mind the project of a dated coinage, and took this opportunity to experiment at mints some distance from the capital. There would be few if any reverberations at Constantinople; and the project could be continued and expanded to other mints if successful, or quietly dropped or even disavowed if unsuccessful. Such an experiment conducted by one officina of a reasonably distant mint would correspond to modern techniques for testing new products or methods of promotion. If this is the explanation, it can be assumed either that the trial type proved unacceptable or that the experiment automatically ended with the closing of the Cyzicus mint and that Justinian, by then preoccupied with greater affairs, neglected to authorize it at another mint. It may be significant that when regular dating of the coinage was begun in 538/9 it was by regnal years rather than indictions.

The undated coins of Justin I at Cyzicus deserve special treatment, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Grierson will undertake that study when time permits. One question is whether officina A continued to strike undated coins after officina B commenced the dated series. At the outset, however, it would seem probable that the undated half-folles[19] and folles[20] without officina mark represented the first output of the Cyzicus mint when there was but a single officina (which was subsequently denominated A when officina B began operation). The problem which this presents is that it has been assumed that stars either side of the M preceded the crosses,[21] whereas the undated follis without officina mark is of the †/† type. This could readily be explained in this instance, however, if as seems likely the Cyzicus mint did not begin operation until the last years of Justin's reign. Consistent

[19] Tolstoi, no. 66, pl. 17, with a six-pointed vertical star to the right of the K in place of an officina mark.

[20] Grierson has a note of having seen a follis with crosses to left and right of the M and a six-pointed vertical star beneath, in place of an officina mark.

[21] For Nicomedia, Bellinger, *D.O.Cat.* I, pp. 48–49, gives ✱/✱ as the first type for Justin I, ✱/† for the second, and †/† for the last. For this order he follows Wroth, *BMCByz.*, p. 17. The order was probably suggested by the fact that the folles of Anastasius I had stars to left and right of the M.

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with the foregoing analysis are the folles of officina A and B with †/†.[22] Third in order might come the ₱/₱ of officina B.[23] All these, and in this order, could be accepted as preceding the dated folles. A problem arises from the folles of officina A with ✱/✱[24] which, it might be assumed, should have preceded the †/† types.

2. Paludamentum Type

There is a facing-bust type of the coinage of Maurice, Phocas, and Heraclius which I shall call the "paludamentum" type[25] to distinguish it from the usual "fully-armored" type with shield, and from other types without shield. The principal features are: (1) paludamentum thrown across the breast and over the left shoulder, partially or wholly obscuring the cuirass; (2) the paludamentum fastened at the right shoulder by a fibula with a fully-formed and rising loop as well as pendants; and (3) absence of shield.

While this type became a regular feature of the second or third type of solidus of Maurice presumably dating from ca. 583,[26] and was followed on the solidi of Phocas and Heraclius, its appearance on the folles of Maurice is relatively rare. In the hoard there were three such folles, all of Constantinople: two of year 5, officinae Γ and Δ; and one of year 13, officina B.[27] In my collection, in addition, there are 10 of these folles, also all of Constantinople: one of year 5, B; three of year 6, A; one of year 6, B; one of year 6, Є; two of year 11, A; one of year 11, Γ; and one of year 16, Δ. In the Dumbarton Oaks Collection there is one such follis of year 5, A;[28] and the cabinet of the American Numismatic Society contains one of year 6, Є. The failure of cataloguers

[22] Wroth, *BMCByz.*, no. 62, an A with †/?, another A with †/† in Whitting's collection; and Longuet's no. 52 from the Wiener Staatlichen Collection, a B presumably with †/†.

[23] One in the Fitzwilliam Museum, of which Metcalf has supplied me a photograph; one in the Whitting Collection; one which Grierson informs me was in the Hollschek sale; and one in the Carroll Wales collection.

[24] Tolstoi, no. 50, pl. 17, with ?/✱; and one in the Whitting Collection with ✱/✱.

[25] In the interest of a standardized nomenclature, I follow Grierson in using "paludamentum" for the military chlamys or cloak, and reserve "chlamys" for the imperial chlamys or robe.

[26] Cf. Bellinger, *D.O.Cat.* I, pp. 296 et seq.

[27] Nos. 92, 93, and 104.

[28] Bellinger, *D.O.Cat.* I, p. 304, no. 28a.2.

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to distinguish the paludamentum type permits me to cite only these 15 folles from the Constantinople mint. There is no present evidence that this type was used for the follis by other mints.[29]

Presently available evidence indicates that the paludamentum type appeared on the half-follis at Constantinople at least a year earlier; i.e., in regnal year 4 (585/6). The Dumbarton Oaks and Whittemore collections contain 10 from Constantinople, as follows: year 4, A; two varieties of year 4, B; year 4, Є; two of year 5, B; year 5, Δ; year 6, A; year 6, B; and year 7, Є.[30] In my collection (not in the hoard) there are two from Constantinople, year 7, Γ.

At Thessalonica the paludamentum type appears on the half-follis as early as regnal year 3 (584/5) and was continued until the end of Maurice's reign, although the fully-armored type was continued at least through year 5.[31] The Dumbarton Oaks and Whittemore collections contain 19 of these paludamentum type half-folles: one of year 3; four of year 5; two of year 6; one of year 7; four of year 8; two of year 10; one of year 11; one of year 13; one of year 19; and two of year 21.[32] In my collection there are 8: one of year 7; one of year 8; two of year 10; three of year 20; and one of year 21.

Variations of the paludamentum type of Maurice were a fairly common feature of the decanummia at all mints except Antioch and Alexandria. It remains another mystery of Byzantine numismatics why this type, adopted as standard for the solidi and widely imitated on the decanummia, should have appeared (and but infrequently) on the folles only of Constantinople, and only on the half-folles with any consistency at Thessalonica.

The paludamentum type reappears on the follis in the first year of Heraclius' reign (610/11) at Nicomedia, but not to the exclusion of the fully-armored type.[33] It is only adopted at Constantinople in the third

[29] Some folles of Rome and Ravenna appear to be closely akin to but not strictly of this type. The same may be said of the half-folles of the western mints.

[30] Bellinger, *D.O.Cat.* I, pp. 312–313.

[31] Based on an example in my collection.

[32] Bellinger, *D.O.Cat.* I, pp. 321–323.

[33] The consular dress in which Phocas usually appears in the facing-bust type of follis of course precluded the paludamentum type. At Ravenna, however, the follis was of the latter type. Cf. Wroth, *BMCByz.*, no. 163, pl. XXII, 19.

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year (612/13), the last year of the single bust type of follis.[34] In the hoard there were 8 folles from Nicomedia of years 1, 2, and 3 with both officinae A and B represented in each year.[35] There are other folles of those years and officinae in my collection,[36] in the Dumbarton Oaks and Whittemore collections,[37] and in the cabinet of the American Numismatic Society,[38] which latter contains also a half-follis of this type from Thessalonica, year 4.[39] Tolstoi illustrates two of year 2, officinae A and B.[40]

In the hoard there were four folles of the paludamentum type of Heraclius from the Constantinople mint, all of year 3, officinae Γ, Δ, Є, and one obscure.[41] The Dumbarton Oaks and Whittemore collections have two of year 3, officinae A and Є. Judged only by this evidence and that of my own collection,[42] it is possible that officina B continued to strike only the fully-armored type. Officina A struck both types.[43] If further evidence shows that other officinae also struck both, it could be inferred that the paludamentum type in year 3 at Constantinople was intermediate between the fully-armored and two-standing-figures types. Why the mint of Constantinople should belatedly have followed the lead of Nicomedia is another question. The only present evidence is that Cyzicus never adopted the type.

Subsequent types with paludamentum, cuirass, and no shield, as on the coinage of Constans II and succeeding emperors, are of a different design, so that it may be concluded that the paludamentum type, as

[34] And the first year of the two-standing-figures type, as Heraclius Constantine was associated with his father as Augustus on 22 January 613.
[35] Nos. 248, 249, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, and 256.
[36] Year 1, B; year 2, A; year 3, B.
[37] All, except year 3, A.
[38] Year 1, A; year 1, B; year 3, A; and possible one of year 3, B.
[39] Cf., also Wroth, *BMCByz.*, no. 222, pl. XXV, 5, for a similar half-follis. Why Heraclius Constantine was not associated with his father until the year 5 at Thessalonica remains a question.
[40] Nos. 63 and 64, pl. 46. Tolstoi seemed to recognize a difference in type from the fully-armored bust when, referring to these two folles, he notes (p. 636) that the bust is in military chlamys and helmet with feathers of the same shape as on the solidi, but his description goes no further.
[41] Nos. 202, 203, 205, and 206.
[42] Seven folles of year 3, officina B, of the fully-armored type.
[43] A follis of the fully-armored type in my collection is of year 3, officina A.

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herein described, ended in the third or fourth year of Heraclius' reign.[44]

3. Mint Officinae at Seleucia

Coin No. 272 in the hoard (Plate XVI), of Seleucia Isauriae[45] in Heraclius' regnal year 7 (616/7), standing-figures type, bears the officina mark Γ. In his article on the Isaurian coins, Grierson stated that Seleucia "had two officinae A and B" and, by implication, no more. He dismissed Wroth's no. 275 as "Δ for A as officina mark;" and said further that the officina mark on Ratto's no. 1440 was invisible.[46] But Ratto recorded the mark as Є, and his illustration (pl. XXXI) certainly seems to show an Є, as does Grierson's illustration (pl. IX, 6).[47]

We are indebted to Professor Grierson for that article in which he reattributed to Seleucia Isauriae coins previously attributed to Antioch (Wroth) and to Ephesus or possibly Scepsis in Mysia (Sabatier). Most helpful, also, was his appendix cataloguing the 35 Isaurian coins then known to him. From his interpretation of that list, however, he concluded that; (1) all coins of Seleucia were from officinae A and B, (2) Seleucia struck coins only in regnal year 7, and (3) at Seleucia officina A struck only the two-busts type while officina B struck only the standing-figures folles and the two-busts half-folles. As he remarked, "Such an arrangement, by which one officina in a mint was striking one type at the same time that another officina was striking a different one, is unparalleled in Byzantine mint organization." This consideration then led him to assume that the explanation might be,

[44] While Galavaris does not distinguish the paludamentum type, his description and interpretation of the transition from armored bust to consular and imperial chlamys types may be pertinent to an understanding of the paludamentum type as a first step to a redraping of the paludamentum and the eventual adoption of the chlamys types. Cf. Galavaris, "The Symbolism of the Imperial Costume as Displayed on Byzantine Coins," ANSMN 8 (1958), pp. 99–117.

[45] Cf. Grierson, "The Isaurian Coins of Heraclius," *NC* 1951, pp. 56–67.

[46] *NC* 1951, p. 64. Professor Grierson has since told me that he was wrong about Wroth's no. 275, but that he still had doubts concerning Ratto's no. 1440.

[47] But Grierson remarked that this coin had been, "Heavily cleaned and 'restored'" (p. 64). This would readily explain his scepticism if the "restoration" involved the officina mark.

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"that the personnel of the mint was drawn from two different sources," officina A from Alexandria and officina B probably from Nicomedia.

As a supplement to Grierson's catalogue I append a description of 12 Isaurian coins in my collection.[48] Among them are several which relate to Grierson's three assumptions:

(1) PLATE XVI, No. 272, Γ; Wroth's no. 275, Δ; possibly Ratto's no. 1440, Є; and PLATE XVII, D, Є raise the question of whether officinae other than A and B were employed at Seleucia, similar to the question regarding the mint of Nicomedia[49] and possibly also that of Cyzicus.[50]

(2) PLATE XVII, C and D are apparently of the regnal year 6 and thus supplement other evidence[51] that the Seleucia mint began operation as early as 615/16, rather than year 7 (616/17).

(3) PLATE XVII, E shows that officina A struck the standing-figures type[52] as well as the two-busts type, and thus that there was not the unique specialization for which Grierson was led to seek an

[48] See PLATES XVI-XVIII. Only No. 272 is from the hoard.

[49] Cf. Bates, *ANSMN* 14, pp. 111–115.

[50] Cf. Bell, *Sardis*, vol. XI, part I (1916), for three folles of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine from the Cyzicus mint: one of year 4, Δ (no. 904); one of year 5, Γ (no. 905); and one of year ?, Γ (no. 906).

[51] Professor Grierson has recently written to me, "I have not seen any coins with 9, such as you describe, but several with III/III show it [the mint of Seleucia] as open in Year 6." In the Whitting Collection there are two Seleucian folles dated $\frac{III}{III}$ of the two-busts type, one A and one B; also three of year 7, B, two of year 7 of the two-busts type, one Δ and one Є, and a half-follis two-busts type of year 7, A (Grierson, "A New Isaurian Coin of Heraclius," *NC* 1953, pp. 145f.). The Whitting Collection also contains two folles of Isaura, one of year 7, A, and one of year 8, A. To add further to the corpus begun by Grierson, I note that in the cabinet of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum there are six Isaurian coins: Seleucia folles, 1) two-busts type, 91, A, overstruck on Nicomedia flan; 2) two-busts type, 9(?), A, overstruck on Maurice flan; 3) standing figures type, I9?, A; 4) standing figures type, 91, off. obs.; Seleucia half-follis, 5) two-busts type, 91, A?; and Isaura follis, 6) two-busts type, date obs., A. In the Adana Museum there are two Seleucia folles; (no. 106) two-busts type, 91, A, and (no. 665) standing figures type, 91, B. No Isaurian coins were found in the collection of the Antakya Museum. Grateful acknowledgement is made to the directors and staffs of these three Turkish museums for permission to examine their Byzantine collections, and for their friendly assistance.

[52] A follis similar to PLATE XVII, E, was advertised for sale by Spink & Son, Ltd. (*Num. Circ.* 1967, p. 80, Byzantine coin no. 1472).

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explanation in terms of personnel drawn from different sources. Note also the standing-figures type of officina Γ and the two-busts type of officinae Δ and Ε.

(4) PLATE XVIII, K, A, of the two-busts type, confirms operation of the Seleucia mint in 615/6. The year 6 is indicated as $\frac{III}{III}$ rather than ϛ (PLATE XVII, C, D) and presumably was the first type of this year.

While it seems certain that on the basis of more recent evidence Grierson would accept the latter two emendations to his 1951 article, he probably remains to be convinced that officinae other than A and B had any real existence. A healthy scepticism is surely in order when the evidence is so slim. In graciously commenting on several hypotheses which I was tentatively advancing, he raised the following questions about this one: "Would a mint like this require such an elaborate organization? Aren't the die sinkers just copying coins of other mints, A and B coming more frequently because they were commoner?"

Elsewhere[53] I have suggested that there were at least seven hypotheses by which these additional officina marks might be explained, and that it would be imprudent to be dogmatic about any of them. Answers to Grierson's two questions, however, could be readily supplied, but whether they are the correct answers we cannot know. If there was an optimum size for mint officinae (perhaps dictated by factors of supervision and space, or even of custom), and if there was the local demand for coinage which could not as easily be supplied from the other and distant mints and thus led to the opening of the mint at Seleucia, it is surely not improbable that more than two officinae might temporarily have been required. And to answer the second question: if there were two officinae, A and B, in operation, would it have been necessary to have taken models from outside those officinae? Stylistically, there seems to be no question but that the obverses of the Seleucian coins were from dies cut locally and not patterned on those from other mints. Why, then, would the die sinkers cutting the reverse dies have required an assortment of models from Constantinople? If they were working in officina A or B, would

[53] *ANSMN* 14, p. 113.

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they have been ignorant of the designation of their own officina and slavishly followed an inapplicable model?

In the case of Seleucia, with its distinctive obverses, I cannot help but feel that we should tentatively accept the evidence of the coins and believe that for a short period there were officinae which supplemented the primary production of officinae A and B. The total number of Seleucian coins thus far known to us is so small that the few coins bearing other officina marks are not insignificant percentagewise, and should not be dismissed as evidence. The military necessity which probably brought the Seleucia mint into existence could well have demanded additional officinae to meet an immediate demand if it be reasonably assumed that mints were organized into officinae because of some optimum size for such units.

Seleucia

Mint mark, SЄЏSЧ; M with ✻ above, ANNO (vertical) to l., regnal year to r., officina mark below.

1. Two-busts type. JJNNhЄRA+ [ ].
   Yr. III: off. A.
   10.58 ↗ 33 mm. PLATE XVIII, K.
2. Two-busts type. ʼdПƎhʼ ALICЄII.
   Yr. Ч; off. A.
   Rev. overstruck on obv. of Maurice, Antioch, of period 589–602. The Ч is close to the border of the Maurice flan, so that is possible that this follis is of Yr. 7 though there is no other indication of this.
   11.92 ↓ 31mm. PLATE XVII, C.
3. Two-busts type. ⅂⅂NNhЄSA]SNЏISIP Ch.
   Yr. Ч; off. Є.
   9.99 ↓ 28 mm. PLATE XVII, D.
4. Two-busts type. ⅂⅂N[ ]]ƽ[ ]SC.
   Yr. ЧI; off. A.
   Obv. overstruck on unidentifiable rev.
   13.29 ↑ 31 mm. PLATE XVI, H.
5. Standing figures type. ⅂⅂ИИЄ CLUV[ ]ЏICЄC.
   Yr. ЧI; off. A.
   Overstruck
   10.49 ↑ 33 mm. PLATE XVII, E.

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6. Standing figures type. ϽϒNN[ ]ЄRO]h]VϽϽΛ^I.
   Yr. 9I; off. Γ.
   Obv. overstruck on obv. of Maurice, Antioch, of period 589–602. Christogram not visible, but the cross above the M of the original flan shows just to l. of where the Christogram should be.
   10.21 ↓ 35 mm. PLATE XVI, 272.
7. Two-busts type. JJNNdЄƧΛCIИSIϺhCЄИC.
   Yr. 9I; off. mark obscured by letters NIK° of original flan.
   Obv. overstruck on obv. of Phocas, Nicomedia, Yr. 6 or 7.
   10.99 ↓ 34 mm. PLATE XVII, F.

Mint mark, SЄ^{S}; K with cross above, ANNO (vertical) to l., regnal year to r., officina mark below.

8. Two-busts type. [off flan]]CЄCIIИ.
   Yr. 9[I?, off flan]; off. B.
   Struck off center on the flan.
   5.18 ↘ 22 mm. PLATE XVIII, I.

Isaura

Mint mark, ISÀYR; M with cross above, ANNO (vertical) to l., regnal year to r., officina mark below.

1. Two-busts type. UONhЄR ЄƆh [remainder off flan].
   Yr. 9II; off. A.
   C above left leg of M.
   Overstruck
   11.76 ↗ 31 mm. PLATE XVII, G.
2. Two-busts type. [ ]I.
   Yr. 9[II?, off flan]; off. A.
   Overstruck
   12.62 ↖ 30 mm. PLATE XVIII, J.
3. Two-busts type. [ ].
   Yr. 9[II?, off flan]; off. A.
   Overstruck
   12.62 ↖ 33 mm. PLATE XVIII, L.
4. Standing figures type. JJR[ ] ACLISA\\Y[.
   Yr. $\frac{9}{II}$; off. A.

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Obv. die might have been brought from Seleucia—the style is similar but not exact; date is not of the usual ꝟII form of Isaura; the cross above the M is typical of Isaura; the flan is very slightly scyphate, as is true of the majority of coins from Seleucia and Isaura; the mint mark is scarcely legible and the reading of Isaura may be questioned; it is possible that this follis was struck at some military post in the region after the evacuation of Isaura in 617/8. 14.63 ↙ 32 mm. PLATE XVIII, M.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABULATION OF THE HOARD

Years	*No. of specimens*	*Years*	*No. of specimens*	*Years*	*No. of specimens*
498–518	6	585/6	6	606/7	2
518–527	27	586/7	6	608/9	1
527	1	587/8	6	609/10	1
527–538	17	588/9	2	610	1
553/4	1	589/90	9	610/1	7[c]
556/7	2	590/1	8	611/2	12
557/8	1	591/2	6	612/3	24
560/1	1	592/3	2	613/4	14
563/4	1	593/4	3	614/5	5[c]
567/8	2	594/5	4	615/6	11[c]
568/9	1	595/6	4	616/7	1
569/70	3	596/7	6	619/20	2[c]
570/1	2	597/8	3	624/5	1
571/2	3	598/9	2	625/6	4
576/7	1	599/600	7[c]	626/7	1[c]
578	3[a]	600/1	4	627/8	3[c]
580/1	7	601/2	4	628/9	1[c]
581/2	2	602	2	630/1	1
582/3	1	602/3	2		273
583/4	8	603/4	1[b]		
584/5	2	605/6	2		

[a] Includes a probably barbarous piece of questionable date
[b] Coin of either 603/4 or 604/5
[c] Includes a coin of questionable date of approximately this year

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Conspectus of Mints Represented in the Hoard

EMPEROR	MINTS								TOTAL
	Constantinople	*Thessalonica*	*Nicomedia*	*Cyzicus*	*Antioch*	*Seleucia*	*Cyprus*	*Obscure*	
Anastasius I	6								6
Justin I	17		4	2	1			3	27
Justin and Justinian	1								1
Justinian I	16		1		6				23
Justin II	6		2		4				12
Tiberius II	7		5						12
Maurice	38		13	10	34				95
Phocas	3		3		4				10
Heraclius	59	2	17	7		1	1		87
TOTAL	153	2	45	19	49	1	1	3	273

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Catalogue of the Hoard

In general, reference is given to only one source in the following order of preference: Wroth, Tolstoi, Ratto, Sabatier, and Longuet. Reference is also given to any of these sources in which a coin is illustrated. The first two volumes of the Dumbarton Oaks catalogue of the Dumbarton Oaks and Whittemore (Fogg Museum) collections of Harvard were not yet available when this hoard was catalogued. In the absence of publication in the above-mentioned five sources, however, reference is made to these Harvard collections. The citations are:

W. — Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* (1908).
T. — Tolstoi, *Monnaies Byzantines* (1912–1914).
R. — Ratto, *Monnaies Byzantines et d'Autres Pays Contemporaines à l'Epoque Byzantine* (sale catalogue, 1930).
S. — Sabatier, *Description Generale des Monnaies Byzantines* (1862).
L. — Longuet, "Die unedierten byzantinischen Münzen des Wiener Kabinettes," *NZ* 1957, pp. 28–57, pls. 2–6.
D.O. — *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, edited by Bellinger and Grierson. Vol. I; *Anastasius I to Maurice*. Vol. II in press.
Leu. — Leuthold, "Monete Bizantine Rinvenute in Siria," *RIN* 1952/3, pp. 31–49, pls. 6, 7. (Tell Bisa find.)

ANASTASIUS I (491–518)
(Post-reform coinage of 498–518)

ANASTA SIVSPPAVC *Diademed bust r.*

M Above, cross.

CONSTANTINOPLE $\frac{|}{\text{CON}}$ (Small module)

1. 7.36 ↓ 26 mm. W. 41; T. 31, pl. 13.
Inscr. obs.

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2. 7.65 ↓ 23 mm. W. 41; T. 31, pl. 13.

$\frac{*|*}{CON}$ (Large module)

3. 14.63 ↓ 31 mm. Off. ?
T/A A/C

4. 16.73 ↑ 30 mm. Off. Γ W. 23; T. 20, pl. 12.

$\frac{*|*}{CON}$ (Large module)

5. 13.88 ↓ 32 mm. Off. ?

6. 15.41 ↓ 32 mm. Off. ?
Overstruck on Anast. B and dbl. struck

JUSTIN I (518–527)

DNIVSTI NVSPPAVC *Diademed bust r.*

M Above, cross.

CONSTANTINOPLE $\frac{*|*}{CON}$

7. 17.17 ↓ 33 mm. Off. A? W. 20v.

8. 17.44 ↓ 32 mm. Off. B Unpublished?
Cross above head

9. 12.74 ↓ 30 mm. Off. ?

$\frac{*|*}{CON}$

10. 18.07 ↓ 33 mm. Off. A T. 27v., pl. 16.
* l.

11. 16.68 ↑ 34 mm. Off. B cf. T. 27, pl. 16 (A).
Obs. device above head

12. 15.10 ↑ 32 mm. Off. B W. 21v.; D.O. 8b.1, pl. 7.

13. 15.17 ↓ 30 mm. Off. B W. 21v.; D.O. 8b.1, pl. 7.

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14. 12.75 ↑ 29 mm. Off Δ — T. 35, pl. 16.
Mint obs.; could be Nicomedia

15. 15.24 ↓ 32 mm. Off. Є — W. 27; D.O. 8e. 7.



16. 12.72 ↓ 32 mm. Off. Є — W. 27; D.O. 8e.3, pl. 7.



17. 15.14 ↓ 30 mm. Off. A? — W. 29, pl. 3, 5.

18. 12.61 ↓ 29 mm. Off. Γ
Cross obs.

19. 16.24 ↙ 31 mm. Off. Γ — W. 31.
Star obs.

20. 16.81 ↑ 32 mm. Off. Δ? — W. 32.



21. 17.07 ↑ 30 mm. Off. B — W. 30; D.O. 9b.2, pl. 7.

22. 14.43 ↑ 31 mm. Off. Γ — W. 31; D.O. 9c.1.

23. 17.07 ↓ 31 mm. Off. ?

NICOMEDIA



24. 16.66 ↓ 30 mm. Off. B — W. 57; D.O. 28b.1, pl. 9.



25. 14.39 ↓ 30 mm. Off. A — cf. W. 56.
Cross above head



26. 17.19 ↓ 34 mm. Off. A — R. 418.

27. 16.29 ↓ 30 mm. Off. B? — W. 57 v.; D.O. 33b.1, pl. 9.

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CYZICUS

$$\frac{K|Y}{INS\Delta}$$ (See text for dating of INSΔ)

28. 14.86 ↓ 30 mm. Off. B — L. 191, pl. 2.
525–527 Ex., IN[

29. 17.27 ↑ 30 mm. Off. B — L. 191, pl. 2.
525–527 Ex., obs.

ANTIOCH

$$\frac{\dagger|\dagger}{ANTX}$$

30. 16.26 ↓ 32 mm. Off. Δ — W. 67v.
ONIVSTI[ ]PPAVCS Ex., AN[

$$\frac{*|*}{?}$$

31. 13.66 ↓ 36 mm. Off. ?

32. 15.14 ↓ 30 mm. Off. ? $A^{V}C$.

$$\frac{?|\dagger}{?}$$

33. 17.18 ↓ 32 mm. Off. Є ?

JUSTIN & JUSTINIAN (527)

DNIVSTINЄTIVSTINIANPPAVC *Diademed bust r.*

M Above, cross.

CONSTANTINOPLE

$$\frac{*|\dagger}{CON}$$

34. 15.14 ↓ 32 mm. Off. A — Unpublished?
(PLATE XII)

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JUSTINIAN I (527–565)

DNIVSTINI ANVSPPAVC

M Above, cross.

Diademed bust r. (527–538)

CONSTANTINOPLE



35.	16.06	↙	32 mm. Off. A ?	W. 28; T. 82, pl. 20.
36.	16.15	↓	30 mm. Off. A ? Cross r., obs.	W. 28; T. 82, pl. 20.



37.	15.99	↓	30 mm. Off. A ? (PLATE XII)	D.O. 31 (A, Γ).



38.	15.93	↓	31 mm. Off. A ?	W. 28.
39.	16.38	↓	32 mm. Off. B	W. 29; D.O. 28b.3, pl. 14.
40.	15.68	↑	33 mm. Off. B Cross r., obs.	W. 29; D.O. 28b.3, pl. 14.
41.	14.03	↓	30 mm. Off. B	W. 29; D.O. 28b.3, pl. 14.
42.	17.08	↑	31 mm. Off. Δ Cross above head	W. 32v.



43.	16.21	↑	31 mm. Off. E	W. 38; T. 90, pl. 20.
44.	13.46	↓	30 mm. Off. E	W. 38; T. 90, pl. 20.



45.	15.23	↓	32 mm. Off. E Ex., obs.; inscr. partly obs.; might be Justin I	W. 37.

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Armored bust facing; *to r., cross.*

46. 16.34 ↓ 30 mm. Off. B D.O. 54, pl. 20 (✱ above M).
556/7 X / X / X (PLATE XII, rev.)

47. 17.85 ↓ 34 mm. Off. A 557/8 X / X / X / I L. 65.
(PLATE XII)

48. 12.75 ↓ 34 mm. Off. Δ 560/1 X / XX / II / II Unpublished?
(PLATE XII, rev.).

49. 17.38 ↑ 33 mm. Off. Є L. 68.
563/4 X / XX / ϥI AVI (PLATE XII, rev.)

Diademed bust r. (527–538)

K To r., cross.

50. 6.96 ↓ 25 mm. Off. ?

Diademed bust r. (527–538)

NICOMEDIA †|† / NIKM

51. 15.34 ↓ 30 mm. Off. B W. 184v, pl. 6, 16; D.O. 110.1, pl. 24.

ANTIOCH ✱|✱ / ϴYΠOΛS

52. 13.24 ↓ 32 mm. Off. A W. 266.
53. 11.15 ↓ 30 mm. Off. Γ W. 268.

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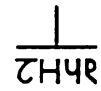


54. 13.64 ↓ 32 mm. Off. A ? W. 270, pl. 8, 2.
55. 13.29 ↓ 33 mm. Off. Γ W. 273; T. 245, pl. 21.

Armored bust facing; to r., cross.



56. 17.49 ↘ 39 mm. Off. A 553/4 X X 91 W. 301.



57. 19.00 ↘ 34 mm. Off. Γ 556/7 X X X W. 305.

JUSTIN II (565–578)

DNIVSTI NVSPPAVC

Justin and Sophia seated

M Above, cross.



CONSTANTINOPLE

58. 14.86 ↓ 30 mm. Off. Δ 567/8 I II T. 68.
59. 16.00 ↓ 29 mm. Off. Δ R. 787v., D.O. 24e (inscr. obs.).
567/8 III Inscr. on r., NVPPA
60. 12.85 ↓ 30 mm. Off. Δ 568/9 II II W. 40; D.O. 25a.
Long cross above M
61. 13.36 ↓ 30 mm. Off. Γ 569/70 4 ? W. 42; D.O. 26b.
62. 12.85 ↓ 31 mm. Off. Γ 570/1 9 W. 52v.
(W. 52 has ✠ above M as do T. 83, pl. 31 and D.O. 29c.1).
63. 13.20 ↓ 31 mm. Off. E 570/1 9 R. 801; D.O. 28d.1.

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NICOMEDIA



64. 12.57 ↓ 28 mm. Off. B 569/70 Ч W. 133.
65. 14.09 ↓ 29 mm. Off. B W. 139v., D.O. 97a.1 has cross for A.
571/2 ϑI Cross between heads (PLATE XIII)

ANTIOCH



66. 16.29 ↓ 33 mm. Off. B 569/70 $\frac{\text{II}}{\text{III}}$ W. 193v., pl. 12. 7.
VNΛIPS NIΛЧI
67. 13.60 ↓ 31 mm. Off. Γ 571/2 $\frac{\text{Ч}}{\text{II}}$ W. 197v.; T. 159, pl. 31.
[ ] TΛIICЧ–
68. 12.93 ↓ 30 mm. Off. Γ 571/2 $\frac{\text{Ч}}{\text{II}}$ W. 197v.; T. 159, pl. 31.
VNT[
69. 14.88 ↓ 30 mm. Off. Γ cf. D.O. 157b.3 of year 11.
576/7 $\frac{\text{X}}{\text{II}}$ [ ] ЧC[ ] Λ I No small globe above globe

TIBERIUS II CONSTANTINUS (578–582)

ϑMTIbCON STANTPPAVI (variations as noted)

M Above, cross.

Armored bust; cross on crown.

CONSTANTINOPLE



70. 14.41 ↓ 32 mm. Off. B 578 $\frac{\text{II}}{\text{II}}$ Unpublished?
(PLATE XIII)

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M Above, cross.

Consular bust; *cross on crown. Officina in exergue.*

71. 12.77 ↙ 29 mm. Off. A 580/1 $\frac{9}{11}$ W. 28.
O/NT

72. 11.87 ↑ 33 mm. Off. Δ 580/1 $\frac{9}{11}$ W. 32v.; D.O. 13d.

73. 12.14 ↓ 30 mm. Off. Є 580/1 $\frac{9}{11}$ W. 33; D.O. 13e, pl. 61.

74. 11.41 ↓ 31 mm. Off. Є 580/1 $\frac{9}{11}$ W. 33v.
O/N

75. 10.73 ↓ 30 mm. Off. Γ 581/2 $\frac{9}{11}$ W. 36v.
∂/M O/N

76. 11.45 ↑ 31 mm. Off. Δ 581/2 $\frac{9}{11}$ T. 44.
S/T

M Above, cross.

Armored bust; *cross on crown.*

NICOMEDIA

$\frac{\perp}{\text{NIK}^{\text{O}}}$

77. 13.11 ↓ 31 mm. Off. A $\frac{?}{11}$
>N[ ]ṬCOS A[(Barbarous?)

78. 12.16 ↓ 30 mm. Off. A T. 46v. (ill. p. 477); D.O. 27.2, pl. 63.
578 $\frac{11}{11}$ oMTbICON ΛN[ ]PPAI

M Above, cross.

Consular bust; *cross on crown. Officina in exergue.*

79. 12.51 ↙ 31 mm. Off. B 580/1 $\frac{9}{11}$ W. 68; T. 51, pl. 34.
S/T ΛC

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80. 12.53 ↙ 29 mm. Off. B 580/1 ꝟI W. 68; T. 51, pl. 34.
S/T (inscr. ending obs.)

81. 9.37 ↓ 29 mm. Off. B? 580/1 ꝟI W. 68; T. 51, pl. 34.
Inscr. partly obs.

MAURICE (582–602)

M Above, cross.

Armored bust; plume on helmet.

CONSTANTINOPLE — CON

82. 11.89 ↑ 30 mm. Off. A 583/4 II W. 29v.
] RIC TIbЄRPPAVI

83. 11.72 ↓ 28 mm. Off. Γ 583/4 II T. 71, pl. 37.
[ ]]RP.PAV[

84. 10.04 ↑ 30 mm. Off. Є 583/4 II W. 30v.
DNMAYR CPPAVC (Cross on helmet)

85. 12.22 ↓ 30 mm. Off. A 584/5 II/I W. 31v.
]NMAYR CPPAC (Cross? on helmet)

86. 11.69 ↙ 29 mm. Off. A 585/6 II/II W. 33.
]MAVRC TIbЄRPPAV[

87. 11.72 ↓ 28 mm. Off. A 585/6 II/II W. 33v.
DNM[ ] TIbЄRPPAVI

88. 12.33 ↓ 33 mm. Off. Δ 585/6 II/II R. 1040.
DNMAVRCI TIbЄRPPAVI

89. 12.82 ↑ 30 mm. Off. Δ 585/6 II/II R. 1040.
⊃NMA[ ] TIbЄRPPAVI

90. 12.39 ↑ 31 mm. Off. Γ 586/7 ꝟ W. 39v.; T. 80, pl. 37.
DNMAVRC [ ]RPPAVC

91. 11.78 ↓ 30 mm. Off. Γ 586/7 ꝟ W. 39v.; T. 80, pl. 37.
<N[ ]AVRC TIbЄPPAVC

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92. 11.59 ↑ 29 mm. Off. Γ 586/7 Ч
ꝺNTMAVRC TIbЄRPPAV (Paludamentum type, see text) (PLATE XIII)

93. 11.86 ↓ 30 mm. Off. Δ 586/7 Ч
ꝺNTMAVRIC TIbЄRPPAV (Paludamentum type, see text)

94. 11.73 ↓ 32 mm. Off. A 589/90 $\frac{9}{II}$ W. 44v.; T. 88v., pl. 37.
]NTMAVR[ ]]ЄRPPA[

95. 8.98 ↓ 33 mm. Off. A 589/90 ? $\frac{9}{II}$ W. 44v.; T. 88v., pl. 37.
]NTMAV[ ]]PPA[

96. 12.48 ↑ 33 mm. Off. A 589/90 ? $\frac{9}{II}$ W. 44v.; T. 88v., pl. 37.
]ꝛ̣ç̣ TIbЄRIPPAV

97. 13.06 ↑ 31 mm. Off. Γ 589/90 $\frac{9}{II}$ W. 48v.
oNTMAVRICI TIbЄRIPPAV

98. 11.22 ↓ 33 mm. Off. Є 589/90 $\frac{9}{II}$ W. 50v.; T. 92v., pl. 37.
ꝺNTMAVR[ ] TIbЄRPPAVC

99. 10.55 ↓ 32 mm Off. Є 589/90 $\frac{9}{II}$ W. 50v.; T. 92v., pl. 37.
JNTMAVRICITI [ ]VC

100. 12.91 ↑ 34 mm. Off. B 590/1 $\frac{9I}{II}$ Leu., p. 38.
oNTMAV TIbЄRPP (PLATE XIII)

101. 10.12 ↓ 33 mm. Off. Δ 590/1 $\frac{9I}{II}$ R. 1052.
]TMAV R< TIbЄRPP9

102. 11.96 ↑ 31 mm. Off. Δ 591/2 X W. 54v.
ꝺNTM[ ] TIbЄRPPA (PLATE XIII)

103. 11.09 ↑ 32 mm. Off. Δ 592/3 $\frac{X}{I}$ L. 22 but off.?
oNTMA[ ]]ЄRPPꝛ

104. 11.63 ↑ 30 mm. Off. B 594/5 $\frac{X}{II\ I}$
]M[[ ] (Paludamentum type, see text)

105. 10.30 ↓ 29 mm. Off. B? 594/5 $\frac{X}{II\ I}$ W. 56.
JNM[ ]RICI [ ]PPAVC

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106. 12.17 ↑ 31 mm. Off. Δ 594/5 X II I cf. R.1057.
[ ] TIbЄRPPAV (PLATE XIII)

107. 10.39 ↓ 33 mm. Off. Δ 595/6 X II II L. 106.
]VRIC TIbЄRPPAV

108. 11.53 ↑ 27 mm. Off. Є 595/6 X II II D.O. 37b.
ↃNTMAVRI TIbЄRPPAV

109. Off. ? 595/6 X II II (Coin lost before full details were recorded)

110. 10.70 ↑ 31 mm. Off. A 596/7 X Ч Unpublished?
⌒NTMAVRC TIb[

111. 10.67 ↙ 31 mm. Off. Γ 596/7 X Ч D.O. 38a.
]RIC [ ]PPAV

112. 11.01 ↙ 31 mm. Off. A 597/8 X Ч Leu. p. 38.
]TMA[ ] TIbЄRPPAV

113. 11.20 ↓ 29 mm. Off. A 599/600 X Ч I W. 60v.
[ ] TI[(Cross on helmet)

114. 10.83 ↓ 31 mm. Off. Є 599/600 X Ч I D.O. 41f.
]NTMAVRICI ƆIbЄRIPPAV

115. 12.45 ↑ 31 mm. Off. Є 600/1 X Ч II W. 64v.
[ ]]ЄRPPAVC

116. 12.91 ↙ 39 mm. Off. A 601/2 X X W. 66v.; T. 109, pl. 37.
ↃNTMAVRICI TIb[

117. 10.63 ↓ 34 mm. Off. B 601/2 X X? Leu. p. 38.
[ ] TIbЄ [

118. 13.18 ↓ 35 mm. Off. Δ 601/2 X X Unpublished?
JNTMAVRIC TIbЄRPP[

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M Above, ✠

Consular bust; small crosses in field l. and r.

119. 14.68 ↓ 30 mm. Off. B 602 $\frac{X}{X\ I}$ W. 69v.
∂NMAV[ ] TIbЄRPP AVC Mint obs. Overstruck on Justin II, CON

M Above, cross.

Armored bust; cross on helmet.

NICOMEDIA $\frac{|}{NIK^{O}}$

120. 10.70 ↓ 31 mm. Off. B 582/3 I W. 124 ?
Inscr. and cross on helmet obs.

121. 12.81 ↓ 31 mm. Off. B 583/4 II D.O. 92b.
]IbЄ[ ]]PPA In field r., cross

122. 12.34 ↓ 27 mm. Off. B 584/5 $\frac{II}{I}$ W. 125v.
ꟻNMTIb ЄRIMV[In field r., cross

123. 10.77 ↓ 30 mm. Off. A 587/8 ϥ W. 129v.; R. 1101v., pl. 24.
]VTI PЄRIPPA

124. 11.86 ↓ 31 mm. Off. A 587/8 ϥ W. 129v.; R. 1101v., pl. 24.
⊃NMAV [ ]

125. 11.97 ↙ 30 mm. Off. A 587/8 ϥ W. 129v.; R. 1101v., pl. 24.
∂MA[ ] TIbЄRPP

126. 11.46 ↓ 29 mm. Off. A 587/8? ϥ W. 129v.; R. 1101v., pl. 24.
⊃NMA[ ]]ЄRIPPA

127. 11.14 ↓ 30 mm. Off. B 587/8 ϥ W. 130v.; T. 122v., pl. 37.
]NMAVCT PPЄRIPPA

Plume on helmet.

128. 9.88 ↙ 34 mm. Off. B 589/90 $\frac{ϥ}{II}$ W. 134 ?
Overstruck; Obv. corroded. Inscr. and crown obs.

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129. 12.23 ↓ 31 mm. Off. B 590/1 ϙ III W. 136.
oNMAV]bЄ

130. 11.05 ↓ 32 mm. Off. A 591/2 X D.O. 100a.
[ ] TI[ ]ЄRP

131. 11.44 ↓ 34 mm. Off. B 591/2 X W. 137v.
ˀNM^]P

132. 11.58 ↙ 32 mm. Off. B 591/2 X W. 137v.
ˀNM AV Ṭ!

M Above, cross.

Armored bust; cross on helmet.

CYZICUS

KYZ

133. 11.63 ↑ 31 mm. Off. A 587/8 ϙ T. 139, pl. 38.
oNMAVRI CTIbЄRPP^

134. 11.24 ↓ 28 mm. Off. A 588/9 ϙI W. 148.
] RI CTIbЄRPP^

135. 11.87 ↑ 27 mm. Off. B 588/9 ϙI T. 142; R. 1116, pl. 24.
]NMAVRI CTIbЄRPP^

Plume on helmet.

136. 11.86 ↑ 31 mm. Off. A 589/90 ϙII W. 151v., pl. 18, 3.
oNMAYRI TIb[

137. 11.39 ↓ 31 mm. Off. B 590/1 ϙ III W. 154; T. 147, pl. 38.
ᵇИMAVRICI TIbЄR[

138. 10.92 ↑ 29 mm. Off. B 592/3 X I T. 151.
]RCI TI[

139. 11.26 ↑ 31 mm. Off. A 593/4 X II T. 152.
°NMAVR ITbЄRIPP^

140. 10.11 ↓ 30 mm. Off. B 593/4 X II W. 158.
] RI TbЄRPP^

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141. 11.29 ↖ 27 mm. Off. A 598/9 X / 9 / I — Unpublished?
]NM[ ]TI bERPP^

142. 11.63 ↑ 30 mm. Off. B 600/1 X / 9II / I — T. 155v., pl. 38.
o NMAVRIC Tb[

M Above, cross.

Consular bust; *trefoil on crown.*

ANTIOCH

| / CHE9PS

143. 11.91 ↓ 32 mm. W. (Tib. II) 83–84; T. (Tib. II) 58, pl. 34.
583/4 II [ ] ~[ ]TATIPPIV

144. 12.46 ↓ 29 mm. W. (Tib. II) 83–84; T. (Tib. II) 58, pl. 34.
583/4 II LTRTI[ ]]<O[

145. 11.30 ↓ 30 mm. W. (Tib. II) 83–84; T. (Tib. II) 58, pl. 34.
583/4 II oΠITIRNIO]ANPPIV

146. 12.12 ↓ 30 mm. W. (Tib. II) 83–84; T. (Tib. II) 58, pl. 34.
583/4 II]TIRNIO ωO/SITANPPIV

147. 12.19 ↓ 31 mm. 585/6 II / II — W. (Tib. II) 89v.
]ΠNNCO [ ]

148. 12.18 ↓ 30 mm. 585/6 II / II — W. (Tib. II) 91v.
ΠNITOC ~STAVTA99IV

149. 12.73 ↓ 29 mm. 586/7 4 — W. (Tib. II) 93v.
oRIATHCO ~ITAT1PP^

150. 11.10 ↓ 29 mm. 586/7 4 — W. (Tib. II) 93v.
]TOC ~TIAITAPPV (PLATE XIV)

151. 10.50 ↓ 28 mm. 589/90 III / 4 — W. (Tib. II) 103.
[ ] ~T[ ]NPPAV1

152. 11.34 ↓ 28 mm. 590/1 4 / IIII [ ]]NPPAV!
Veglery and Zacos, "More about the Bronze Coinage of Maurice," *NumCirc.*, Dec. 1960, fig. 1.

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ꝺNMAЧГI CNPAЧT

M Above, cross.

153. 10.10 ↑ 29 mm. Off. B 590/1 $\frac{9}{?}$ Unpublished?
]ЧГI CNPAЧ'

No. 152 of Yr. 9 would be representative of the last of the M coins; Tolstoi's No. 71 (pl. 34) would represent the first of the M coins in Yr. 9 with the old but improved inscription, OMTIЧCON TANPPAVI, and with the old form of date. No. 153 of Yr. 9 suggests an early attempt at the new inscription for the M coins which is corrected to its final form in Nos. 154 and 155 of Yr. 9. It should be noted, however, that T. 71 and No. 155 are of officina Γ while Nos. 153 and 154 are of B.

154. 10.41 ↓ 29 mm. Off. B ? 590/1 $\frac{9}{III}$ Unpublished?

155. 12.01 ↓ 30 mm. Off. Γ 590/1 $\frac{9}{III}$ D.O. 161. 2, pl. 75.

156. 11.91 ↓ 29 mm. Off. Γ 591/2 X W. 171, pl. 18, 7.

157. 11.51 ↓ 29 mm. Off. Γ 591/2 X W. 171, pl. 18, 7.

158. 11.21 ↓ 30 mm. Off. Γ 593/4 $\frac{X}{II}$ W. 178; R. 1132, pl. 24.

159. 11.87 ↓ 29 mm. Off. Γ 594/5 $\frac{X}{III}$ W. 181.
(PLATE XIV)

160. 11.81 ↓ 29 mm. Off. Γ 595/6 $\frac{X}{IIII}$ W. 183.

161. 10.36 ↓ 27 mm. Off. Γ 596/7 $\frac{X}{9}$ W. 186.
(PLATE XIV)

162. 11.10 ↑ 29 mm. Off. Γ 596/7 $\frac{X}{9}$ W. 186.

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163.	11.59	↓ 29 mm. Off. Γ	596/7 $\frac{X}{\text{Ч}}$		W. 186.
164.	10.81	↓ 28 mm. Off. Γ	596/7 $\frac{X}{\text{Ч}}$		W. 186.
165.	11.87	↑ 28 mm. Off. Γ	597/8 $\frac{X}{\text{ЧI}}$		W. 189.
166.	9.72	↑ 28 mm. Off. Γ	597/8 $\frac{X}{\text{ЧI}}$		W. 189.
167.	11.72	↓ 29 mm. Off. Γ	598/9 $\frac{X}{\text{ЧII}}$		W. 190v.
168.	11.24	↓ 28 mm. Off. Γ	598/9 $\frac{X}{\text{ЧII}}$		W. 190v.
169.	10.79	↓ 28 mm. Off. Δ	599/600 $\frac{X}{\text{ЧIII}}$		Leu. p. 40.

Presumably Δ is intended for A not Δ. Tolstoi gives A but this is an erroneous reference to W. 192 (the coin was not in the Hermitage or Tolstoi's collection) which is of officina Γ. Tolstoi makes a further erroneous reference to W. 193 for Γ, but W. 193 is of the following year and A.

170.	12.00	↓ 32 mm. Off. Γ (PLATE XIV)	599/600 $\frac{X}{\text{ЧIII}}$		W. 192.
171.	11.10	↑ 29 mm. Off. Γ	599/600 $\frac{X}{\text{ЧIII}}$		W. 192.
172.	12.24	↓ 31 mm. Off. Γ	599/600 $\frac{X}{\text{ЧIII}}$		W. 192.
173.	18.90	↓ 31 mm. Off. A	600/1 $\frac{XI}{\text{ЧIII}}$		W. 193.
174.	11.51	↓ 29 mm. Off. Γ (PLATE XIV)	600/1 $\frac{XI}{\text{ЧIII}}$		Unpublished?
175.	10.90	↑ 29 mm. Off. Є?	601/2 $\frac{X}{X}$		W. 196.
176.	9.41	↓ 28 mm. Off. Γ ЄHЄЧP	602 $\frac{X}{XI}$		D.O. 173, pl. 75.

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PHOCAS (602–610)

Phocas and Leontia standing. Officina in exergue.

M Above, cross.

CONSTANTINOPLE

CON

177. 11.73 ↓ 31 mm. Off. A 602/3 I R. 1261, pl. 27.
ꝺMFOCA ЄPЄAVC
178. 12.29 ↙ 32 mm. Off. Є 602–604 I [?]
Inscr. obs.

Consular bust.

XXXX Above, ANNO.

179. 9.54 ↗ 33 mm. Off. A 605/6 II T. 53.
ꝺMFOCA [ ] Overstruck

Phocas and Leontia standing.

M Above, cross.

NICOMEDIA

NIKꝺ

180. 12.58 ↙ 29 mm. Off. B 602/3 I W. 70, pl. 21, 5.
]MFO[ ] INPЄRAV

Consular bust.

XXXX Above, ANNO

181. 10.16 ↓ 31 mm. Off. A 606/7 Y W. 73; R. 1229, pl. 26.
] CA PЄRAVC Overstruck
182. 9.99 ↓ 32 mm. Off. A 606/7 Y W. 73; R. 1229, pl. 26.
Overstruck and Inscr. obs.

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Phocas and Leontia standing.

M Above, cross.

ANTIOCH

CHЄЧP'

183. 10.09 ↓ 28 mm. 605/6 II/II W. 106; T. 145, pl. 44.
]NFOCA NЄPЄAV

184. 10.06 ↓ 29 mm. 608/9 I4I Unpublished?
ƆNFOCA NЄ[ ]Є[(PLATE XIV)

Consular bust.

185. 9.70 ↓ 28 mm. 609/10 4/III W. 112, pl. 22, 3.
ƆNFOCA NЄPЄΔV

186. 10.32 ↓ 28 mm. 610 6/III
ƆNF[ ]CA NЄPЄAV (PLATE XV)

Tolstoi attributed both T. 46 and T. 47 to Yr. 8, but from his plate 42 it would appear that T. 46 could be of Yr. 9. The gradation from 4 to 9 in coins in the writer's collection is so slight as to make attribution difficult between these two regnal years.

HERACLIUS (610–641)

Armored bust; plume on helmet.

M Above, cross.

CONSTANTINOPLE

CON

187. 10.28 ↗ 32 mm. Off. Γ 610/1 I W. 109v.
ƆNhRACLI]AVC

188. 11.57 ↙ 31 mm. Off. Δ 610/1 I R. 1293, pl. 28.
ƆИhRACII PERPA[

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Cross on helmet.

189. 10.94 ↗ 35 mm. Off. Γ 611/2 II W. 110, pl. 24, 1.
[ ] PЄRPPAV Overstruck on Anast.

190. 11.32 ↙ 31 mm. Off. Γ 611/2 II W. 110, pl. 24, 1.
NhPA CLIRЄPAV Overstruck

191. 10.85 ↓ 32 mm. Off. Δ 611/2 II W. 111.
∂Nh[ ]]PAVC Overstruck

192. 10.37 ↑ 31 mm. Off. Є 611/2 II R. 1295.
∂NhRA[[ ]

193. 12.25 ↗ 31 mm. Off. Є 611/2 II R. 1295.
[ ] LIPЄRAVC

194. 11.24 ↗ 32 mm. Off. Є 611/2 II R. 1295.
Inscr. mostly obs.

195. 12.43 ↙ 35 mm. Off. A 612/3 II/I W. 112v.
Overstruck on Maurice, Yr. 4 and Inscr. obs.

196. 10.84 ↑ 30 mm. Off. B 612/3 II/I L. 132.
[ ]RΛCLI]PAVC Overstruck on Phocas

197. 10.23 ↓ 32 mm. Off. B 612/3 II/I L. 132.
]NRACII [ ]

198. 11.42 ↓ 31 mm. Off. B 612/3 II/I L. 132.
∂NhRICUI PЄR[(PLATE XV)

199. 13.34 ↓ 32 mm. Off. B 612/3 II/I L. 132.
Inscr. obs. Obs. counterstrike

200. 14.98 ↗ 37 mm. Off. B 612/3? II/I? L. 132.
]RA[OSPЄRPAV Overstruck on Anastasius, CON

201. 9.43 ↓ 29 mm. Off. B 612/3 II/I L. 132.
Inscr. mostly obs. Mint obs.; overstruck on Maurice

202. 13.86 ↙ 33 mm. Off. Γ 612/3 II/I W. 113v.
[ ]]PЄRPAV Overstruck on Justin II; Paludamentum type

203. 13.15 ↗ 33 mm. Off. ? 612/3 II/I W. 113v.
ƆNh[NPЄRPAV Overstruck; Paludamentum type

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204. 10.43 ↙ 33 mm. Off. Δ 612/3 $\frac{II}{I}$ W. 114; T. 60, pl. 46.
Inscr. mostly obs.

205. 9.78 ↙ 32 mm. Off. Δ 612/3? $\frac{II}{I}$? W. 114; T. 60, pl. 46.
Inscr. mostly obs. Overstruck on Phocas, NIKO; Paludamentum type

206. 11.39 ↗ 30 mm. Off. Є 612/3 $\frac{II}{I}$ W. 115v.
ðNhRACLI]RAVC Overstruck on Maurice; Paludamentum type (PLATE XV)

Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine standing.

Above, cross. M *Above,* ✱

207. 10.75 ↗ 31 mm. Off. A 612/3 $\frac{II}{I}$ W. 116; T. 226, pl. 48.
Inscr. obs. Overstruck.

208. 10.17 ↑ 31 mm. Off. B 612/3 $\frac{II}{I}$ W. 121v.; R. 1396, pl. 30.
Inscr. obs. Overstruck on Phocas, CON Є

209. 10.85 ↓ 31 mm. Off. Δ 612/3 $\frac{II}{I}$ W. 124v.
JJNNhЄ[ ]]ȘṬṖV Overstruck

210. 13.18 ↗ 32 mm. Off. Δ? 612/3? $\frac{II}{I}$? W. 124v.
JJN[ ]]RACON Overstruck, NIKO

211. 11.15 ↑ 39 mm. Off. Є 612/3 $\frac{II}{I}$ W. 125v.
ddNNhЄRA[[ ] Overstruck on Maurice, CON

212. 11.47 ↗ 32 mm. Off. A 613/4 $\frac{II}{II}$ T. 231v., pl. 48.
]dNNhЄRAC [ ] Overstruck on Phocas, ƇHЄЧP′ which is Overstruck on Maurice, Antioch

213. 9.74 ↗ 30 mm. Off. B 613/4 $\frac{II}{II}$ T. 232.
Inscr. obs. Overstruck on Phocas, NIKO, Yr. 5

214. 10.19 ↓ 29 mm. Off. B 613/4 $\frac{II}{II}$ T. 232.
[ ]]hЄRACON Overstruck

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215. 11.85 ↙ 29 mm. Off. B 613/4 ‖ ‖ T. 232.
Above M, cross. Inscr. obs. Barbarous?

216. 11.07 ↓ 35 mm. Off. Γ 613/4 ‖ ‖ W. 130v., pl. 24, 4.
JJNNh[ ]]CONSTAV Overstruck on Maurice

217. 12.14 ↙ 29 mm. Off. Γ 613/4 ‖ ‖ W. 130v., pl. 24, 4.
]hERA ЄƆhЄ[ ]CONST Overstruck

218. 10.30 ↗ 29 mm. Off. Γ 613/4 ‖ ‖ W. 130v., pl. 24, 4.
]JNN[ ]]CON Overstruck on Phocas, ƆHЄЧP′

219. 13.23 ↙ 33 mm. Off. Є 613/4 ‖ ‖ W. 133v.
JJNNhERAC [ ] Overstruck on Phocas, CON A Yr. 6

220. 12.28 ↙ 33 mm. Off. ? 613/4 ‖ ‖
[ ]]RACONST Mint obs. Above M, obs. Overstruck on Phocas, Yr. 7

221. 11.38 ↗ 31 mm. Off. A 614/5 Ч W. 135.
Inscr. obs. Overstruck

222. 10.62 ↗ 32 mm. Off. A 614/5 Ч W. 135.
Inscr. mostly obs. Overstruck on Maurice (PLATE XV)

223. 11.40 ↙ 29 mm. Off. B 614/5 Ч T. 237.
]NhЄ[ ] ЄThERACON[Overstruck.
T. 236, pl. 48 is attributed to Yr. 5, but the illustration indicates it to be of Yr. 6. This casts doubt on whether T. 237, not illustrated, is of Yr. 5.

224. 12.99 ↙ 33 mm. Off. Γ 614/5 Ч W. 136v.
]NhЄ[ ] ЄThRACON[Above M, obs. Overstruck

225. 10.96 ↗ 35 mm. Off. Γ year?
[ ] ЄThRACON[Above M, cross. Overstruck

226. 11.49 ↓ 30 mm. Off. Γ 615/6 ϥ D.O. 68b v.
bbNИhЄ[ ]]ЄRACON Above M, obs. Overstruck on Maurice

227. 8.53 ↑ 27 mm. Off. Γ 615/6? ϥ? D.O. 68b.
[ ] ЄThERACO[Above M, cross. Mint obs. Overstruck

228. 11.66 ↓ 31 mm. Off. Δ 615/6 ϥ D.O. (cross above M).
Inscr. mostly obs. Above M, obs. Overstruck on Maurice, NIKO

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229. 11.42 ↓ 31 mm. Off. ? 615/6 Ϙ
[ ] ЄThЄR[Above M, obs. Overstruck on Phocas, NIKO

Heraclius, Heraclius Constantine and Martina standing.

M Above, cross.

230. 8.19 ↑ 31 mm. Off. A 615/6 Ϙ L. 136.
(PLATE XV)
231. 7.49 ↑ 28 mm. Off. A 615/6 Ϙ L. 136.
232. 10.89 ↓ 32 mm. Off. A? 615/6 Ϙ L. 136.
233. 8.36 ↓ 31 mm. Off. B 615/6 Ϙ S. 92.
Overstruck
234. 8.84 ↑ 32 mm. Off. B 615/6 Ϙ S. 92.
Overstruck on Tiberius II.
235. 8.34 ↓ 29 mm. Off. Γ 615/6? Ϙ? T. 324, pl. 50.
236. 6.46 ↓ 28 mm. Off. Γ 619/20 X Unpublished?
No crosses between figures; overstruck (PLATE XV)
237. 3.57 ↗ 28 mm. Off. B date?
Thin, clipped flan; overstruck

M Above, cross and ANNO. On l. Ꝛ.

No crosses between heads.

238. 7.62 ↙ 29 mm. Off. A 624/5 $\frac{X}{Ϙ}$ Leu. p. 43.
No exergual line
239. 6.19 ↙ 25 mm. Off. A 625/6 $\frac{X}{Ϙ}$ D.O.
Overstruck
240. 6.49 ↙ 26 mm. Off. Γ 625/6 $\frac{X}{Ϙ}$ W. 183v.; R. 1468, pl. 32.
No exergual line

Crosses between heads.

241. 5.92 ↙ 23 mm. Off. Δ 625/6 $\frac{X}{Ϙ}$ W. 184v.

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242. 6.62 ↓ 24 mm. Off. Δ 625/6 X / 9 W. 184v.

243. 5.65 ↙ 26 mm. Off. A 627/8 X / 9 / II W. 191v.

Overstruck. No exergual line (PLATE XVI)

244. 8.01 ↙ 28 mm. Off. B date?

Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine standing; cross between heads.

245. 9.17 ↗ 28 mm. Off. Δ 630/1 X / X / I W. 157.

L., obs.; r., K. Above M, obs. (PLATE XVI)

M Above, cross.

THESSALONICA



Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine standing; above, cross.

246. 11.16 ↓ 32 mm. Off. B 615/6 41 S. 62, pl. 29, 27.
[ ]]N4Ş[Overstruck on Phocas, CON Γ

Heraclius, Heraclius Constantine and Martina standing; above, crosses.

247. 5.87 ↘ 21 mm. Off. B 628/9? X / 91? / II W. 221.

NICOMEDIA



Bust; *Paludamentum type* (see text).

248. 10.88 ↓ 30 mm. Off. A 610/1 I W. 229v., pl. 25, 8.
OhRAC[ ] PORPAV[

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249. 11.20 ↓ 28 mm. Off. A 610/1 I W. 229v., pl. 25, 8.
[ ] PERPAVC Cross shows in plume

250. 12.02 ↙ 34 mm. Off. A date?
DNhRA[[ ] Overstruck. Not Paludamentum type

251. 12.55 ↙ 32 mm. Off. B 610/1 I L. 133.
Inscr. obs. Overstruck

252. 9.92 ↙ 30 mm. Off. A 611/2 II W. 231v.
JNhERAC [ ] Cross shows in plume (PLATE XVI)

253. 12.67 ↓ 33 mm. Off. B 611/2 II W. 232; T. 64, pl. 46.
]ḥ.ḛ.Ṛ.Ç.[PERPAVC Overstruck on Maurice?

254. 12.21 ↓ 33 mm. Off. B 611/2 II W. 232; T. 64, pl. 46.
[ ] LЧSPPAV[Overstruck

255. 11.44 ↓ 30 mm. Off. A 612/3 II/I W. 233.
Overstruck; inscr. mostly obscure

256. 9.69 ↑ 30 mm. Off. B 612/3 II/I R. 1308v., pl. 28.
ꝰNhRACLI [ ] Overstruck

257. 12.22 ↓ 29 mm. Off. B 612/3 II/I
]NhRACCI PERPAVC Cross shows in plume. Not Paludamentum type

Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine standing; above cross.

258. 14.05 ↓ 34 mm. Off. A 612/3 II/I W. 236.
Inscr. obs. Overstruck on Maurice?, Antioch

259. 14.86 ↓ 31 mm. Off. A 612/3 II/I W. 236.
Overstruck on Tiberius II, ƇHЄЧPʼ

260. 12.89 ↓ 30 mm. Off. B 612/3 II/I W. 237, pl. 25, 9.
[ ]]ÇONRPA[Overstruck

261. 11.24 ↓ 35 mm. Off. B 613/4 II/II W. 242.
Inscr. obs. Overstruck on Phocas, CON Γ

262. 9.19 ↓ 32 mm. Off. B 613/4 II/II W. 242.
Inscr. obs. Overstruck on Phocas, Yr. 5

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263. 10.31 ↓ 31 mm. Off. B 613/4 II / II W. 242.
Inscr. obs. Overstruck

Heraclius, Heraclius Constantine and Martina.

M Above, cross and ANNO. On l. R.

264. 6.11 ↓ 23 mm. Off. B 627/8 X / 9I / II R. 1473.

Armored bust facing.

M Above, cross.

CYZICUS

KYZ

265. 12.11 ↑ 30 mm. Off. B 610/1 I Unpublished?
∂NhRACΓI [ ] Officina in exergue (PLATE XVI)
KYZB in the exergue (rather than B beneath the M) implies an early die in the year 610, following the type of Phocas.

266. 10.17 ↑ 29 mm. Off. A 611/2 II W. 254v., pl. 25, 11.
[ ] PERPRAVC

267. 12.82 ↑ 30 mm. Off. B 611/2 II W. 255; T. 69v., pl. 46.
[ ] PERPA[

268. 11.67 ↑ 35 mm. Off. ? 611/2 II
ϱNhRACΓI PERP[Overstruck on Phocas, NIKO. Mint obs.

269. 11.24 ↑ 35 mm. Off. 9 612/3 II / I
]NhR[ ] PERP◥YC Blundered off.; B intended?

270. 12.14 ↓ 35 mm. Off. A 613/4 II / II W. 262v.; R. 1313, pl. 28.
[ ] PERPRAV[Overstruck

271. 12.80 ↑ 29 mm. Off. A 613/4 II / II W. 262v.; R. 1313, pl. 28.
]CΓI PERPRAVC

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Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine standing.

M Above, obs.

SELEUCIA

SEUSЧ

272. 10.21 ↓ 35 mm. Off. Γ 616/7 ꝟI Unpublished?
ΓΓNN[ ]ЄRO [ ]h]VΓΡΛA/[Overstruck on Maurice, Antioch, ca. 586? (PLATE XVI)
See text for the discussion of supplementary officinae at Seleucia. The cross above the M is not centered and is probably from the flan on which the coin is overstruck.

Heraclius, Heraclius Constantine and Martina.

M Above, R

CYPRUS

KVΠP′

273. 6.09 ↙ 25 mm. Off. Γ 627/8? X Ч[I?] I[I?] W. 270.

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THREE BYZANTINE NOTES

(PLATE XIX)

GEORGE E. BATES

The Notes are organized under the following headings:

1. Officina Є of the Nicomedia Mint
2. A Transition Half-Follis of Phocas
3. INDS at the Carthage Mint

1. OFFICINA Є OF THE NICOMEDIA MINT

Further speculation respecting mint organization has been evoked by the publication of several coins bearing mint marks of Nicomedia, Cyzicus,[1] and Seleucia,[2] but having officina marks other than the A and B common to those mints. In this note publishing three folles from my collection with the mint mark NIKM and the officina mark Є attention will be directed primarily to the problem at Nicomedia.

Wroth wrote that the mint of Nicomedia had two officinae only, A and B, with exceptions in the reign of Justin I.[3] The exceptions in the British Museum were Wroth's no. 54, a follis with officina mark Γ, which is probably barbarous and may be dismissed as evidence;[4] his no. 55, a follis with an officina mark which he gave as Δ but which might be an A (an upward sloping overlay of copper, which might have resulted from an injury to the die, seems to form the base of a Δ but might conceal the lower part of an A); and his no. 61, a half-follis on which the officina mark could not be read clearly and which he gave as Є?.[5]

[1] Cf. Bell, *Sardis*, XI, pt. I (1916), for three folles of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine with the mint mark of Cyzicus and officina marks Γ and Δ (nos. 904–906).

[2] Cf. Bates, "A Byzantine Hoard from Coelesyria," above, p. oo for note on "Mint Officinae at Seleucia."

[3] Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* (1908), page c.

[4] Wroth gives the mint mark as NICOH, but the last letter appears to be |•| and is probably an incomplete M.

[5] Sabatier published a half-follis of Justin I from Nicomedia with officina mark Є; *Monnaies Byzantines* (1862), no. 26, pl. X, 9.

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Subsequently, other exceptions of Nicomedian coins have come to light:

Anastasius I	follis	✳/✳	one Δ	(Ashmolean Museum)[6]
Anastasius I	follis	✳/✳	two Δ	(Dumbarton Oaks)[7]
Anastasius I	half-follis	✳	six Δ	(Dumbarton Oaks)
Anastasius I	follis	✳/✳	one Є?	(Jerusalem)[8]
Justin II	follis	year 9	one Є	(Tell Bisa)[9]
Tiberius II	follis	year 7	one Δ	(Khirbat Dubel)[10]
Heraclius & Her. Const.	follis	year 3	two Δ	(Sardis)[11]
Heraclius & Her. Const.	follis	year 4	one Δ	(Sardis)
Heraclius & Her. Const.	follis	year?	one Δ?	(Sardis)

In my collection there are the following three folles from the mint of Nicomedia, two of Justin I and the third of the joint reign of Justin and Justinian (or of Justinian I with a slightly blundered legend), all with the officina mark Є.

(a) *Obv.*: Diademed bust r.; legend, DNIVSTI NV2PPAVC

Rev.: M Above, cross; on l. and r., ✳; beneath, Є; in Ex., NIKM 37 mm. 20.75 gr. ↘ (PLATE XIX, 1)

[6] In the cabinet of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. (I am indebted to Mr. Metcalf for an excellent photograph of this coin, which he and I agree appears in all respects to be of imperial mint quality.)

[7] Bellinger, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, I (1966), nos. 34a–34b and nos. 36.1–36.6. I have included these 8 coins because, while agreeing with Grierson and Bellinger that a double-meaning was probably intended in using the M and K, respectively, as parts of the mint name, I suggest extending this interpretation to the Δ, also, which by its size and placement seems clearly to be an officina mark but is also probably a part of the mint name.

[8] Metcalf and Payne, "Some Byzantine and Arab-Byzantine Coins Obtained in Jerusalem," *Num.Circ.* 1965, p. 131, no. 11.

[9] Leuthold, "Monete Bizantine Rinvenute in Siria," *RIN* 1952/53, p. 36, with note, "La quinta officina di «Є», non è attesta, sul *B.M.C.* che dà un esemplare, di dubbia lettura, di Giustino I. Gli altri cataloghi non riportano alcuna moneta di questa officina, la cui attività, certamente saltuaria, è chiaramente dimonstrata dal presente follaro di Giustino II e Sofia."

[10] "A Hoard of Byzantine Coins," *Quarterly of the Dept. of Antiquities in Palestine*, I (1932) p. 64, no. 277.

[11] The Sardis specimens are Bell, nos. 852, 853, 859, 862.

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(b) *Obv.*: Diademed bust r.; legend, DNIVS[ ]I NVSPPAC

Rev.: M Above, cross; on l. and r., ✳; beneath, Є; in Ex., NIKM 30 mm. 14.33 gr. ↘ (PLATE XIX, 2)

(c) *Obv.*: Diademed bust r.; legend, IVSTINV[ ]VSPP

Rev.: M Above, cross; on l. and r., cross; beneath, Є; in Ex., NIKM 30 mm. 18.69 gr. ↖ (PLATE XIX, 3)

The scarcity of coins from Nicomedia with officina marks other than A and B has naturally posed the question of whether there were, in fact, such other officinae. There appear to be a number of possibilities, and it may be that some officina marks may be explained by one hypothesis while others are to be accounted for by different theories. Among the several theories considered in the case of the folles of Justin I bearing the officina mark Є were:

(1) That there was actually such an officina in operation at Nicomedia for some time as a part of the organization of that mint.

(2) That a branch of officina Є of Constantinople was established at Nicomedia to "second" the output of the latter mint, but under the administrative control of the parent mint officina.

(3) That the dies were cut and the coins struck in officina Є at Constantinople, and the coins consigned to Nicomedia for issue.

(4) That the dies were cut in officina Є at Constantinople and sent to Nicomedia for striking.

(5) That Constantinople dies of officina Є were recut with the Nicomedia mint mark without changing the officina mark.

(6) That local die cutters, presumably working in officina A or B in Nicomedia, took Constantinople coins for models and were so faithful in their copying that they reproduced the officina marks of the models.

(7) That coins with the mint mark NIKM and officina mark Є were not the products of an imperial mint.

While it is imprudent to be dogmatic about any of these several possibilities, evidence may now be at hand sufficient to justify setting forth a few tentative hypotheses. Enough coins of imperial quality with the mint mark of Nicomedia and officina marks Δ and Є are

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known, and from such a span of years, for example, that I incline to dismiss the possibility that these coins were not the products of imperial mints.

It also seems highly unlikely that die sinkers working in officina A or B, in which there would have been ample examples of those officina marks, would have taken their models from Constantinople or not known in which officina they were working.

If dies from Constantinople were recut by obliterating the CON and substituting the local mint mark, but without redoing the officina mark, the coins show no traces of such reworking. Such alteration remains a possibility but it is probably remote. The "seconding" of officinae A and B by a branch of a Constantinople officina under the control of the parent officina also seems an unlikely possibility, simply on the grounds of administrative inconvenience and complexity. This does not, however, rule out the very real possibility that, if additional officinae were temporarily opened at Nicomedia, they were staffed by personnel from Constantinople who retained their original officina designations. To meet an emergency demand, this would have been a practical way to supply a work force which could not have been trained locally in time to meet the situation. This of course does not eliminate the possibility that such a situation was met, not by transporting workers to the mint of Nicomedia, but by cutting the dies or striking the coins in Constantinople and consigning them to Nicomedia.

Perhaps it matters little to the history of the period whether the dies for these coins were physically cut in Nicomedia or Constantinople, except for such bearing as it might have on the organization of the former mint. The interesting facet of the problem is the necessity which led to the temporary opening of officina Є at Nicomedia or the consignment of coins with the Nicomedia mint marks from officina Є in Constantinople. Elsewhere[12] I have tried to show that the mint at Cyzicus was probably opened ca. 525 near the close of Justin I's reign. Among other possible reasons for this was an Asiatic demand which could no longer be most conveniently or appropriately met by the mint of Nicomedia. The officina Є folles of Nicomedia in the reign

[12] Bates, above, p. oo for note on "Dated Folles of Justin I."

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of Justin I could confirm a demand which could not be met from the primary output of officinae A and B, and which thus led finally to the opening of the Cyzicus mint.

2. A Transition Half-Follis of Phocas

A half-follis, (c) below, from my collection provides a link between the K and XX half-folles of Phocas at the mint of Thessalonica. It also casts further doubt on Sabatier's reading of his no. 32.[13] This half-follis and one (d) from my collection of the succeeding type are:

(c) *Obv.*: Armored bust with shield, facing; legend, OMFO [ ] PERPA [
Rev.: X·X with cross above and II to r.; in Ex., TES
21 mm. 6.02 gr. ↙ (Plate XIX, 4)

(d) *Obv.*: Phocas & Leontia standing, facing; legend, OMFO CA [
Rev.: X·X with cross above; in Ex., TES
23 mm. 4.64 gr. ↓ (Plate XIX, 5)

The chronological sequence then becomes:

(a) K	armored bust	year 1[14]
(b) K	armored bust	year 2[15]
(c) X·X	armored bust	year 2
(d) X·X	Phocas & Leontia	undated[16]
(e) XX	consular bust	undated[17]

If the XXXX folles of years 4 and 5 with consular dress[18] may be taken as an indication that type (e), above, was struck in year 4, the Phocas and Leontia half-folles, type (d), may be dated to the year 3.

The one published coin which does not conform to the foregoing sequence is a K half-follis of the armored bust type which Sabatier read, and illustrated in a woodcut, as of year 5. It now seems almost certain that Sabatier misread a II for a Y.[19]

[13] Sabatier, no. 32; pl. XXVII, 15; Wroth refers to this coin in a note on p. 170.
[14] Sabatier, nos. 67–68; Tolstoi, *Monnaies Byzantines* (1912–1914), no. 86.
[15] Wroth, no. 69, pl. XXI, 3.
[16] Additional examples in Wroth, nos. 62–65, pl. XXI, 1; Ratto, *Monnaies Byzantines* (1930), no. 1264, pl. XXVII.
[17] Wroth, no. 66, pl. XXI, 2.
[18] Wroth, nos. 60–61, pl. XX, 15–16.
[19] See note 13 above.

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3. INDS at the Carthage Mint

The recent reattribution in the Dumbarton Oaks Catalogue[20] of Carthaginian bronze coins of Maurice bearing the date INDS from the sixth Indiction in 587/8, as given in the British Museum Catalogue,[21] to the sixth Indiction in 602 prompts me to query the validity of this change and to suggest that an alternate hypothesis mentioned by Grierson is entitled to more serious consideration. This latter hypothesis would indicate the date to be the second Indiction in 583/4.

In a note to the catalogued decanummia given the date of 602, Grierson is quoted, "S following IND(ictione) could stand for *secunda* or *sexta*, so that there are alternative possible dates for this coin, but the fact that the head is turned l. shows it to be connected with a consulship and consequently to belong to 602."[22] This footnote, upon which the reattribution rests, is open to two questions. In the first place, Maurice had two consulships. The first was assumed on December 25, 583, in the second Indiction of 583/4 and the second on July 6, 602 in the sixth Indiction of 601/2.[23] Thus if a consulship was indicated by the head turned left it could have been the first consulship. It may also be noted that Maurice is shown in consular dress at Antioch from his regnal year one forward. While he is not shown in consular dress on Constantinopolitan coins until the second consulship in 602, it is not unlikely that the first consulship was officially recognized at the distant mint of Carthage.

The second question is whether it can be proved that a head turned left was always associated with a consulship. There would seem to be considerable doubt about this. If the head turned left did have this significance on these Carthaginian coins, however, it could have referred to the first consulship in 583/4. If the second consulship (in

[20] Bellinger, p. 360, nos. 255.1–255.5.
[21] Wroth, p. 151, nos. 241–243.
[22] Bellinger, p. 360, note to no. 255.
[23] Cf. E. Stein, "Post-consulat et AYTOKPATOPIA," *Mélange Bidez, Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales*, II (1934), pp. 887 et. seq.; at p. 887, "... l'empereur Maurice n'assuma pas son consulat d'avènement, comme on aurait pu s'y attendre, le 1er janvier, mais seulement le 25 décembre 583, et son successeur Phocas imita son exemple en célébrant l'entrée de son consulat en 603 non pas le 1er janvier mais lui aussi à Noël. Or, nous savons que Maurice se fit proclamer consul pour la seconde fois le 6 juillet 602."

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602), were being commemorated, there is a strong probability that the type would not have been the bust with head turned left (as on the INDS coins), but a facing bust in consular robes such as appears on the Carthaginian silver which Bellinger and Grierson attribute to the year 602[24] and on the bronze dated to the regnal year 602 at Constantinople, Thessalonica, Nicomedia, and Cyzicus.

During the reign of Maurice *indictione secunda* could have referred to 583/4 or 598/9 and *indictione sexta* to 587/8 or 602. Besides the possible reference to a consulship we have three other guides to a choice among these four dates. The first is the Carthaginian coins dated INDIII which Wroth, Bellinger, and Grierson have assigned to the year 584/5. If that attribution is correct, it is much easier to accept two consecutive years of dating, such as 583/4 and 584/5, a year after dating was begun on the gold of Carthage, than to suppose that the bronze coins were dated in 584/5 and then not dated again until 587/8, 598/9, or 602. For elimination of the last two dates (598/9 and 602) it might further be argued that only in 583/4, 584/5, and 587/8 would the indictional years of the coins have practically coincided with Maurice's regnal year. It may be possible that indictional rather than regnal years dating was initially adopted because of this coincidence.

For other evidence there is the sequence of inscriptional forms on the coins of Maurice. For convenience the three general types of legends will be designated: T/M for TIbЄRMAVR or some variation thereof; M for MAVRIC alone or some variation; and M/T for — MAVRICTIbЄR or variation. A survey of Maurice's dated coinage would indicate this general sequence: T/M, M, and M/T. Perhaps a principal reason for Wroth's assignment of INDIII to 584/5 and INDS to 587/8 was that the former carried the T/M legend[25] while the latter bore the M or M/T legend.[26] That the former also had the M legend is illustrated by an INDIII pentanummium in my collection (PLATE XIX, 6) with the inscription [D]NMA VRICI as well as by Wroth's half-follis no. 235 which has the legend DNMA VRICIΓ.[27]

[24] Cf. Bellinger, no. (241) dating Wroth's no. 230 to the year 602.
[25] Wroth, nos. 235–237 and 244. Cf. also Bellinger, nos. 249.1–249.4 and 250–251.3, and no. (248) citing Sabatier, no. 15.
[26] Wroth, nos. 241–243 and 246–248. Cf. also Bellinger, nos. 255.1–255.5.
[27] Wroth, no. 235, pl. XIX, 2. Wroth read the inscription as DN [TIBM ?] AVRICIP but an examination of the coin shows it to be as given above.

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With no INDS coins known to us having the T/M formula, the question of whether the INDS coins could have preceded the INDIII coins may rest on whether in fact there was a sharp transition from one to another of the three general types of legend. In the following survey of Maurice legends I shall attempt to show: (1) that there was a transition period of several years during the decade of the 580's when there was considerable fluidity in usage, so that an M formula might have preceded T/M; and (2) that the M formula had been abandoned well before 598/9, so that it would be extremely unlikely that the INDS coins could be dated to either 598/9 or 602.

The dated gold from Carthage apparently carried only the two formulae T/M and M/T.[28] The T/M legend was used in 582/3, and perhaps in 583/4.[29] The M/T formula was adopted in 583/4 and remained standard thereafter. On the solidi of Constantinople, also, only these two formulae prevailed. On the semissis, however, the M formula was used but probably only in 583 or for a few years thereafter.[30]

The bronze coins from the Eastern mints prove more helpful for, not only are they dated, but more of them carry the M formula. At Constantinople the T/M formula was used in 582/3 but was succeeded by the M formula in 583/4,[31] and by M/T in 584/5 and thereafter, although the M type still appeared in 584/5 and a few later years.[32] At Thessalonica the transition from T/M to M/T seems to have occurred in 582/3 without the intervention of the M type.[33] At Nicomedia the T/M legend was continued on the folles until 586/7[34] when it was superceded by the M and M/T types.[35] The half-folles show the

[28] Grierson, "Dated Solidi of Maurice, Phocas, and Heraclius," *NC* 1950, pp. 49 et seq. Cf. also Bellinger, pp. 353–355.
[29] Grierson, *NC* 1950, p. 62.
[30] Cf. Wroth, nos. 15–16; and Bellinger, nos. 12b.1–12c.
[31] Cf. Bellinger, nos. 22a–22d.3. (Nos. 21 and 24 of years 582/3 and 583/4, respectively, with the M/T legend do not appear from their style to be from the Constantinople mint. Grierson calls this type the "Rome style" and plans to treat it in a forthcoming study. Query if these folles may not be from Constantine in Numidia?)
[32] Bellinger, nos. 25 and 49a.
[33] Wroth, nos. 109–111.
[34] Wroth, no. 127.
[35] Wroth, no. 128 for the M type of 586/7; and Bellinger, no. 95a (pl. LXX for the legend which is at variance with that implied by the text), for the M/T type of the same year.

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M legend from 582/3 until late in the decade.[36] At Cyzicus the T/M legend was used in 582/3 and 583/4. It was followed, possibly by the M legend in 584/5,[37] and by the M/T legend in 584/5 and succeeding years.[38] Of the Western mints, Ravenna used the T/M legend in 583/4[39] and M/T in 586/7.[40] At Constantine in Numidia the M/T formula was used in 591/2 and 592/3.[41]

This survey shows that the simple M legend was dropped long before 602, and usually before 587/8. This fact would lead to a serious questioning of the reattribution of the INDS coins to the year 602.[42] While no proof is provided by this survey that the T/M legend ever followed the M or M/T legends at any one mint, there is ample evidence that any of the three legends might have been employed in the particular years 583–585 and that a rigid sequence should not be relied upon in those years.

The third feature of the INDS and INDIII coins which could have a bearing upon the order of striking is that the former carry Roman marks of value while those of the latter are Greek. The undated bronze coins of Carthage with T/M or M legends have Roman marks of value.[43] Since it would seem probable that bronze coins were struck to mark the first year of Maurice's reign, these could reasonably be assigned to the year 582/3. Wroth's pentanummium no. 245 with a Greek mark of value and a M/T legend DNMAV RTIbPP could be assigned to some year after 584/5.

[36] Bellinger, pp. 328–329.
[37] Bellinger, no. 137.
[38] Bellinger, pp. 330–334.
[39] Bellinger, no. 289.
[40] Wroth, no. 282.
[41] Bellinger, pp. 362–363.
[42] Bellinger, p. 360, describes four INDS decanummia which are of the M type and one with the legend DNMAVRICITB. Of the three described by Wroth (p. 151), one is of the M type and the other two have T or TI at the end of the legend. (It should be noted here that the condition of many INDS coins is such that what is taken for T or TI or TB could have been intended for P or PP.) The three pentanummia described by Wroth are all of the M type. The four decanummia in my collection have the M legend.
[43] Wroth, nos. 231–232 and 238–239 with the T/M legend; and a half-follis of the M type acquired by the British Museum since the publication of Wroth's catalogue. Bellinger, nos. 243 and 245–246 with the T/M legend. No. (253) misquotes the legend of Wroth's no. 240.

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The suggested order of the bronze coinage of Carthage under Maurice, then, is:

Roman marks of value	undated	582/3
Roman marks of value	dated INDS	583/4[44]
Greek marks of value	dated INDIII	584/5
Greek marks of value	undated	after 584/5

The relative scarcity of Carthaginian bronze coins of Maurice would support the thesis that this coinage was discontinued after the first few years of his reign.

[44] The form INDS rather than INDII may also be pertinent to the present inquiry. If *sexta* were intended by the S, would the date not have been given as INDVI, coming later than the date INDIII? Before the INDIII coins were struck in 584/5, however, it would have been consistent usage at Carthage to use S for *secunda* as it had been to indicate the second officina on the folles of Justinian I and Justin II (according to Wroth, p. 66n; although in Bellinger, p. 164, note to no. 291, "Since there is no *Prima*, Grierson conjectures *Sola*." The latter conjecture is based on no precedent in the Byzantine coinage; and, furthermore, it may have been understood that the gold coinage was being struck in *prima officina*. To have used INDS for the sixth Indiction would have been highly confusing in the local context.

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THE REFORMED FOLLES OF THEOPHILUS: THEIR STYLES AND LOCALIZATION

(PLATES XX–XXII)

D. M. METCALF

"How little we know of Asia Minor, the true center, not Greece, of Byzantine life! Every traveller becomes soon aware of the countless mass of Byzantine coins still to be found in the villages and cities of modern day Turkey. If these were systematically studied, if Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Constantinople itself were subjected to the same careful archaeological spade as Athens and Corinth, what would they do to M's tentative conclusions?"[1] What indeed? Our knowledge of the Byzantine petty currency of the 9th and later centuries would doubtless be vastly enriched by evidence from one or two sites in Asia Minor of the same quality — and the sheer quantity — of that which is available from central Greece. It would be a step forward, even, if the coins from the British Academy excavations of 1927–28 in and around the Hippodrome were published. The proposal to give a large share of the reformed folles of Theophilus (Groups Ϛ and Z) to a mint or mints in central Greece is supported, as will be seen below, by the plentiful occurrence of those varieties at Corinth: the other necessary step in the argument, which would show that they were relatively far less plentiful in Asia Minor (and in Constantinople itself) has until now failed from a total lack of coins with more easterly provenances, let alone systematic evidence of high quality. The substance of this article will be a survey of the Corinth finds; the publication of a number of reformed folles that have recently been obtained in Turkey; and a comparison of the two sets of provenances.

In its form, it is prompted by Bellinger's essay on Theophilus in *ANSMN* 13,[2] and is designed to restate the scheme of classification

[1] G. L. Kustas, commenting on mint attributions for the reigns of Theophilus and Basil I, in a valued review of *Coinage in the Balkans, 820–1355*, in *Balkan Studies* VI (1965), 419.

[2] A. R. Bellinger, "Metcalf's Arrangement of the Copper of Theophilus," *ANSMN* 13 (1967), 136–141.

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which he there called in question. If it should seem that the reformed folles are being discussed at inordinate length, one may urge that they have a wider interest than that measured by the thirty or forty years during which they were the petty currency of the eastern provinces of Byzantium. Whoever occupies the high ground of the Theophilan reform to some extent commands the general interpretation of monetary history in the periods which precede and follow it. Secondly, there is a *prima facie* case for supposing that the new administrative arrangements, devised mainly at the time of the Theophilan reform,[3] for minting the copper currency may have become traditional, and may thus be the basis for an understanding of many of the later issues of coinage of the ninth to twelfth centuries. And there is another, more practical reason: the previous investment of research effort in the reformed folles makes them a profitable series for further study, and for use as a test case; once the die varieties have been listed, they can be referred to in detailed discussion.

The coinage of Theophilus should be set in the wider context of the monetary decline and recovery of the eighth to tenth centuries, which historians have, in recent years, been trying to bring into connexion with the urban history of Byzantium.[4] The view that the recovery in the provinces began in the Aegean coastlands, and especially in central Greece, may, according to Kustas, be a distortion, reflecting merely the wealth of evidence from Corinth and Athens and its paucity in Asia Minor.

Whereas there is some evidence of a contrast in the quantities of eighth-century copper (relative to earlier and later centuries) circulating in Constantinople on the one hand and in the Aegean provinces on the other,[5] there is none of continuity in Asia Minor. On the

[3] The possibility that it had its roots earlier is examined in D. M. Metcalf, "The Folles of Michael II and of Theophilus before his Reform," *HBN* 1967, 21–34. There may have been two provincial mints in the time of Michael II, but there is certainly no reason to think that either of them was in central Greece.
[4] Contributions by A. P. Kazhdan, G. Ostrogorsky, and others are cited in E. Frančes, "La ville byzantine et la monnaie aux VIIe–VIIIe siècles, contribution au problème de la crise de la ville byzantine," *Byzantinobulgarica* II (1966), 3–14.
[5] A. H. M. Jones, "The Coins," in [S. Casson and others], *Preliminary Report upon the Excavations Carried Out in the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1927 on Behalf of the British Academy*, 1928, pp. 46–50 (ca. 1,700 coins in all); and B.

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contrary, such evidence as there is points to the same decline and slow revival as is indicated by the statistics of the finds from Greece. Thus, one must suppose that the "countless mass" of Byzantine coinage that the traveller sees consists almost entirely of coins of the periods 498–668 and ca. 970– ca. 1250. Unpublished information will confirm this; but first let us glance at what has been published. Among 400 Byzantine coins from the excavations at Pergamum (in the northwestern coastlands of Asia Minor), the "middle period" from 668 to ca. 970 was represented by 4 coins of Constantine IV, one of Tiberius III, 3 of Michael II, and one of Basil I.[6] Let us try straightaway to establish a rough basis of comparison: 9 among 400, or about 2 per cent, is matched by 3,900 among 30,500 at Corinth (13%), or 540 among 11,000 at Athens (5%).[7] At Priene there were two ninth-century coins — both of Leo V — among a total of 133 (again, about 2%).[8] In the old excavations at Sardis, 16 out of 138, or 12% of the coins, were from the "middle period."[9] In the broad context, therefore, one might expect that further excavations in Asia Minor — even at sites on the western seaboard — would not radically alter the view of decline and recovery in the "middle period," to which the folles of Theophilus belong. In the more distant provinces, there is little sign of monetary revival before about the date of the Rex Regnantium

Gray, "The Coins," in Casson, *Second Report*, etc., 1929, p. 50 (ca. 1,200 coins in all). The relevant figures are tabulated and discussed in D. M. Metcalf, "How Extensive Was the Issue of Folles during the Years 775–820?" *Byzantion* XXXVII (1967), 270–310.

[6] S. McA. Mosser, *A Bibliography of Byzantine Coin Hoards* (New York, 1935), s.v. Pergamum.

[7] K. M. Edwards, *Coins, 1896–1929* (*Corinth Reports*, VI, Cambridge, Mass., 1932); and her "Report on the Coins Found in the Excavations at Corinth during the Years 1930–35," *Hesperia* VI (1937), 241–56; J. M. Harris, "Coins Found at Corinth. I. Report on the Coins Found in the Excavations at Corinth during the Years 1936–1939," *Hesperia* X (1941), 143–55; M. Thompson, *Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period* (*The Athenian Agora*, II, Princeton, 1954).

[8] Mosser, op. cit., s.v. Priene.

[9] H. W. Bell, *Sardis*, Vol. XI, *Coins, Part I, 1910–1914* (Leyden, 1916); for coins from the more recent campaigns at Sardis, see the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*. Virtually nothing later than the seventh century has been found during the current excavations; but note *BASOR* CLXVI (1962), 1–56, mentioning a solidus of Justinian II with Tiberius from an architectural context in the citadel area.

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folles of Class A; and the reign of Theophilus falls well and truly in the slack water before the tide begins to flow again. At Cherson, there are, as Mrs. Sokolova has noted, 6,000 Byzantine coins from the excavations, among which only 8 are from the eighth century.[10] From Transcaucasia and the eastern shores of the Black Sea there are copious finds of Byzantine copper coins, which Kropotkin has inventoried. The recovery seems to begin in the tenth century; there are remarkably few copper coins from the eighth and ninth centuries, and only one follis of Theophilus, from Georgia.[11]

The evidence from southeastern Turkey is, as might have been expected, the same. In October 1966 I had the opportunity, through the good offices of Messrs Spink and Son, of London, to work through approximately 750 Byzantine copper coins which had been accumulated (along with similar quantities of Greek and Roman coins) by a Turkish provincial dealer in antiquities, whose operational base is understood to be Antioch. He had evidently not been selective in his purchases: anything even half-legible was grist for his mill, and this, of course, gave added scientific interest to the assemblage. In June 1967 Messrs Spink, with continued generosity, allowed me to study a further 350 Byzantine coins, of very much the same character, which had just then been acquired from the same source. The 1,100 together included, from the "middle period," no more than one coin of Theophilus (Group Z), 2 of Basil I, 3 of Leo VI, 5 from the reign of Constantine VII, and one of Nicephorus II — in aggregate 12, or about 1 per cent.

A friend who bought a good many coins in and around Burdur, in southcentral Turkey, was able to find hardly any of the "middle period," although he was on the look-out for them. Another colleague, with an incidental interest in numismatics, took rubbings of coins which were shown to him in eastern Cappadocia. Among 15 which he was good enough to let me study, there were one of Justin I, 2 of Justin II, one the Theophilus (Group H — see below), one of Con-

[10] Details cited from I. V. Sokolova, "Les monnaies siciliennes du IXe siècle des fouilles de Chersonèse," *Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica*, Vol. II, *Atti* (Rome, 1965), pp. 565–70.

[11] V. V. Kropotkin, *Klady Vizantiiskikh monet na territorii SSSR* (Moscow, 1962); and his, "Novie nakhodki vizantiiskikh monet na territorii SSSR," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* XXVI (1965), 166–89.

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stantine VII with Romanus II, 7 Rex Regnantium folles of Class A, 2 of Class B, and one later coin.[12]

Over-all statistics set the scene, but they must then give way to the closer arguments which can be rehearsed by a detailed study of the coins themselves. Three aspects deserve consideration: first, the quantities in which the coins were struck; secondly, the mints where they were struck; thirdly, the extent to which the issues of the different mints became intermingled in circulation during the thirty or forty years before they were withdrawn.

Estimates of the volume of a coinage based on the statistical sampling of dies have received enough discussion in the last few years for the methods and difficulties to have become quite well known. Brunetti has worked out the statistical theory, and Lyon has presented a simple formula from which calculations can be made. The average output of a die has been discussed by Stewart; and the general problems of interpretation have formed the subject of addresses by Grierson and Lyon.[13] Provided that information about the exact number of die duplicates and the character of a sample is made available, students can apply their own reasoning to the facts; and that is how the matter will be left here. For Theophilus, the latest figures hitherto available are that, among 168 obverse dies, 163 are different.[14] An estimate from these figures, based on an average (explained below) of some 7,500–10,000 coins from a reverse die, would be that a probable minimum of 22 million reformed folles were struck. When a corpus of dies has been established, new coins can be added to it, thus increasing the size of the sample and narrowing the margins of statistical error. The 20 new coins from Turkey, together with certain others, will be brought into account in this way presently.

The second question, namely where the coins were struck, has received a provisional answer, on the intentions and terminology of which it is still necessary to insist, since it has been misunderstood by more than one student of the Byzantine coinage. It would be general-

[12] I offer my best thanks to these students, who prefer to remain anonymous.
[13] The essential study is C. S. S. Lyon, "The Estimation of the Number of Dies Employed in a Coinage," *Num.Circ.* 1965, 180–1.
[14] These figures are cited from a study of the Corinth finds (in press). The 168 dies are those which were well enough preserved to check for duplication, among a total of some 250 (*ANSMN* 10 plus Corinth).

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ly conceded that the issues of the ninth to twelfth centuries, although they bear no mint signature, *may* not all have been struck at Constantinople. How can the correct mint attribution of such coins be determined? If one sits down in front of a quantity of the coins of Theophilus, and looks at the details of their dies, storing them up in the mind's eye (as though one were programming a computer), one quickly begins to notice minor similarities of workmanship, and indeed whole dies which are so alike that one can mentally range them side by side as being the work of the same hand. In practice, one adds coin to coin, into a stylistic group which becomes denser and surer as one proceeds. The coins in the group are not related to each other by any over-all criterion — those at opposite ends of the chain of similarities may be appreciably different — but simply by an "infinitesimal calculus of style." Furthermore, the stylistic proximity between two reverse dies may serve to connect two quite different obverses, or *vice versa*.

In reply to Marx, who proposes a primary division into coins on which the labarum has streamers, and those on which it does not,[15] it is necessary only to point to one or two examples of pairs of coins, so similar in a number of details that they are manifestly from the same mint, but where one of the pair has streamers and the other has not; similarly with his subdivision according to the number of dots in the tufa. The Cardiff coin illustrated on plate XVII, 4 in *ANSMN* 10 (Marx evidently was not aware of the original article when he wrote, but merely of a brief summary of it published elsewhere) lacks streamers, but is otherwise characteristic of Group A.[16] Little blocks of near-duplicate coins can be added one to another as coming probably from the same mint; but a block cannot be taken apart. Even should three-quarters of the pieces of the jigsaw puzzle be lost, so that one will never be sure what the whole picture is, there can be no uncertainty, if four or five pieces fit together into a little block, about their belonging together.

[15] M. Marx, "The Stylistic Varieties of the Reformed Folles of Theophilus," *The Voice of the Turtle* V (1966), 47–51.
[16] D. M. Metcalf, "The New Bronze Coinage of Theophilus and the Growth of the Balkan Themes," *ANSMN* 10 (1962), 81–98. The conclusions are summarized briefly in Metcalf, *Coinage in the Balkans, 820–1355*, pp. 25–7.

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The whole quantity of coinage in front of which one originally sat down may link itself into a single chain, barring, perhaps, the odd piece which stands out as a contemporary forgery. This was my experience when I applied the method outlined above to the eighth– and early ninth-century folles of Leo IV and Leo V.[17] Or one may end up with a number of separate chains. The computer, so to speak, has not been instructed to arrange all the coins into a sequence, nor to arrange them into several groups; but merely, taking them all into account, to associate schematically the coins which by their workmanship — by the little, unconscious traits which add up to and define their "style" — demand to be associated. If several groups emerge, it may be possible to list a number of criteria by which coins of a group can be recognized, but one must insist that they are only a by-product of the analysis, intended as a practical aid, and that the groups have not been defined by means of those criteria. Thus, Bellinger's comment, "Evidently if this detail [the style of the globus] had been considered critical, quite different groups would have resulted," seems to rest upon a misapprehension of the method employed to arrange the coins. The same reply can be given as has been made above in commentary on the article by Marx. The particular pattern which emerges should depend entirely on the interaction of the detailed similarities.

The analogy of the computer may help to make it clear that the scheme which emerges from such a procedure is a scheme of stylistic grouping and nothing more. The computer has been given no instructions to interpret the pattern of die similarities, not even to "tidy it up." (One coin which was left aside in the original article, *MN* 35,[18] has since proved to be the only specimen then known to me of an eighth stylistic group, Group H.) Grierson leveled the criticism against the original seven Groups of "sweeping deductions from small numbers." He wrote, with intended irony, "A hundred folles of Theophilus lead him to envisage the existence of 7 mints."[19] I had not, of course,

[17] D. M. Metcalf, "How Extensive Was the Issue of Folles during the Years 775–820?," *Byzantion* XXXVII (1967), 270–310.
[18] PLATES XVII–XXII in the article in *ANSMN* 10 are numbered consecutively.
[19] P. Grierson, "Some Aspects of the Coinage of Offa," *Num.Circ.* 1963, 223–5; and the rejoinder in D. M. Metcalf, "Evidence Relating to Die-Output in the Time of Offa," *Num.Circ.* 1964, 23.

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made a sweeping statement. What I had written ran to several pages in *ANSMN* 10, since it was fully expounded and carefully qualified. It cannot be satisfactorily condensed, but the essence of it was that there were 7 stylistic groups, some of which might, as the result of further study, have to be amalgamated under single mints; but that there were reasons, in respect of each stylistic group, for supposing that the separation was in terms of mint organization; and that "there were at least two and probably five or six provincial mints which shared with Constantinople the issue of the new bronze coinage." Grierson made criticisms of a similar tenor at the Congress of Byzantine Studies in September 1966.[20]

Having arrived at a stylistic arrangement, resulting in this case in seven or eight groups, there may be reasons to interpret it in certain ways. The interpretation may have to leave alternatives open, and is bound to be firmer at some points than others. It should, in a word, be open-ended. The reasons that were examined in *ANSMN* 10 were provenance and metrology. Metrological differences between the Groups, whether in the mean, or in the range of distribution about the mean, can suggest differences in mint practice, and may thus help to show that Groups are from separately constituted officinae, if not actually from different mints. The simplest and best reason for postulating provincial mints would be the localized occurrence, in particular themes or districts, of one or more of the stylistic Groups.

[20] Mr Grierson's doubts were first made public at Rome in September 1961, when he commented, "Even assuming that the number of coins of known provenance is large enough to permit any generalization regarding local distribution, a point on which I have still to be convinced, I can see no logical reason why the argument [about consignment] should not be equally relevant here, and the coins not have come from the same mint at different periods in the reign." (*Congr. Int., Atti*, p. 530.) See now P. Grierson, "Byzantine Coinage as Source Material," *Proceedings of the XIIIth Int. Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 5–10 September 1966*, 1967, pp. 317–33, where an accurate summary of the facts is followed by the comment, "though on general grounds I would expect a number of new mints to have been opened for a recoinage I am not myself convinced that the evidence points to the existence of more than two, one in the capital and a second, of quite distinct, rough work, in the provinces." If this is his considered opinion (and the burden of his remarks on that occasion was that nothing less could with discretion be laid before a non-numismatic audience) one would like to know in detail how he would share the coins between the two mints.

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Virtually no hoards of reformed folles have been recorded, however, and there are very few site-finds, except from Corinth.[21] There are 4 coins from the Athenian Agora (up to 1949), 2 which Tolstoy bought in Istanbul, and another from the same city (listed by Mosser), and single specimens from Delos, from Isperikh and Kazichene in Bulgaria, perhaps from Okami in Georgia,[22] and from the northern emporium of Haithabu.[23] The article in *ANSMN* 10 was thus presented as an interim study, which might at least "prepare the way for adequate find-reports in the future."[24] There has been no spate of activity in the publication of provenances since 1962; the few coins which other students have kindly communicated to me are all mentioned in these pages. The excavation coins from Corinth (of which a detailed publication is forthcoming) and the Istanbul purchases catalogued below are the first substantial blocks of new evidence to be made available. They go some distance toward completing the argument as it was envisaged (although, obviously, much more information from Istanbul and from specific sites in Asia Minor remains desirable).

First, style; secondly, metrology and localization. If one could gather whatever abundance of information one wished, this two stage argument would in effect be conclusive. It would circumvent Bellinger's doubts, based on various analogies, about what one should consider a variation significant enough to be counted as evidence for a difference in mint. But information about the Theophilan folles is not available in abundance; Group Γ was represented by only 3 specimens, and Group Є by 4 (Bellinger notes 5, incorrectly). The arrangement of the coins according to their style is more difficult than it would be if their die survival rate were higher. One has to detect die similarities across gaps in the evidence, and there is no point in denying that judgement enters into the equation, and that experience counts for something. Although each particular judgement, about the proximity or otherwise of two dies, in that sense depends on an ac-

[21] See *ANSMN* 10 for the Chersonese find of 1926; and the forthcoming Corinth publication. No information is currently available about the Thessaloniki find of 1933.
[22] Kropotkin II/124. But it is not stated whether this is a reformed or a pre-reform coin.
[23] Group B/1.
[24] *ANSMN* 10, p. 83.

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quaintance with the whole corpus of the coinage, it is worth insisting that the kind of judgement involved is neither difficult, nor speculative; one is merely deciding, time after time, whether or not two dies, taken over all, are in numerous ways so similar that one can be sure they are by the same hand.

Since one must make do with what limited information is available, and make the most of it, one may as well try as a matter of expediency to refine upon the stylistic classification by studying the internal arrangement of each Group as far as possible. The advantages of doing so can be described under three headings. First, it will be possible to attribute some difficult or obscure coins to their correct Group with greater confidence when the stylistic devolution or divisions of the Group are better understood, because one will see more significance in the variation, at different stages in the sequence of dies, of particular details of the design. Secondly, the reconstruction of the sequence may serve to rule out various hypotheses about the relationship between two Groups. If, for example, it could be shown that the lettering on the obverses of each of two Groups became progressively smaller, on the basis of the sequence of dies, one would have discovered an obstacle to interpreting the two as the successive product of a single officina. Thirdly, the progression and relationship of various sequences of dies may be the source of new ideas about mint organization. There are hints, among the reformed folles of Theophilus, particularly of Group Ϛ, of a "two-officina" or at any rate a double system, in which two distinct obverse sequences are linked with each other through a common reverse sequence.

Particular interest attaches to what may be called "early" or "experimental" dies. The accumulated evidence of many very similar coins in a stylistic group may draw attention to the odd one or two which seem to have been made before the die cutter had settled down into a steady routine. Several such precious coins were brought to light through the study of the Corinth finds. It is normally obvious that they must stand right at one end of the sequence, and reasons for supposing them to be early rather than late may be found in features such as a heavy or well-rounded flan, unusually careful and elaborate workmanship, long or otherwise unusual inscriptions, and mistakes due to a lack of understanding, which were rendered cor-

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rectly on all the other dies. If there are "experimental" dies firmly linked into the beginning of each of two sequences, there will, once again, be an obstacle to interpreting the two as the successive product of a single officina.

The classification presented in *ANSMN* 10 was based, as Grierson observed, on just over a hundred specimens, plus a preliminary random sample of 25 of the Corinth finds, of which Professor Stroud very obligingly sent me photographs in 1961. Since the total of reformed folles of Theophilus that had been found at Corinth up to 1939 was evidently about 150 (more than were available in all the principal museums of Europe and America put together), it was in the pleasant anticipation of studying a large new body of material that I visited Old Corinth for a month in the spring of 1965. My expectation was that the close examination of so many new specimens would provide a thorough check on the completeness and reliability of the classification as it had previously been established. It will not, perhaps, be judged irrelevant to state that the ideas, sketched above, on the proper methods of a stylistic classification were fresh in my mind, as I had spent the winter months of 1964–5 working them out in the course of writing a monograph on Byzantine twelfth-century stamena.[25] I did not merely list the Corinth coins according to a preconceived scheme. As well as looking for die links and die similarities, I deliberately asked, of each one, whether its evidence might modify the scheme — whether the reverse of a Group Ϛ coin might be close to any known coin of Group A or Z, for example. In the outcome, it was gratifying to find that the original classification stood the test of new evidence very well indeed. Even the small Group Γ emerged intact. A complete catalogue and discussion of the coins, together with illustrations of many of them, is to be published elsewhere. Only the main points will be summarized here. The quantities of the various Groups among the finds (up to 1939) are detailed on page 132. These statistics are not distorted by the inclusion of any hoards among the material from Corinth. With the exception of at most 7 coins, which may have been concealed in twos or threes, all the Corinth coins are single finds. The proportions of the different varieties among

[25] *Classification of Byzantine Stamena in the Light of a Hoard Found in Southern Serbia* (= *Situla*, IX, Ljubljana, 1967).

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the excavation material, as compared with those in museums and private collections elsewhere (see the table), demonstrate that Groups Ϛ and Z were dominant in the currency of central Greece; that Groups A, and, even more, B and Δ were under-represented; and that Groups Γ and Є were scarce varieties in the currency at large. The Corinth finds reveal that *MN* 35 is typical of another scarce variety, which is now listed as Group H.

Group	*Provisional mint attribution as given in* ANSMN *10*	*Quantity at Corinth*		*Quantity elsewhere* (ANSMN *10*)
A	Constantinople	20	+1	24
B	Metropolitan region/ Asia Minor?	9		18
Γ	Metropolitan region/ Asia Minor??	4		3
Δ	Thessalonica	5		28
Є	Uncertain provincial mint, possibly in northern Greece?	2		4
Ϛ	Central or southern Greece: Peloponnesus?	54	+3	15
Ϛ/Z	(Mule)	1		
Z	Central or southern Greece: Hellas?	40		11
H	(Not identified as a Group in *ANSMN* 10)	4		1
	Unidentified or unclassified	6		1
		149		105

We know relatively little about the important Byzantine city of Thebes; Mrs. Touloupa, of the Greek Archaeological Service, is performing a valued service by gathering up various finds of Byzantine coins from Thebes and its vicinity. Two such recent finds of coins of Theophilus are of Groups Ϛ and Z respectively. They are the only ninth-century coins among some two dozen pieces of the Byzantine

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and Frankish periods.[26] The coins from the Argos excavations, which are to be published by Mr. Hackens, include one reformed follis (discovered in 1959), as against two of Leo VI and a good many later coins.[27]

What would 150 folles of Theophilus from the soil of Nicomedia, Cyzicus, or Constantinople itself reveal? In January 1965, Messrs. Spink and Son, of London, began to offer for sale, through the pages of their *Numismatic Circular*, a collection of Byzantine coins, gathered in recent years in Turkey. Messrs. Spink kindly agreed to allow me to study 10 reformed coins of Theophilus, listed in the *Circular* in July/August and September 1966, and, at my suggestion, they asked their client if he remembered where he had obtained them. He replied that they were all bought in Istanbul, and that he had never found such pieces at Antioch or on the southern Turkish coast. Later, I met the owner of the coins who, in May 1967, with ready generosity, made available to me 10 more reformed folles, the fruits of further expeditions into the bazaar. The 20 coins are catalogued below, with an indication whether they came from the first or the second batch. The owner reports that the list may be somewhat weighted in favor of Group Δ, since he remembers neglecting to buy (say) half-a-dozen of the full-size coins, while taking all the opportunities he had to acquire those of the small module. The coins are of the following Groups:

A	2	Є	0
B	3	Ϛ	3
Γ	2	Z	2
Δ	6	H	2
			20

The contrast with the statistics from Corinth is sharpest in Group Δ. Even if the 6 coins from Turkey somewhat over-represent the variety, they underline its scarcity in central Greece. Groups Γ and H, which are likewise scarce at Corinth, and are scarce in collections, account for 4 of the remaining 14 coins. Groups A–B and Ϛ–Z are equally rep-

[26] I must thank Mrs. Touloupa, and also Mr. T. Hackens, who kindly made photographs of the Thebes finds.

[27] I am indebted to Mr. Daux and to Mr. Hackens for permission to see, and to mention, the Argos finds.

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resented, whereas at Corinth the Ϛ–Z coins are more than three times as numerous as A–B. One would like far more than 20 coins, obviously; but even just these 20 do much to strengthen the case for the localization of the stylistic varieties. In particular, the contrast of Groups Γ and H from the two sources is significant at quite a high level of confidence, and cannot be subject to any systematic error (i.e., in the selection of the coins);[28] one should add into consideration the coin of Group H from Ağin on the upper Euphrates.[29] The step in the argument which most needs testing, it may be felt, is that Γ and H are separate Groups in terms of their style. To meet this point, some additional specimens have been checked for die similarity and incorporated into the catalogue below. The style of all the Groups has been reviewed in light of the extra evidence now available, and Groups Γ and H are discussed below in their proper order.

Groups A and B, which were defined largely in terms of their obverse characteristics, were assigned to the metropolitan region. Group A was given to Constantinople, and Group B to an active mint "not far from Constantinople, perhaps on the Asian side of the Propontis" — with the analogy of the sixth-century mint of Nicomedia in mind. A more detailed consideration of the evidence, including that from Corinth, reveals similarities between certain reverse dies of Groups A and B. The connexions are restricted to a small number of coins from Group A; and in each Group the dies apparently stand early in the sequence. But the generalization to which the least uncertainty attaches (in the present state of our information) is that the reverse dies of Group B are a far more compact group, in style, than are those of A. On balance, a move to attribute both A and B to Constantinople would raise more difficulties than it resolves.

The Corinth excavations have yielded two blundered reverse dies of Group A. Each reads ASϚOVSƬЄ for AVϚOVSƬЄ. A specimen with this same blunder was published, curiously enough, in 1814, in the Wiczay collection.[30] The two Corinth coins are linked by an obverse die on

[28] That is to say, the contrast would be statistically more significant if any of the half-dozen coins that were seen but not purchased were in fact of Groups Γ or H; but there is no latitude in the other direction — there were no more coins of these Groups at Corinth.

[29] See below, catalogue no. 27.

[30] *Musei Hedervarii*, Impp. Æ, pl. VIII, 103.

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which a lop-sided tufa has been altered, apparently after the pattern of dots had been inserted. These coins are presumably early. The same may be true of a coin, which Mr. Boyd F. Kessinger of San Francisco has kindly communicated, with the S of bASIL reversed: the dies are most like those of *MN* 5 and 9.[31]

The internal arrangement of Group A will have to be worked out from the unconscious traits of the die cutters, particularly the representation of the folds of the divitision, and the shape of the neckline. There is a correlation between these two details, which extends to the ornament of the tufa; but more specimens will be needed before one can judge how complete the correlation is. Provisionally, one might think of two or three die cutters working closely together, and a chronological progression toward less craeful, less elaborate dies. At one end of the scale are coins with careful and realistic drapery and many dots on the loros, and at the other are some characteristic pieces with simplified drapery, fewer dots on the loros, the staff of the labarum in front of the arm and a conspicuous fringe to the free end of the loros. The logic of the area between these two extremes remains elusive, but the limited conclusions that can be reached should be at least of some value when the possible amalgamation of stylistic groups under the rubric of a single mint attribution is under review. As a working arrangement, the Corinth coins (and the Istanbul purchases) have been catalogued as follows:

A/1 Elaborate drapery as on *MN* 1, 2, 13; usually a round neckline (*MN* 1 is however more elaborate); tufa with ••⁘••

A/2 Drapery similar, but stiffer, as on *MN* 10, also 3 and 6; "boat-shaped" neckline; tufa ••⁘•• or ⁘

A/3 Simpler drapery (*MN* 7, 8); small neckline; tall (i.e., square) banner on labarum; large lettering, with A in bASIL; tufa ⁘⁘⁘, ••⁘••, or ⁘

A/4 Simple drapery (*MN* 9, 11, 4, 5); "horseshoe" neckline, often with dot at throat; staff in front of arm; tufa with 4 bold dots.

In Group B, too, there is a correlation between the drapery of the divitision and the shape and ornament of the tufa. Style therefore offers some support for a division between:

[31] Group A/4. In Mr Kessinger's collection.

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B/1 Elongated tufa, ornamented ⁘, and
B/2 Half-moon tufa, with various marks.

The reverse dies which are closest to Group A seem to be concentrated in Group B/1. Group B/2 includes a number of "experimental" dies (e.g., *MN* 22 on which the free end of the loros is omitted?). One cannot make out a simple case that B/1 and B/2 are sequences running parallel to each other. The obverses of the two subgroups are firmly associated in terms of their workmanship (and separated from A) by the diamond-shaped panels of the loros which are such a regular feature of Group B. The three-line treatment of the free end of the loros could perhaps have been adopted deliberately by two die cutters working side by side; but the diamond-shaped panels seem more like an unconscious mannerism, permitting the deduction that all the dies for Group B were cut by the same hand. Bellinger contrives to misunderstand the words "diamond-shaped," although the whole of PLATE XIX in *ANSMN* 10 was devoted to Group B, which should have made a lengthy verbal description unnecessary. "The designer has not drawn his lines exactly at right angles to the warp." Just so, he has made the panels, as one might say, diamond-shaped. Bellinger comments, "the degree of inaccuracy varies, and is not confined to Group B." My own impression, based on a careful search through all the available coins, is exactly the opposite: this detail is remarkably consistent, and is confined to Group B. If Bellinger knew of any coins which conflicted with this assessment, he would have done well to illustrate them.[32]

Group Γ can be identified easily enough by its dotted style, the dotted panels of the free end of the loros, the sloping fingers, and the transverse panel of the loros which is sometimes curved. The outline of the tufa, the sardonic cast of features, the drapery of the divitision,

[32] Mr. Bellinger was good enough to send me a draft of his note and to invite my comments. I wrote on 16 June 1965, "... As a more fundamental criticism, I believe it would be in your interest to illustrate and discuss in some detail the coins which you believe undermine my argument. In that way you could avoid a charge of obscurantism; without seeing the coins about which you are speaking, how can your readers judge ,and how can I reply?" Mr. Elam kindly sent me galley proofs of the note in *ANSMN* 13 in May 1967. I have had no communication with Mr. Dikigoropoulos, on whose opinions both Mr. Bellinger and Mr. Grierson have drawn.

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and the curve of the neckline all seem characteristic. In a word, the hand of one particular workman can be recognized. He was doubtless responsible also for the accompanying reverse dies, for they are just as unusual. The graving tool used for the lettering has given them a rounded section — deeply rounded on the earlier dies of the sequence — which is characteristic of Group Γ. The C of ΠICAS, the dropped bar of the τ in AVϚOVSτЄ, and the generally lemon-shaped O's and Θ's stand out.

The coins of Group Γ belong together as a block and the rather elaborate breakdown of Group A into subgroups 1–4 reveals the difficulties of associating Γ with A. The drapery, which is very regular on Γ, rules out a connexion with A/3 or A/4; the neckline, with A/2; the general style of the loros and face, with A/1. Group Γ, of which the number of specimens has now been carried from 3 to 11,[33] plus an undertype on a coin of Basil I,[34] looks like the product of a separate, small mint. One might hazard the guess that it was struck at Cyzicus, Abydus, or some comparable city in western Asia Minor.

For the suggestion that Group Δ came from Thessalonica, the reasons originally advanced were that its mint should be located in a provincial town sufficiently remote from Constantinople, and isolated, to be able to have a coinage very different from that of other parts of the Empire; that the town should be an important one, since coins of Group Δ are plentiful; and that it could not be Corinth, where the type had been found only in small numbers, and was unlikely by the same token to be in central Greece.[35] In a survey published in 1965, I modified the suggestion by saying that these reasons might apply to Thessalonica or Trebizond, but that the former seemed a more likely choice.[36] New evidence is now available. There are strikingly few coins of Group Δ at Corinth: only 5 among 149 reformed folles. (Miss Edwards' listing of 3 "half-folles" among 21 reformed coins in the finds from 1896–1929 is perhaps misleading as only one

[33] *MN* 15, no. 6 below, Corinth 54, Tolstoy 26, Schl. 3025, Corinth 55–6, nos. 7–8 below, *MN* 16, Corinth 57. Another specimen was found at Corinth in 1963 (Agora SW section).
[34] D. M. Metcalf, "Ražba follů Basilia I. a organisace jejich mincoven," *Numismatický Sborník* IX (1965–66), 95–127, no. 26.
[35] *ANSMN* 10, p. 93.
[36] *Coinage in the Balkans, 820–1355*, p. 26.

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of the three was of Group Δ.) In clear contrast, 6 out of 20 of the Istanbul purchases are of Group Δ. If the variety is localized in its occurrence, it is certainly not in central Greece, and one should probably look for a region within the frontiers of modern Turkey. Evidence from the region of Thessalonica itself is, alas, still wanting.

Bellinger, however, inclines to the traditional view that the little coins are half-folles. To this, there are three lines of reply. First, if they are half-folles, why were there hardly any in the currency of Corinth? Petty currency was circulating freely enough there, and the relative numbers of Groups A and B among the finds show that copper coins were carried to Corinth from the metropolitan region in quantity.[37] If the coins of Group Δ had been half-folles of metropolitan manufacture, would they not have been carried to Corinth to much the same extent as the folles? Coins of the smallest value are usually over-represented among stray losses, yet the excavations have produced hardly any. Nor is there any sign at Corinth of a fractional denomination in the form of cut halves of folles. Secondly (and this is the most obvious point to be made), if large numbers of half-folles had been issued and had circulated in the reign of Theophilus, it would seem surprising that the need for them should have disappeared under Basil I and Leo VI. The tenth century was a time when the scale of the petty currency was increasing by rapid strides. If a fractional denomination had been introduced, and had proved acceptable, one's expectation is that it would have become a permanent part of the monetary system. The trend, however, seems to have been toward a levelling-up of the weights of the provincial issues of folles — with a reversion to the original scheme among the Rex Regnantium folles of Class A and perhaps B. There are, indeed, a very few tenth-century coins which appear to be half-folles, of reduced module, struck from follis dies; but they are decidedly scarce. For this reason Bellinger cannot, I think, claim that it is the straightforward interpretation to regard Group Δ as half-folles. Thirdly, if half-folles had been struck in the same workshops as the folles, as was normal in earlier centuries (witness again the use of the obverse dies of folles for

[37] A glimpse of this process is given us by a little cache of coins, of Theophilus Group B, and issues of Basil I assigned similarly to non-Greek mints, from a wall of the ceramic factory complex; Corinth 49, 452, 457, and perhaps 450.

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half-folles) it is to me inconceivable that their style would not betray the relationship. The best approach to the problem is through a more detailed stylistic analysis of Group Δ. (This topic does not arise in the course of the discussion of the Corinth finds, for obvious reasons, and will accordingly be given fuller treatment here.) As well as the 6 coins from Turkey, 6 others are shown on PLATE XXI, all but one of which were listed but not illustrated in *ANSMN* 10. The characteristic details of the variety are its small size; the mark ••• in the tufa; the triangular free end of the loros; the drapery of the divitision at the lower right; and, on the reverse, the long Є's and narrow V's.

The neatest obverse, and one which is certainly an "experimental" die (no. 8a, PLATE XXI, 60), conforms with all the criteria, but there are 8 dots on the vertical panel of the loros, and a linear cross instead of 4 dots in the banner of the labarum. The hair is very carefully drawn, and, most unusually, the face is modeled. If this coin were to be associated, as a half-follis, with any of the other Groups, it would have to be A, and, more specifically, A/3, on account of the drapery of the divitision at the lower right. There would still be certain discrepancies of style: the triangular loros-end; the square banner of the labarum of A/3 not repeated on this obverse, the "early" features of which would locate it very near the beginning of the sequence of Group A/3. The reverse has particularly long Є's, and a matching C in ПICAS.

If, relying solely on the "calculus of style," one attempts to arrange the available specimens of Group Δ into some sort of pattern, it turns out that a large block of them can be built up from die similarities, with the "experimental" coin at the beginning. There are not many near duplicates. The specimen of which the obverse is closest to PLATE XXI, 60 has a blundered reverse, reading ПICAϚ for ПICAS, which can be considered early.[38] The reverse of Ratto 1826 is extremely similar to PLATE XXI, 60, and its obverse (with •••• instead of ••• in the tufa) leads on to several other very similar dies on which the free end of the loros is cut off obliquely (e.g., PLATE XXI, 61). Another coin with •••• in the tufa, *MN* 30, has a long vertical panel to the loros (7 dots), and a form of drapery of the divitision which is very unusual for Group Δ, and which seems to be an imitation,

[38] No. 9 below.

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laterally reversed, of the drapery of Group A/2. Since the reverse of *MN* 30 is quite close to that reading ΠICAϚ, the obverse may, again, be considered "experimental." No. 10 below (PLATE XXI, 61) has the same mirror image of the A/2 drapery, but fewer and larger dots in the vertical panel of the loros. Zurich 49, reading ΘЄOFIʃ, is very similar to the obverse of PLATE XXI, 61, and to the reverse of *MN* 30. PLATE XXI, 63 (no. 11a) has a neat obverse by the same hand as PLATE XXI, 60; its reverse has affinities with Zurich 49. No. 11 has an obverse in rougher style, but its reverse seems to be early, and is closely related to no. 8a. The obverse of no. 11 (PLATE XXI, 62) should be compared with that of 11b (PLATE XXI, 64), e.g., as regards the loros at the emperor's left shoulder. Several other coins follow on.[39] Some specimens on which the free end of the loros is not markedly triangular seem to form a compact little block.[40] Their reverses link them to the main series.[41]

A similar little block of coins with the loros laterally reversed is very firmly linked together by its reverse dies. They are all sufficiently similar in style to the main series to support the hypothesis that these are not imitations, but official issues, although standing, perhaps, later in the sequence,[42] since their weights seem to be lower. This leaves 4 interesting coins unaccounted for; 2 of them are apparently from the same dies (PLATE XXI, 70).[43] The third (PLATE XXI 71) looks like an imitative piece: the loros is the right way round; the tufa is reminiscent of Group Є; the locks of hair are like those on Group Z; while the free end of the loros is copied, apparently, from Group B. Schl. 3032 may not be related to the preceding 3 coins.

To take up the rôle of devil's advocate: the task of producing a supply of half-folles might have been delegated to a single officina of the Constantinople mint, and one workman may have cut reverse

[39] PDW 1, nos. 12–14 in the catalogue, Blunt, no. 15, *MN* 27, Stockholm 2.
[40] *MN* 28 and 29 are matched by Fitzw. (5), Berlin 8, Tolstoy 28, Schl. 3033, and no. 16.
[41] Particularly through Mr Blunt's coin; and Vienna 5.
[42] Schl. 3035, Vienna 6, Sofia 3, no. 17, Schl. 3031, and its near duplicate Ratto 1827. Then there are *MN* 32, 33, 31, 34, and no. 17a.
[43] If the coins (nos. 18 and 18a) were regular issues, one might guess that the obverse die was the same, with some recutting. As the coins are irregular, there is perhaps a greater possibility that two different obverse dies were used with one reverse die.

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dies (with long Є's and narrow V's) for half-folles but not for folles. The workman of the obverse dies showed an early propensity for lateral reversal, to which fault he later succumbed more completely, and he soon began to place the pendants of the labarum right at the edges of the banner, or to omit them. Large quantities of half-folles were struck. The minor mints, of Groups Γ, Є, and H may have judged that there was no local need for half-folles; half-folles were for some reason not much used in central Greece; the mint of Group B did not produce half-folles because enough were coming from the workshop of Group A/3. The whole case begins to sound over-elaborate and improbable. If it can be accepted that the coins of Groups Ϛ and Z, which are significantly lighter than those of Groups A and B, are of provincial mintage, then Group Δ, which is lighter again (but still more than half the weight of A or B) may likewise be provincial. The mean average of Groups A and B was published as 7.64 gr., and that of Δ as 4.33 gr. Bellinger gives a new mean of 4.09 gr. for Δ (implying that the dozen coins in Washington have an average weight of ca. 3.8 gr.) Without more detail about the coins it is not possible to assess the evidence; but the early coins discussed above, in the order in which they are mentioned, weigh 4.29, 4.94, 4.60, 4.41, 4.00, 4.70, 4.22, 4.89 gr. It would be irresponsible to neglect their evidence, and it still seems probable that their intended weight was 72 to the pound.

There is little new to be said about Group Є, which remains very scarce. The emperor's arm holding the labarum, on the obverse die of *MN* 36 and 37, is entirely distinctive. One of the Corinth finds has been included among the illustrations (PLATE XXII, 79) in order that a complete series of the varieties might be shown.

The many coins of Group Ϛ from Corinth confirm the criteria by which the variety has been defined. They show that *MN* 38–41 and 43–44 are representative of a closely interrelated group of dies, while *MN* 42 (with pendants) is typical of a smaller group which is connected but relatively separate; probably, it will be suggested, late. The primary criteria which mark the neater coins of Ϛ off from A are the flaring skirt, the consistent shape of the Є on the reverse and, of course, the absence of pendants on the labarum. The drapery of the divitision is simple. Within the circle of the globus cruciger there are 3 fingers in Group Ϛ, but 4 in A.

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The obverse inscription occurs in a shortened form on a number of coins, including some of particularly careful manufacture. The shortest version, on one of the Corinth coins,[44] is ΘЄOF' bAS'; the final sign in each word could be a letter I, but is probably better regarded as a mark of abbreviation. On this and similar coins, the letters bAS', bASI, or bASIL are conspicuously large. These pieces are probably early. Secondly, a naturalistic treatment of the tufa provides a starting point for another sequence within Group Ϛ; *MN* 38 is typical of the die-related group of specimens on which it is found. They are characterized by their dotted style. Taking these two groups as early, it would seem to be very difficult to combine all the obverses into a single developing sequence. The two obverse varieties are, on the other hand, related by die similarities between their reverses in such a way as to suggest that they devolve in parallel with each other. The best hypothesis, therefore, may well be that there were two artists cutting obverse dies concurrently in the Group Ϛ mint Their workmanship can be distinguished as follows:

Ϛ/1 The locks of hair are shaded in lines parallel with the curve of the jaw. Dotted intersections on the free end of the loros are normal in, and restricted to, this variety. Naturalistic treatment of the tufa on the early specimens.

Ϛ/2 The locks of hair are shaded in lines running outwards, i.e., approximately at right angles to the jaw. Plain, ladder-like loros-end, reminiscent of a ship's rigging. Large lettering and abbreviated inscriptions on the early specimens. The reverse dies are very much alike.

There are specimens, which are perhaps late, having ··:·· in the tufa and pendants to the labarum, with the locks of hair shaded as in either Ϛ/1 or Ϛ/2. *MN* 42, which seemed to stand at some distance, in terms of style, from the other available coins, is confirmed as belonging with Group Ϛ by the Corinth find 78, of which the obverse die is a near duplicate, while the reverse is more like *MN* 40.

The coins of Group Z are in general so incompletely struck that it is not possible to suggest any precise arrangement of the dies. The Corinth coins amply confirm the criteria that were originally proposed,

[44] Corinth 79.

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in particular the leaning b on the obverse, and the bold style. While it seemed to me that there was very little possibility of confusion, or transition, between the obverses of Groups Ϛ and Z, special attention was paid to the search for reverse links or similarities between the two, such as might indicate that they were all from the same mint. Any connexion of the obverses could, on grounds of general style, only be between Ϛ/1 and Z, and it will be noted that the hair styles conflict, and that the free end of the loros does not extend to the edge of the coin on Z. No reliable check could be made on the pendants of the labarum, but it would seem that they occur infrequently; and that, unlike Group Ϛ, the coins with pendants still have only 4 dots in the tufa.[45]

The Corinth coins support a stylistic division of Group Z into those on which the banner of the labarum is squarely placed with reference to the vertical axis of the design (*MN* 46, 48, 49), and those on which it leans to the left (*MN* 45, 47, 50, 51). The former, which will be called Z/1, are neater, and apparently include all the coins with pendants. The latter, Z/2, include a couple of excavation coins with inscriptional errors — in one case ΠIAS, and in the other MICAS. The hand holding the labarum is very fat and clumsy on Z/2, while on Z/1 it is usually thinner, sharply bent at the wrist, and with twig-like fingers. So far as one can judge from the reverses, Z/1 and Z/2 are the parallel issues of one mint, but the condition of most specimens is so poor that this is on the level of conjecture.

In spite of the margins of uncertainty in determining criteria, it is clear that Group Z, and more particularly, Group Ϛ fall into blocks of very similar dies. Details such as the shading of the locks of hair, and the correlation between the pendants of the labarum, the ornament of the tufa, and the general style raise the most serious obstacles to Bellinger's suggestion that "it may be that Z merely consists of the extremes of the style [of Ϛ–Z] so that there is only one group instead of two." (It will be noted that this is a comment on style, not mint attribution.) It would even be difficult, I think, to make out a case by reference to the coins that one mint produced Group Ϛ, and then, after an interval of inactivity, produced Group Z. There are, for example, the coins of Group Z with the errors in inscription noted above.

[45] Munich 1.

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Apart from the need to compress the reformed folles into only a few years (there are two other metropolitan issues of folles before the reform, and, of 19 catalogued specimens showing the bust of Theophilus alone, all are from different dies),[46] one of the Corinth finds is apparently a mule between Groups Ϛ and Z. The reverse die of this exceptionally important coin is certainly of Group Z. The obverse die is problematic. The free end of the loros is dotted, as on Group Ϛ/1, and the outline of the locks of hair is characteristic of Ϛ/1 rather than Z. The b of bASIL is obscure, but seems to be normal for Ϛ, and the carefully seriffed S in the same word would be irregular in Group Z. The 4 dots in the tufa are small and neat. The coin evidently stands very early in the sequence of Group Z, and the question is whether the obverse is a borrowed die by the artist of Ϛ/1, or is a mechanical copy of Ϛ/1 by the Group Z artist, who subsequently cultivated his own style.

The proportions in which Groups Ϛ and Z turned up at Corinth are more of a puzzle than anything else in the evidence. My original thought was that Ϛ and Z belonged to two mints, located in the capital cities of the two themes of Hellas and Peloponnesus, namely Thebes and Corinth. If only the agora of mediaeval Thebes had been subjected to the same careful archaeological spade as has that of Corinth! As it is, we have two stray finds from Thebes, one of Group Ϛ and one of Z. Lopez threw out the suggestion, some years ago, of a link between provincial mints and provincial silk factories. This would obviously be understandable (although it is unlikely to have been more than one element in a complex situation), in that an industrial population would have a more pressing need for a coinage of the marketplace than would the inhabitants of an average small provincial town. The idea of the twin centers of Thebes and Corinth is no less alluring in this light. But we must lay speculation aside. If there were two mints in central Greece in the time of Theophilus, Corinth would almost certainly have been one of them; and one would have expected the excavation coins to show clearly enough whether Group Ϛ or Z was the local issue. There is, however, little sign that one or the other was predominant in the currency there. Perhaps the sequence of dies of Ϛ is more densely represented than Z at Corinth? Or can

[46] Metcalf, *HBN* 1967, 21–34.

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both Ϛ and Z be from one mint? It still appears on balance the less acceptable solution; but a firm answer will have to await some finds from other sites.

Group H may be a continuation of Group Є, since there are strong resemblances to Є in one of the Corinth finds of the last variety.[47] The available specimens are, otherwise, a quite compact block. The mark on the tufa is ••• or ••••, and the flaring free end of the loros is characteristic. The style is generally close to that of Group Z, but the b of bASIL does not lean backwards. On the reverses of Group H, the lettering is neater and smaller than on most specimens of Z; in ПICAS the П has a round back, and the flat C is sans-serif, whereas in Group Z (on the neater specimens especially) it would be with serif. There are 4 coins of Group H from Corinth; 2 from Turkey plus one from the upper Euphrates; *MN* 35; and one other specimen, which is catalogued below. Four coins of Basil I are recorded, on which Group H is the undertype.[48]

This concludes the survey of the stylistic groups, and clears the way for a catalogue of the new coins. Twenty-seven are listed: the 20 bought in Istanbul in recent years, one additional specimen of Group Γ from the Fitzwilliam Museum,[49] 4 of Group Δ recently acquired by the Ashmolean Museum, and 2 of Group H, of which one is the Cappadocian find, and the other is in the writer's collection. In addition, 7 coins listed in *ANSMN* 10 have been inserted into the catalogue as nos. 6a, 8a, 11a and b, 17a, and 18a and b, and one of the Corinth finds has been added as 27a. The plates, on which most of these coins are illustrated, have been numbered 52–79 in continuation of *ANSMN* 10 pl. XVII–XXII, in order to permit a brief reference, in the form "*MN* 52," without the risk of confusion. An asterisk is prefixed to the catalogue numbers of the illustrated coins.

Group A

*1. 8.24 gr. 165° A/1. *Obv.*: Same die as *MN* 1. *Rev.*: Closest to Berlin 2. Turkey, 1967. PLATE XX, 52.

[47] Corinth 163.
[48] Corinth 350, 364, 369, 422.
[49] Published here by kind permission of the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum.

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*2. 8.71 gr. 185° A/2? *Obv.*: Tufa with ··:··, cf. *MN* 10 and Oxford 2. A careful, "early" die — note the dotted intersections on the free end of the loros; the elaborate neckline; the elaborate treatment of the emperor's left forearm and hand; the complicated drapery at his right elbow; the large labarum with dotted corners. *Rev.*: Particularly close to *MN* 12 (which is associated with an A/4 obv.). Large lettering, cf. Corinth 24–5. Turkey, 1967. PLATE XX, 53.

Group B

*3. 8.17 gr. 185° B/1. *Obv.*: Tufa with ··:··, cf. *MN* 24. Note the lop-sided tufa, lop-sided labarum, very large S. *Rev.*: Similar to many Group B dies, e.g., Vienna 3. Turkey, 1965. PLATE XX, 54.

4. 6.95 gr. 185° B/1. Same dies as no. 3. The obverse of the *coin* is better struck and less worn; the reverse *die* is more worn. The die alignment of the two coins is exactly the same (185°). Turkey, 1965.

*5. 6.66 gr. 180° B/1. *Obv.*: Near-duplicate of *MN* 24. *Rev.*: Near-duplicate of a coin in the Fitzwilliam Museum. Turkey, 1965. PLATE XX, 55.

Group Γ

*6. 7.40 gr. 170° *Obv.*: Extremely similar to *MN* 15. *Rev.*: Characteristic rounded lettering. Dot at the top of each O and the Θ. Fitzwilliam Museum, ex Bunn. PLATE XX, 56 (rev. only illustrated).

*6a. 8.98 gr. 165° *Obv.*: Near-duplicate of *MN* 15. *Rev.*: Extremely similar to *MN* 15. Paris, Schlumberger 3025. PLATE XX, 57.

*7. 5.98 gr. 175° *Obv.*: Intermediate between no. 6a and Corinth 55. *Rev.*: Near-duplicate of no. 6, and extremely similar to 6a. Turkey, 1967. PLATE XX, 58.

*8. 6.72 gr. 180° *Obv.*: Same die as no. 7. *Rev.*: Extremely similar to no. 6a. Turkey, 1965. PLATE XX, 59.

Group Δ

*8a. 4.29 gr. See above, p. 139. Schl. 3030. PLATE XXI, 60.

9. 4.94 gr. 175° *Rev.*: Reads ΠICAϚ. Oxford.

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*10. 4.60 gr. 165° Oxford, ex Beasley collection. PLATE XXI, 61.
*11. 4.22 gr. 165° *Obv.*: Closely related to Munich 2 — note irregular spacing of dots on loros at emperor's left shoulder. *Rev.*: Unusually wide V's. Sharp serifs. Compare, however, with no. 8a. Turkey, 1967. PLATE XXI, 62.
*11a. 4.70 gr. PDW 2. PLATE XXI, 63.
*11b. 4.89 gr. Munich 2. PLATE XXI, 64.
*12. 5.38 gr. 165° *Obv.*: Large globus held high. Tufa on "stalk." *Rev.*: Very similar to PDW 1. Turkey, 1967. PLATE XXI, 65.
*13. 3.64 gr. 180° *Obv.*: Obscure, but evidently extremely similar to PDW 1. *Rev.*: Extremely similar to Munich 2. Turkey, 1967. PLATE XXI, 66.
14. 3.84 gr. 165° *Obv.*: Similar. Oxford.
*15. 2.95 gr. 150° *Obv.*: Cf. *MN* 27. *Rev.*: Cf. PDW 2 and Munich 2. Turkey, 1965. PLATE XXI, 67.
16. 4.31 gr. 165° *Obv.*: Similar. Oxford.
*17. 3.41 gr. 175° *Obv.*: Reversed loros. Long face. *Rev.*: Cf. *MN* 34. Turkey, 1965. PLATE XXI, 68.
*17a. 5.40 gr. *Obv.*: Note the treatment of the fingers of the hand holding the labarum. *Rev.*: Note the rising bars of the Є's. The lettering is clearly related to that on specimens with a correct loros, and is apparently quite early; cf., for example, the initial cross, etc., of no. 13. Vienna 5. PLATE XXI, 69.
*18. 3.74 gr. 150° *Obv.*: Same die as no. 18a? *Rev.*: Same die as no. 18a. Turkey, 1965. PLATE XXI, 70.
18a. 3,77 gr. Fitzwilliam, ex Hasluck bequest, 1920.
*18b. 3.54 gr. See above, p. 140. *BMC* 27. PLATE XXI, 71.

Group Ϛ

*19. 5.27 gr. 150° Ϛ/1. *Obv.*: Very similar to *MN* 39. *Rev.*: Very similar to *MN* 38–9. Turkey, 1967. PLATE XXII, 72.
*20. 6.67 gr. 180° Ϛ/2. *Obv.*: ΘЄOFI bASIˡ. *Rev.*: Cf. *MN* 40. Turkey, 1967. PLATE XXII, 73.
*21. 9.16 gr. 165° Ϛ/2. *Obv.*: Tufa obscure, but labarum with pendants. Very similar to *MN* 42. *Rev.*: Similar to *MN* 42, and Schl. 3024. Turkey, 1967. PLATE XXII, 74.

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Group Z

*22. 5.75 gr. 165° Z/2. *Obv.*: Cf. *MN* 50. *Rev.*: Cf. *MN* 51. Turkey, 1965. PLATE XXII, 75.

*23. 4.93 gr. 165° Z/2. *Obv.*: Cf. *MN* 51. *Rev.*: Cf. *MN* 50. Turkey, 1965. PLATE XXII, 76. (Obv. only).

Group H

*24. 6.79 gr. 175° *Obv.*: Tufa with ···. Triangular end to loros. Note ⊬ in bASIL, as on Corinth 166 and extremely similar to *MN* 35. *Rev.*: Near-duplicate of Corinth 165. Turkey, 1967. PLATE XXII, 77.

*25. 7.85 gr. 180° *Obv.*: Triangular end to loros. bASI. *Rev.*: Widely-spaced ΘЄO. Oxford, ex Turkey, 1965. PLATE XXII, 78.

26. 6.75 gr. 175° *Obv.*: Flaked away, and obscure, but close to Corinth 166 (outline of tufa; free end of loros) and cf. Corinth 163 (outline of jaw; locks of hair; transverse panel of loros). No pendants. *Rev.*: Characteristic ∩, C, in ∩ICAS; etc. Metcalf, bought 1961 ex Beasley collection.

27. *Obv.*: Triangular free end of loros; (?) ···· in tufa; characteristic lop-sided jaw as on no. 24 above; arm holding labarum has at least 8 parallel lines to represent the sleeve, cf. Corinth 165. Rather large, sprawling S in bASIL, cf. Corinth 163, and no. 24. *Rev.*: Large, erratic lettering; large T in AVSOVST€, large, open C in ∩ICAS. Seen at Ağin (upper Euphrates), 12 October 1963.

Group Є

*27a. Corinth 63. PLATE XXII, 79.

The 27 new coins bring forward several instances of die duplication. No. 1 is from the same obverse die as *MN* 1. Nos. 3 and 4 are from the same dies; since very passable forgeries of Byzantine folles are now on the Turkish market, the authenticity of these two specimens was carefully scrutinized.[50] Nos. 7 and 8 are from the same obverse

[50] Mr. Weller has noted specimens which are identical in all details, i.e., casts, and has presented two such to the Ashmolean Museum.

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die, and no. 18 is from the same reverse die, and therefore probably also from the same obverse die, although with some recutting, as no. 18a. Instead of 168 obverse dies, of which 163 are different,[51] we now have 195 obverse dies, of which 186 are different. Lyon's formula,[52] in which c is the number of dies in the sample, d the number of different dies, and n the original total of dies, is applied as follows:

$$\frac{d}{c} = \frac{186}{195} = .954; \frac{c}{n} = .10; n = 1{,}950.$$

But d could reasonably differ from E(d) by up to $.4\sqrt{195}$, = 6.

At the minimum, therefore,

$$\frac{d}{c} = \frac{180}{195} = .923; \frac{c}{n} = .14; n = 1{,}393.$$

The formula yields a maximum figure (at a confidence level of approximately 95%) of 6,500, but this will perhaps give an exaggerated impression.

The proportion of obverse die links (6, against 3 duplicate coins) indicates that obverse dies were used longer than reverse dies. Whether the mint made a practice of using two reverse dies with each obverse die, it is too soon to say. But if the obverse: reverse die ratio lay somewhere between 1:1 and 1:2, and the average output from a reverse die was nearer 10,000 than 5,000, it will be reasonable to multiply the number of obverse dies by 15,000 to obtain an estimate of the total number of folles struck. It was with these same assumptions that the minimum figure of 22 million was derived from the 168 dies previously available. The range is now recalculated as between 21 million and 98 million.

There is little evidence that any of the Groups, except Ε, has had a survival-rate differing significantly from the average, although one may suspect that that of Β, where the reverse dies are all so closely alike, is higher. The instances of duplication are in Groups Α (2 examples), Β (2 examples), Γ, Δ, Ε, and Ϛ. There is no reason to think that Groups Ϛ and Ζ are so plentiful at Corinth only because of the circumstances of prolonged archaeological excavation. The argument *ex silentio* is less secure, but the scarcity of Groups Γ and Η in collections generally makes it difficult to suppose that large quan-

[51] These figures are used, and explained, in the Corinth study.
[52] Lyon, *Num.Cir.* 1965.

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tities of coins were ever struck in the more distant parts of Asia Minor; and a general survey of the finds, as we have seen, points the same way.

The regional pattern is not unexpected. Even in the sixth century the urban life, and the prosperity, of the Byzantine provinces were heavily concentrated in the coastal districts of the Empire. This theme has recently been explored by Zakythinos, who has examined the distribution of early Christian basilicas, and has drawn attention to the high proportion of them which are found in the Dodecanese, the Aegean Islands, and Crete.[53]

In the sixth and seventh centuries, the copper coins of certain Byzantine mints were characterized by particular combinations of trace elements. Grierson has shown that the issues of, for example, Alexandria and Carthage contain lead and tin, and has pointed to the interest that would attach to a chemical analysis of the coins of Theophilus.[54] A trial run was made with half-a-dozen coins, of Groups A and B, Δ (2), and Z (2), to see whether the results looked sufficiently promising for a full experiment.[55] They were negative, although a larger sample might show that there was slightly more tin in the coins of Groups A and B than in the other Groups. Non-destructive analysis by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry is sufficiently sensitive to permit quantitative comparisons of elements present in very small traces.[56] There is at present no guide to the elements which might be useful, and a program of research will have to begin at the very beginning, with a search through the spectrum. It should be directed toward the scarce varieties, Γ, Є, and H.

[53] D. A. Zakythinos, "La grande brèche dans la tradition historique de l'hellénisme du septième au neuvième siècle," *Kharistérion eis Anastasion K. Orlandhon*, Vol. III (Library of the Athenian Archaeological Society, no. 54, Athens, 1966), 300–24. This includes a brief discussion of the statistics of coin finds from Corinth and Athens.

[54] P. Grierson, "Trace Elements in Byzantine Copper Coins of the 6th and 7th Centuries," *Dona Numismatica* (Hamburg, 1965), 29–35.

[55] B. C. M. Butler and D. M. Metcalf, "Trace Elements in Byzantine Copper Coins: a Method of Non-Destructive Analysis," *Num.Circ.* 1967, 229–233, gives details of the method. Observed count rates (as explained there) were, for lead, 48, 23; 13, 39; 15, 54. For tin, they were 13, 14; 9, 10; 13, 10. Corrected counts suggest a contrast between A–B and Δ which, if it were confirmed, would be an interesting argument against the coins of Group Δ being half-folles.

[56] Butler and Metcalf, *Num.Circ.* 1967.

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The best hope, however, of advancing our knowledge of the reformed folles still lies in gathering up excavation coins or other local finds from different parts of the Empire. The remaining problems in the purely stylistic analysis are the possible relationship between Groups A and B, and the fuller definition of Groups Є and H. In the interpretation of the Groups, and their localization, there is still plenty of scope for discussion. May it go forward! When better information is available from excavations in Istanbul itself, and from some sites in Asia Minor, it will be time to attempt a discussion of the extent to which the copper coinage was carried about from one province to another. Since both solidi and miliaresia were available, one would have expected the use of folles to have been restricted (in practice) to meeting local needs, and in this context the relatively large numbers of Groups A and B at Corinth are surprising.

The folles of Theophilus are a *pons*. Professor Bellinger has prudently inspected the evidence, and decided not to cross it yet. The stylistic classification, however — supported by the coins from Corinth and those newly published here — is more secure, and more of a stumbling block, than he has allowed. The study of sequences of dies within the Groups, and in particular the recognition of "early" or "experimental" dies, help to rule out certain possibilities in the interpretation and alignment of the Groups. Bellinger's comments are nevertheless so good-tempered that there is scarcely a sentence, scarcely a clause, in them that I would wish to dispute. It is simply that, taken over-all, his caution seems to me excessive: I believe the bridge can now safely be crossed. If Theophilus reformed the petty currency by setting up provincial mints, of which the output of those in central Greece was on a relatively very large scale, this is something which adds considerably to our meager systematic knowledge of Byzantine economic history in the ninth century. The question is significant enough to deserve to be settled. It will be a pity, therefore, to lay it on one side unanswered, if sufficient enterprise can resolve the ambiguities of method, and can close the gaps in the evidence. Bellinger's conclusion, that the "system ... cannot be regarded as proved as yet," makes a single reaction where a multiple one would have been more useful.

The more sceptical, confronted with the additional information from Corinth and Turkey presented above, may still perhaps be of

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the opinion that the numbers of coins from Turkey are not large enough, or not scientifically controlled enough, and the contrast with Corinth not sharp enough, for them to regard the localization of Groups Ϛ and Z as proven. The onus is on them to assess the probabilities objectively. Suppose that out of 5 coins which were seen but not bought by the collector in Istanbul, as many as 4 were of Groups Ϛ or Z, then 9 out of 25, or 36%, would have belonged to those Groups: at Corinth, there are 98 out of 149, or 66%. To put it another way, the next 25 coins to be recorded in the bazaar at Istanbul (in addition, that is, to the 20 now on record) would have to be all of Groups Ϛ or Z to bring the proportion there up to a matching 66%. Since at least 20% of the Corinth finds were (in terms of the proposed classification) metropolitan issues, and since the currency of western Asia Minor might be expected to include some of the many coins issued in central Greece as well as those from Constantinople, a proportion of up to 36% of Groups Ϛ and Z[57] among the bazaar purchases seems to be well within the range of expectation.

To those who are hesitant in drawing conclusions from small numbers, it may appear relevant that the same pattern is repeated, with substantially larger numbers, for the Rex Regnantium folles of Class A. From the excavations of the Athenian Agora, the coins which I ventured to identify as "central Greek" varieties — Bellinger varieties 2, 3, 4, 5, and 8 — made up 58% of a total of 580, and at Corinth, they accounted for a very similar proportion among some thousands of specimens.[58] Among the 1,100 Byzantine coins from southeastern Turkey, mentioned above, there were 198 folles of Class A, of which 179 were identifiable as to their variety. There were only 21 of the "central Greek" varieties, or 12%. I hope to publish a detailed list of the varieties present in each of the two batches, and to discuss its evidence, elsewhere.

[57] 25–36% depending whether one reckons 5 out of 20, 5 out of 14, or 9 out of 25.
[58] For Athens, and the recognition of "central Greek" varieties, see D. M. Metcalf, "Bronze Coinage and City Life in Central Greece *circa* A.D. 1000," *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens* LX (1965), 1–40. At Corinth, the Class A folles from the excavations up to 1929 were published with a listing of the varieties in Edwards, op. cit. (note 7). In the autumn of 1966 I was able to examine a further 2,500 specimens, found up to 1939. These are the subject of a forthcoming study.

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Addendum

Since these pages were written a further 30 reformed folles of Theophilus of Turkish provenance have come to my notice, mainly through the continued generosity of the student who secured the other 20. One was bought in Adana (Group B); one was seen and a rubbing taken in Mersin (B); one was bought in Antalya (S). Two from a different source are thought to have been obtained in Ankara and Trabzon; and one is without formal provenance but has an Arabic countermark. All the rest were bought in the bazaar at Istanbul: the purchaser was on the look-out for coins of Theophilus for me and neglected none that he saw. The 50 coins now available are distributed as follows:

A	7	Є	0
B	8	S	12
Γ	3	Z	8
Δ	9	H	3

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TWO UNPUBLISHED ARAB-SASANIAN DIRHEMS OF ʿABDULLĀH b. UMAYYAH

(PLATE XXIII)

GEORGE C. MILES

Very little is known of the Arab governor ʿAbdullāh b. Umayyah b. ʿAbdullāh other than the fact that he was sent by his father, governor of Khurāsān, to Sijistān and Kirmān as his deputy, that he conducted an unsuccessful campaign against the Turkish king Zunbīl II, and that he was subsequently deposed. The dates of these events are not entirely certain: he appears to have been appointed in 72 H./A.D. 691–2, and according to one primary written source he was deposed in 74 H./A.D. 693–4, according to another in 77 H./A.D. 696–7.[1] That he was still governor of Sijistān in 75 H./A.D. 694–5, and perhaps even in 77 H., is now established by two dirhems of ʿAbdullāh b. Umayyah, the first coins of his to have come to light.[2] One of these specimens is the property of Dr. Mesrob T. Abgarians of Teheran, to whom I am grateful for permitting me to publish the coin, and the other is now in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, a gift from Mr. Edmund Zygman of New York.

1. *ʿAbdullāh b. Umayyah.* *SK = Sīstān.* 75 H./A.D. 694–5.

Obv.: Usual type of bust of Khosrau II, facing right. At right, in Pahlevi:

عبدالله APDULA-I
بن اميه AUMIYAN

Margin: first quarter, ط; second quarter, بسم الله; third quarter, العزة لله.

[1] The sources are cited by Prince Caetani in *Chronographia Islamica*, pp. 849–850, 877–878, 915.

[2] None is recorded in the late John Walker's definitive *Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (London, 1941), although he describes seven specimens of Abdullāh's father, Umayyah, issued at the mints of Balkh, Khurāsān (?), Marv al-Rūdh and Sīstān or Sijistān (pp. lvii–lviii and 106–107).

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Rev.: Usual fire-altar and attendants. At left: سنه ٧٥. At right: ح ح
Æ, M. T. Abgarians Coll., 32 mm., 3.65 gr. (PLATE XXIII, 1).

The date, 75, is clear. The meaning of the Pahlevi letter (M?) in the first quarter of the obverse margin is uncertain. The Kufic legend, العزة لله, "the power is God's," occurs, so far as I know, on only one other Arab-Sasanian issue, an anomalous bronze type of Iṣṭakhr, which I have tentatively attributed to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath and dated to approximately 80–85 H./A.D. 699–704.[3]

2. *'Abdullāh b. Umayyah.* *SK = Sīstān.* 75 or 77 H./A.D. 694–5 or 696–7.

Obv.: Similar to no. 1, but no Pahlevi letter in the first quarter of the margin, and slight differences in the orthography of the governor's name.

Rev.: Similar to no. 1, but date: سنه ٧٥ or ٧٧.
Æ, ANS 65.22, 31 mm., 3.61 gr. ↙ (PLATE XXIII, 2).

The date is curiously written and the question of whether it is intended to be 75 or 77 must be left open. The letters could be read either AFTAT-A(?)-PNJ or AFT-A(F)TAT, in either case bungled. The first reading entails placing the decade before the digit, and this admittedly is most unusual. As for the other alternative, while the digit and decade would follow in the usual order, one would have to make more allowances for bungling than with the first.

At all events we gain from these two coins confirmation of the written report that 'Abdullāh b. Umayyah was indeed governor in Sīstān; we can reject 74 H. as the date of his deposition; and the second alternative reading of the date of the second specimen may provide confirmation of the tradition that he was not deposed until

[3] G. C. Miles, *Excavation Coins from the Persepolis Region* (New York, 1959), no. 142, pp. 32–33. Another specimen, tentatively assigned to Iṣṭakhr, was published by J. M. Unvala in *NC* 1937, p. 294, no. 29 (= Walker, op. cit., p. 173, no. U. 23).

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the year 77. In 78 H., according to the written sources, 'Ubaydullāh b. abi-Bakrah was appointed to Sīstān,[4] and we have coins of the latter dated 79 H.[5]

The mint signature SK almost certainly stands for the province of Sīstān or Sijistān, as argued by Walker.[6] Although there is also an Arab-Sasanian mint mark for Zaranj (ZR),[7] the capital of Sīstān, the record of issues bearing the monograms SK and ZR seems to present no serious obstacle to their being considered alternative designations for the same mint, as there are, with only one or two doubtful exceptions, no conflicts in date. Similarly, after the coinage reform which led to the abandonment of the Sasanian type there are issues of pure Arab type of both Sijistān and Zaranj. The name Sijistān occurs first (90–101 H.), Zaranj then appears (101, 102, 105 and 107 H.), and during the 'Abbāsid, Ṭāhirid and Ṣaffārid periods both names are used, with very few coincidences in date.

We may now supplement Walker's list of governors who issued dirhems at the SK mint, as follows (Hijrah dates):[8]

'Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād, 56, 57?, 58?, 63?
Ṭalḥah b. 'Abdullāh, 64, 66?
'Abdullāh b. al-Ḥārith (?), 66
'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Āmir, 66
Salm b. Ziyād, 68
Umayyah b. 'Abdullāh, 73 (mint written out as SIZSTAN or SIZAJTAN)
'Abdullāh b. Umayyah, 75, 77?
'Ubaydullāh b. abi-Bakrah, 79.

[4] Caetani, op. cit., p. 925.
[5] Walker, op. cit., p. 110, no. Th. 14; and G. C. Miles, *Rare Islamic Coins* (New York, 1950), p. 7, no. 27.
[6] Op. cit., pp. cxxviii–cxxix.
[7] Ibid., p. cxxxi.
[8] There are of course also SK issues of the anonymous type: cf. Walker, pp. 4, 7, 8, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23.

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A SĀMĀNID/KĀKWAYHID "MULE"

(PLATE XXIII) N. M. LOWICK

The British Museum recently acquired an Arabic gold coin which is remarkable in that its obverse type, which shows the mint-name Nīsābūr and the date 375, belongs to the Sāmānid ruler Nūḥ II b. Manṣūr (366–387 A.H./A.D. 976–997), while the reverse carries the name and titles of the Kākwayhid prince Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār (398–433 A.H./A.D. 1007–1041), who did not come to power until some years after the collapse of the Sāmānid dynasty. The dinar, which is apparently of good quality gold, is not obviously a forgery[1] and shows no sign of having been tooled or tampered with in any way. Its thinness — less than half a millimeter — precludes any chance that it was made by welding together separate pieces. The disparity of type might have arisen from an overstrike; but had one side of the coin been restruck with sufficient force to remove all trace of its original legend, the other side could not have escaped partial or total obliteration in the process. Although slightly worn in places, the coin is on the whole well-preserved, all of its inscription being legible except for small portions of the Qur'ānic quotations in the obverse and reverse margins.

Æ. 22 mm. 3.02 gm. British Museum Collection. (PLATE XXIII, 3).
Obv. (Type A):

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
الملك المنصور

Inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور سنة خمس وسبعين وثلثمائة

[1] H. L. Rabino, in *Coins, Medals and Seals of the Shahs of Iran*, p. 22, says that Turcomans cast dies from good specimens of gold and silver coins and struck pieces of silver as ornaments for their wives, and that occasionally the obverse was taken from one coin and the reverse from another. He cites as an example a coin showing the name of Zāmān Shāh on the obverse and that of Shāh Ḥusayn on the reverse. However the present dinar does not appear to have been produced from cast dies.

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Outer margin: لله الامر etc. (Qur'ān XXXIII. vv. 3, 4).

Rev. (Type B): نصر
محمد رسول
الله القائم بامر
الله محمد بن
دشمنزار

Margin: محمد رسول الله ارسله etc. (Qur'ān IX. v. 33).

The Sāmānid obverse (Type A) is unremarkable in itself and calls for little further comment. Nīsābūr was among the most important Sāmānid mints and its issues in gold for Nūḥ II are well-attested.[2] Although no dinar dated 375 appears to have been published, the British Museum contains three similar specimens of years 376 and 377, characterised by the words "al-Malik al-Manṣūr"[3] in the fourth line beneath the faith-formula. One of those dated 377,[4] which is stylistically closely akin to Type A, is illustrated here for the sake of comparison (PLATE XXIII, 4). The isolated letter — probably a "kā" but just conceivably a "dal" or a "dhal" — at the top of the field does not occur on any other published dinar of this reign, although Markov observed what may well be the same letter on the obverse of a Nīsābūr dirhem dated 375.[5]

Special interest attaches to the Kākwayhid reverse (Type B) in view of the scarcity of Kākwayhid coins in general and of the dinars in particular.[6] The date of Type B is limited in the first instance by

[2] *BMCO* II, nos. 416–418; IX, p. 185, nos. 415[t], 417[c], 417[t]; and unpublished specimens dated 372, 377 and 385; Isma'il Ghalib, *Müze humāyūn, Meskukāt kadīme islāmīye katāloghi*, p. 320, no. 813 (dated 374); and S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Arabic Coins in the Khedivial Library, Cairo*, p. 332, no. VIII (dated 384).

[3] So far as I am aware, Nūḥ II is the only Sāmānid ruler to use this title on his coins.

[4] Unpublished.

[5] A. Markov, *Inventory of Muhammadan Coins in the Hermitage*, p. 165, no. 1184.

[6] The principal studies of the coinage of this dynasty are by G. C. Miles: "The Coinage of the Kākwayhid Dynasty," *Iraq* 5 (1938), pp. 89–104; "Notes on Kākwayhid Coins," *ANSMN* 11 (1960), pp. 231–236; and "A Hoard of Kākwayhid Dirhems," *ANSMN* 12 (1966), pp. 165–193.

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the presence of the name of the Caliph al-Qā'im, whose accession took place in 422, and by that of Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār, who died in 433. Only four Kākwayhid dinars of the period 422–433 have hitherto been published.[7] Three of these differ substantially in legend both from Type B and from each other; however the fourth (PLATE XXIII, 5), which was struck at Iṣbahān in 432,[8] has a reverse so similar both in content and style to that of the coin under discussion that close scrutiny is required to convince oneself that the two reverses are not from the same die. There can be little doubt on this evidence that Type B originated at the mint of Iṣbahān, probably during the last two or three years of Muḥammad's reign, but certainly not earlier than 427, the date of the latest-known previous coin of Iṣbahān,[9] nor later than 433.

Since the Kākwayhid reverse is the later of the two types it is most natural to assume that the dinar itself is of Kākwayhid manufacture.[10] If this is correct, then we are confronted with the problem: how and when did a Nīsābūr die make its way to Iṣbahān and under what set of circumstances could it have been put to use by a Kākwayhid ruler more than half a century after the Sāmānid issue for which it was originally designed?

Nīsābūr in Khurāsān is separated from Iṣbahān, the chief city in Jibāl province, by the great central Persian desert known as the Dasht-e Kevīr. In mediaeval times the journey between the two cities was almost invariably made by skirting the northern and western fringes of this inhospitable expanse, a distance of some eight hundred miles. During the greater part of the fourth and the early fifth centuries of the Hijrah the destinies of Nīsābūr and Iṣbahān are

[7] Miles, "The Coinage of the Kākwayhid Dynasty," pp. 97, 98, nos. 13–15, 45. No. 14, a coin in the British Museum, is in fact dated 422, not 428, and shows the name of the Caliph al-Qādir, who died in that year.

[8] Ibid., no. 15.

[9] Ibid., p. 91, no. 3. Type B differs in several respects from the reverse of this coin, the most important being the absence of the title عضد الدين to right and left of the field and the presence of the Caliph's name which has been transferred from the obverse.

[10] We must, of course, reckon with the possibility that it was struck neither by the Sāmānids nor by the Kākwayhids, but by some third party which had appropriated dies belonging to both dynasties: perhaps the Great Seljūqs, after they had captured Iṣbahān.

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quite distinct, the former being ruled successively by the Sāmānids and Ghaznavids, while the latter owned the sway of the Buwayhids and later the Kākwayhids. Not until 420 A.H. do the histories of the two cities exhibit any link. In this year Mas'ūd of Ghaznah, whose territories already included Khurāsān, seized Iṣbahān from Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār, driving him from Jibāl.[11] Mas'ūd's success was short-lived, for the following year found Muḥammad again in possession of Iṣbahān. However the Ghaznavid ruler reoccupied the city for a brief period in 423, and again in 425, putting his rival to flight on both occasions. In 427 there seems to have been a reconciliation between the two princes, for a coin struck at Iṣbahān in this year shows the name of Muḥammad accompanied by that of Mas'ūd as overlord.[12] The truce may have continued uninterrupted until 432, when Muḥammad evidently broke free from the Ghaznavid yoke, only to die the following year after a further defeat.

Mas'ūd's unrelenting campaign for supremacy in Jibāl shows that for some years he was determined to bring it firmly within the Ghaznavid orbit. On one of his expeditions he may have equipped himself with superannuated dies from the Nīsābūr mint, meaning to have them re-engraved and used for the purpose of an emission in his own name from Iṣbahān. A sudden reversal of fortune compelling him to abandon this project and quit Iṣbahān hurriedly, the dies, together with the remainder of the mint equipment, may have fallen into the hands of Muḥammad on the latter's return to the city. It is just possible that the Kākwayhid moneyers failed to notice that dies brought by the Ghaznavids had become mixed with their own, and accidentally struck a few coins with a Sāmānid obverse punch before realizing their mistake. This explanation presupposes a degree of disorganization and inefficiency in a mint that can rarely have been paralleled, even in time of war. However it is difficult to account for the coupling of such plainly incompatible coin types except by postulating some such blunder on the part of the mint authorities concerned.

[11] This and the following details are taken from the historical sketch of the Kākwayhid dynasty given by Miles, op. cit., p. 101.
[12] See note 9 above.

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A FEW UNPUBLISHED MAMLŪK DIRHEMS

(PLATE XXIV)

JERE L. BACHARACH

The publication of Dr. Paul Balog's *The Coinage of the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt and Syria* (*Numismatic Studies* 12, New York, 1964–hereafter Balog) represents a major contribution to our knowledge of Mamlūk history as well as of Islamic numismatics. All future historical studies and catalogues of unpublished collections of the Mamlūk period will depend on Dr. Balog's work as an indispensible reference. The notes below treat a few unpublished Mamlūk coins which are not listed in the work in question.[1] They are presented as a modest *addendum* to the monumental *corpus* compiled by Dr. Balog.

BAḤRĪ MAMLŪKS

al-Manṣūr Nūr al-Dīn ʿAli
655–657 H./A.D. 1257–1259

1. CAIRO, 654 H. (Ayyūbid-Damascus "square in a circle" style.)[2]

Obverse

Margin:

لا الٰه الا الله محمد رسول الله ارسله
L T R
بالهدى
B

Center:

الملك المنصور
نور الدين علي

Reverse

Margin:

بسم الله ضرب بالقاهرة سنة اربع و
R T L
خمسين وستمائة
B

Center:

الامام
المستعصم

[1] I wish to thank Mr. J. Jankowski, owner of the Baybars' dirhems, and Mr. P. Fischer for allowing me to examine and publish the coins in their possession. In describing the coins I have followed the method and terminology adopted by Balog.

[2] Cf. Balog, p. 57

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بالله ابو احمد عبد

الله امير المؤمنين ابن ايبك

(18, 2.90)

When Aybak (648–655 H./A.D. 1250–1257) was able to solidify his power in 652 H., he began issuing dirhems in his own name in the Ayyūbid-Damascus style. All of the dirhems for the years 652–655 were engraved in this style. Aybak's name is engraved on the obverse while the name of the caliph, al-Musta'ṣim, the mint, Cairo, and the date are engraved on the reverse.

Al-Manṣūr Ali, succeeding his father in 655, continued the same Syrian style. A new obverse with his name had to be cut, but there was no reason to cut a new reverse, as the name of the caliph, mint and date remained the same.

The legible portion of the reverse margin of the above unique dirhem reads *sanata arba'a wa-khamsīn*, part of the date 654 H. Since it is impossible for this coin to have been minted in 654 H., the most plausible explanation for this muling is that in the rush to mint dirhems for the new sultan, the minter used an old reverse die which, in type, would be correct. We may assume that once the error in date was discovered, the old die was destroyed and the correct one used. This interpretation is further supported by the fact that the obverse is of the earlier style of al-Manṣūr 'Ali's dirhems for 655 H. (cf. Balog 19).

2. CAIRO, 657 H. (Ayyūbid-Damascus "square in a circle" style.)

Obverse

Margin:

لا الا الله محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى

Center:

الملك المنصور

Reverse

Margin:

بسم الله ضرب بالقاهرة سنة سبع و خمسين وستمائة

Center:

لا اله الا الله

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نورالدين علي
ابن ايبك

محمد رسول الله
ارسله بالهدى

(21, 2.88)

In the reverse margin of the above dirhem the word *ḍuriba* is divided between the left and top sections. This represents a variation of a style described by Dr. Balog (Balog 20), in which *ḍuriba* is engraved entirely in the left section. The above division of the reverse margin is also found on the dirhems for 657 H. for the succeeding sultan, Quṭuz (657–658 H./A.D. 1259–1260, Balog 24).

BAYBARS
658–676 H./A.D. 1260–1277

3. CAIRO, 658 H. (Ayyūbid-Damascus "square in a circle" style.)

Title: al-Malik

Obverse

Margin:
B L T R
لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى

Center:
الملك الظاهر
ركن الدنيا والدين
بيبرس

Reverse

Margin:
T R
بسم الله ضرب بالقاهرة

Center:
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
ارسله بالهدى

(20, 2.66)

The legible part of the reverse margin reads *bi-al-Qāhirah* for the mint, Cairo. The reverse of this specimen is stylistically quite similar to the reverse for Baybars' predecessor, Quṭuz, for the year 658 H. (cf. Balog 25). Baybars' reign began at the end of 658 and the minters could have used a reverse from Quṭuz's reign and engraved a new obverse for the new sultan; a situation analogous to 'Ali's muling described above.

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Additional evidence suggests that this particular dirhem probably represents a very early emission of Baybars, if not his earliest. The Ayyūbid-Damascus style, of which this coin is an example, disappears after 658 and Baybars' heraldic device, the *lion passant*, which appears on most of his silver, is not present on this dirhem.

4. CAIRO, 659 H. (Religious legend on the reverse.)

Title: al-Sulṭān al-Malik

Obverse

Center:

الصالحى
السلطان الملك
الظاهر ركن الدنيا والدين
بيبرس قسيم امير المؤمنين
To left, *Lion Passant.*

Reverse

Circular legend:

ضرب بالقاهرة (T) سنة تسع (L) وخمسين (B) وستمائة (R)

Center:

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
ارسله بالهدى

(22, 2.72)

This dirhem is significant because it represents the earliest use of the title *al-sulṭān al-malik* by Baybars on his silver coinage. Balog lists this reverse style as the third variation of dirhems with the above title, where the mint and date formula starts at the top (Balog, p. 99). The earliest known dirhem of this style listed by Dr. Balog is 662 H. (Balog 78).

5. DAMASCUS, 659 H. (Religious legend on the reverse.)

Title: al-Malik

Obverse

Margin:

بسم الله (T) الرحمن (L) الرحيم (R)

Reverse

Margin:

ضرب بدمشق (T) سنة تسع (R) وخمسين (B) وستمائة (L)

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Center:
بيبرس الصالحى
الملك الظاهر
ركن الدنّيا والدين

Center:
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
ارسله بالهدى

To left, *Lion Passant*, Full Face. (22, 2.44)

The coin is similar to an undated Damascus issue described by Dr. Balog (Balog 71). The combination of the title *al-malik* and the religious formula are associated with the early emissions of Baybars. Also, the Damascus dirhems of Baybars like the above are characterized by a full-faced *lion passant* while those minted in Cairo portray a profile.

Circassian Mamlūks

Al-Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad
824–825 H./A.D. 1421–1422

6. NO MINT, Undated.

Obverse

Circle enclosed with dots.

محمد بن ططر
السلطان الملك
الصالح

Reverse

Horizontal dividing lines.

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول

(15, 2.30)

This dirhem is unique in that it includes the use of the title *al-sulṭān al-malik* while the published dirhems of al-Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad do not (Balog, p. 310). The overall style of the obverse is similar to that of issues of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh from Cairo (cf. Balog 687).

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Barsbāy
825–841 H./A.D. 1422–1438

7. ALEPPO, Undated.

Obverse
Clockwise marginal legend:
السلطان الملك الاشرف ابو النصر عز نصره

Reverse
بحلب
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
ضرب

Inner circle; center:
برسباى

a-(17, 1.85)
b-(16, 2.23)
c-(15, 2.27)

This dirhem belongs to Barsbāy's "Early Emission" style, (cf. Balog, p. 313), and is the only published dirhem of this style on which the mint name, Ḥalab, is engraved.

al-ʿĀzīz Yūsuf b. Barsbāy
841–842 H./A.D. 1438

8. NO MINT, 84– H.

Obverse
Clockwise marginal legend:
Illegible.

Reverse
Field divided by horizontal cables to the left.
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله

Inner circle; center:
الاشرف

(17, 2.21)

In theory, this dirhem could have been issued by Barsbāy, Aynāl or Qā'itbāy as all three used the title *al-ashraf*, minted light weight dirhems, and used a similar obverse style. The title *al-ashraf* is not

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found in the center of a circle in any of their respective dirhems. All three used horizontal cables on their dinars, but only Qā'itbāy used this style on a dirhem and then only on the obverse (cf. Balog 831).

Dr. Paul Balog has kindly offered an interpretation of this dirhem. The name al-Ashraf, in the center obverse, is that of the father; the name of the son, the actual ruler who struck the coin, should read in the margin: *al-sulṭān al-malik... ibn*. The epigraphy and the style of the dirhem suggest Barsbāy, thus the ruler would be al-'Azīz Yūsuf.

An investigation of the systematic changes in the weights of dirhems minted after Sulṭān Faraj's reign (d. 815 H./A.D. 1412) supports Dr. Balog's conclusion. Neither Aynāl nor Qā'itbāy minted dirhems of this weight while the weight is typical of Barsbāy's emissions.

Qā'itbāy
873–901 H./A.D. 1468–1496

9. ALEPPO, Undated. ("Niṣf" style.)

Obverse	*Reverse*
Clockwise marginal legend: السطلان الملك الاشرف ابو النصر عز نصره	Clockwise marginal legend: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
Inner circle surrounded by a linear octolobe; Center: قايتباى	Inner circle; center: نصف بحلب

(16, 1.45)

The obverse of this dirhem is similar to an undated *niṣf* dirhem (which Dr. Balog attributes to Aleppo on the basis of its reverse) which has the profession of faith formula engraved in Turcoman Kufic (cf. Balog 829). The reverse of the above coin indicates both the mint and denomination and is engraved in *naskhi*.

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PLATES

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HELLENISTIC LEAD WEIGHTS

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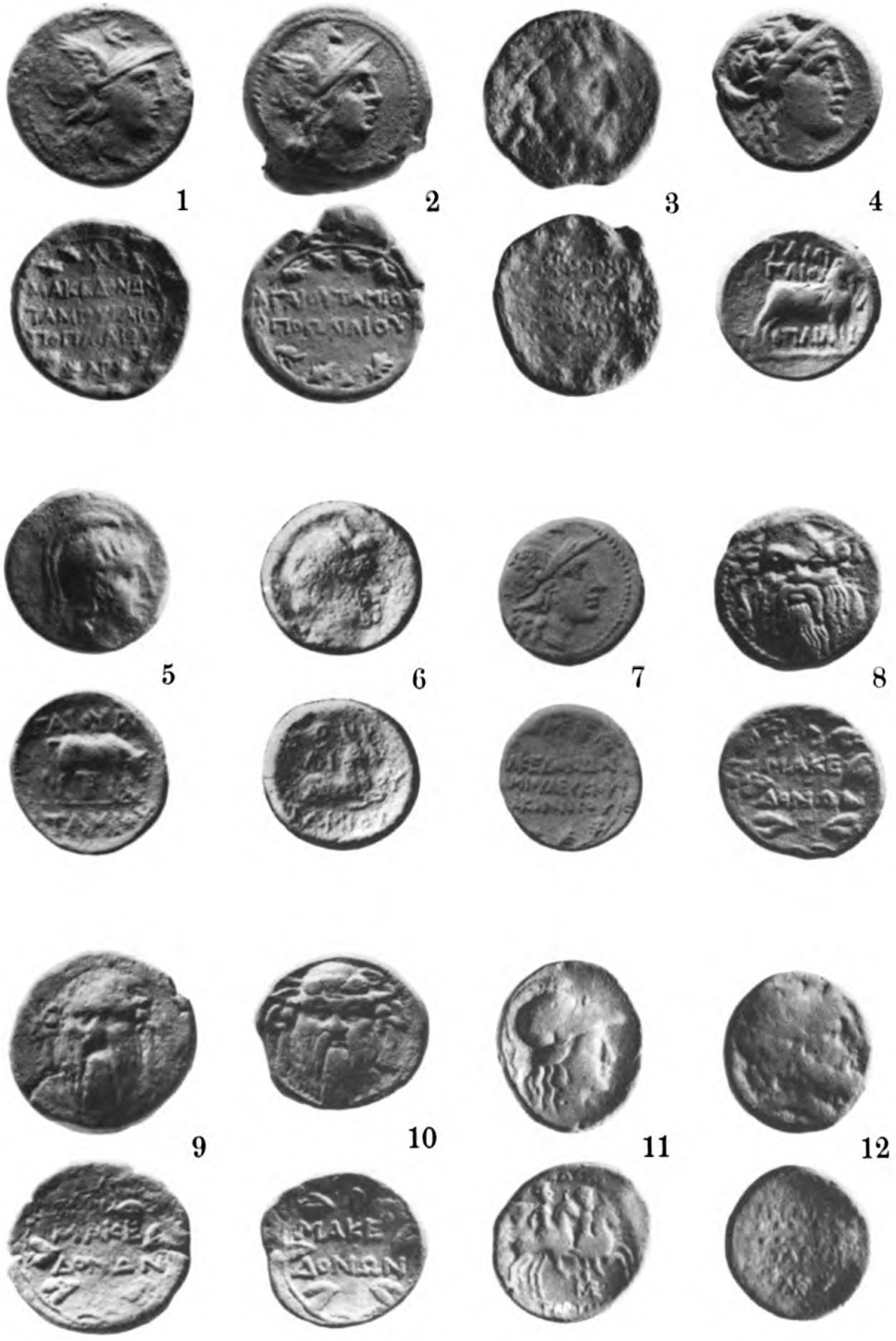


HELLENISTIC LEAD WEIGHTS

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BRONZE COINAGE IN MACEDONIA, 168–166 B.C.

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MACEDONIAN TETRADRACHMS OF 148–147 B.C.

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MACEDONIAN TETRADRACHMS OF 148–147 B.C.

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MACEDONIAN TETRADRACHMS OF 148–147 B.C.

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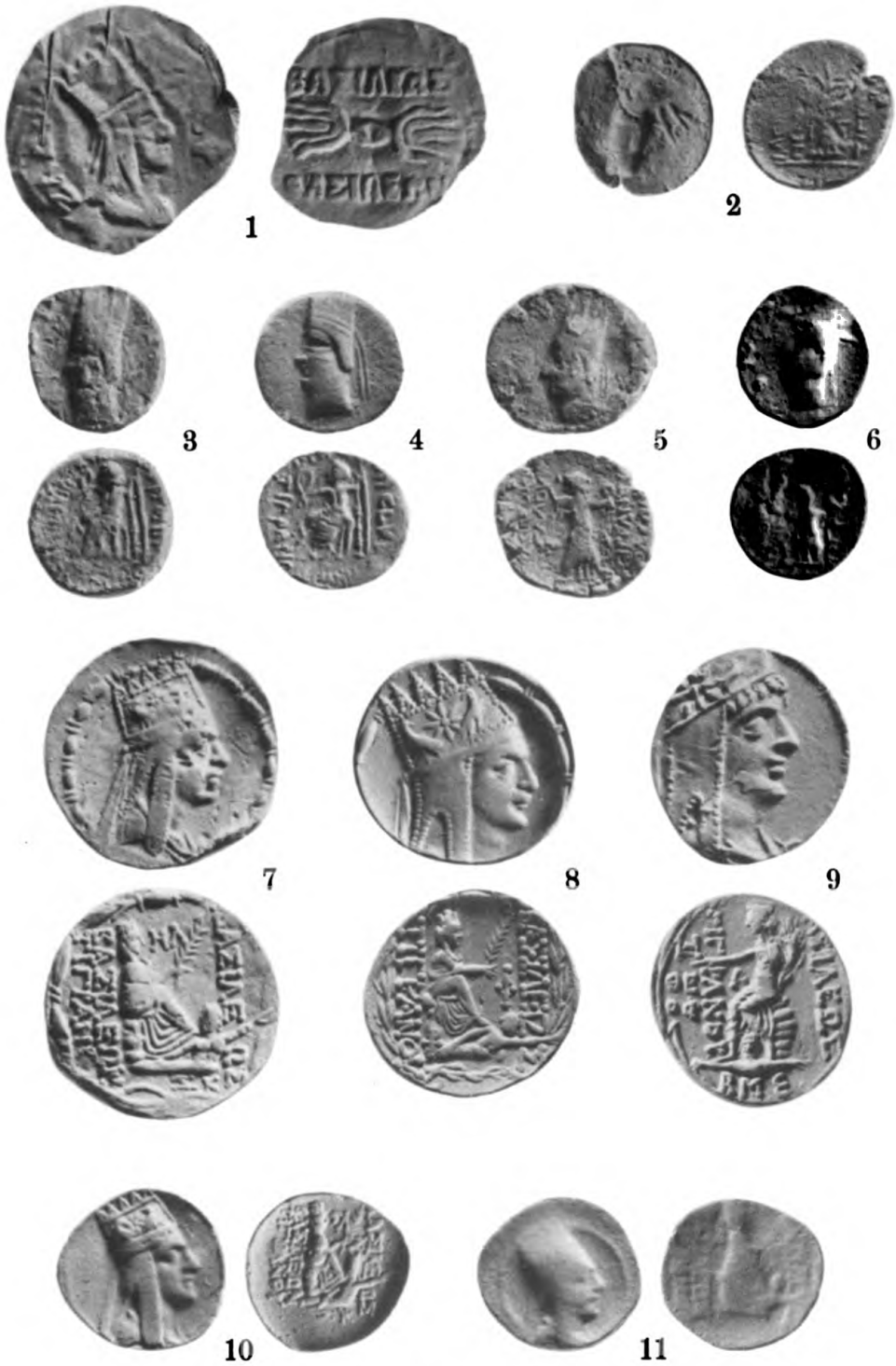
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MACEDONIAN TETRADRACHMS OF 148–147 B.C.

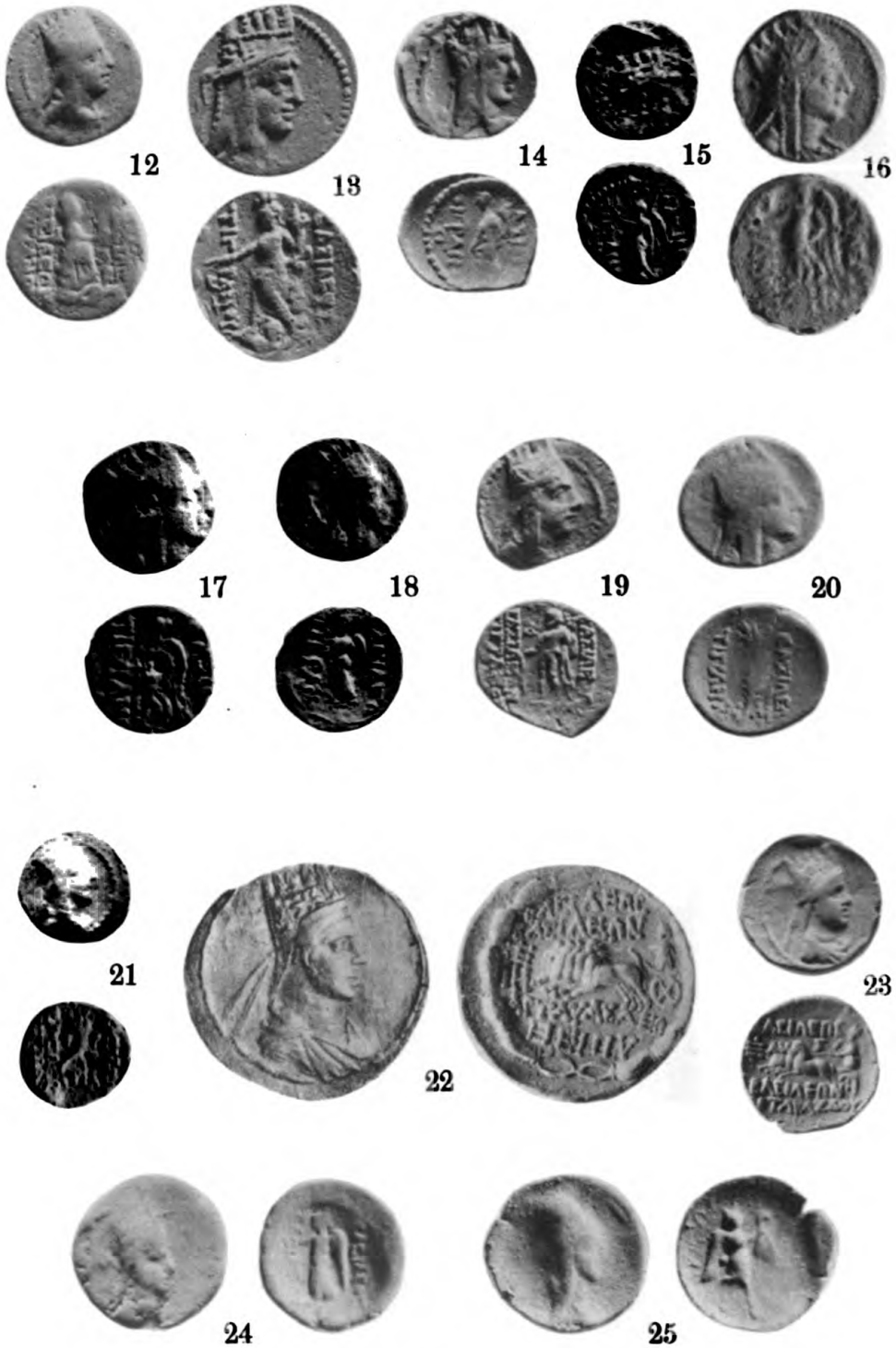
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ARTAXIAD DYNASTY OF ARMENIA

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ARTAXIAD DYNASTY OF ARMENIA

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ARTAXIAD DYNASTY OF ARMENIA

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HOARD FROM COELESYRIA

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HOARD FROM COELESYRIA

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XIV



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170 174 184

HOARD FROM COELESYRIA

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222



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HOARD FROM COELESYRIA

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272



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HOARD FROM COELESYRIA

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THREE BYZANTINE NOTES

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57 58 59

REFORMED FOLLES OF THEOPHILUS

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64 65 66 67

68 69 70 71

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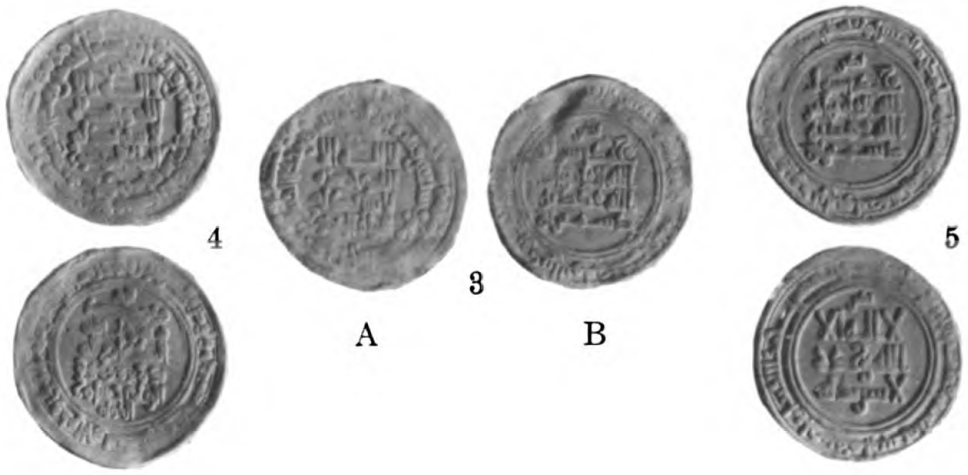
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1 2

UNPUBLISHED DIRHEMS OF 'ABDULLĀH b. UMAYYAH



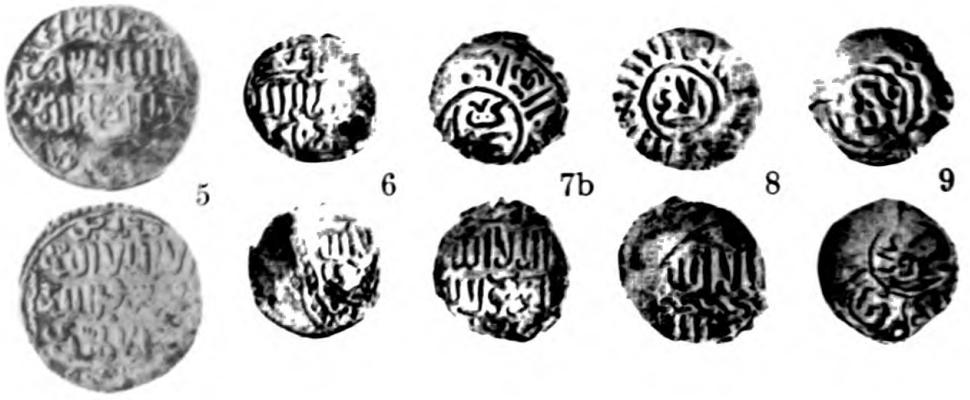
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A SĀMĀNID/KĀKWAYHID "MULE"

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UNPUBLISHED MAMLŪK DIRHEMS

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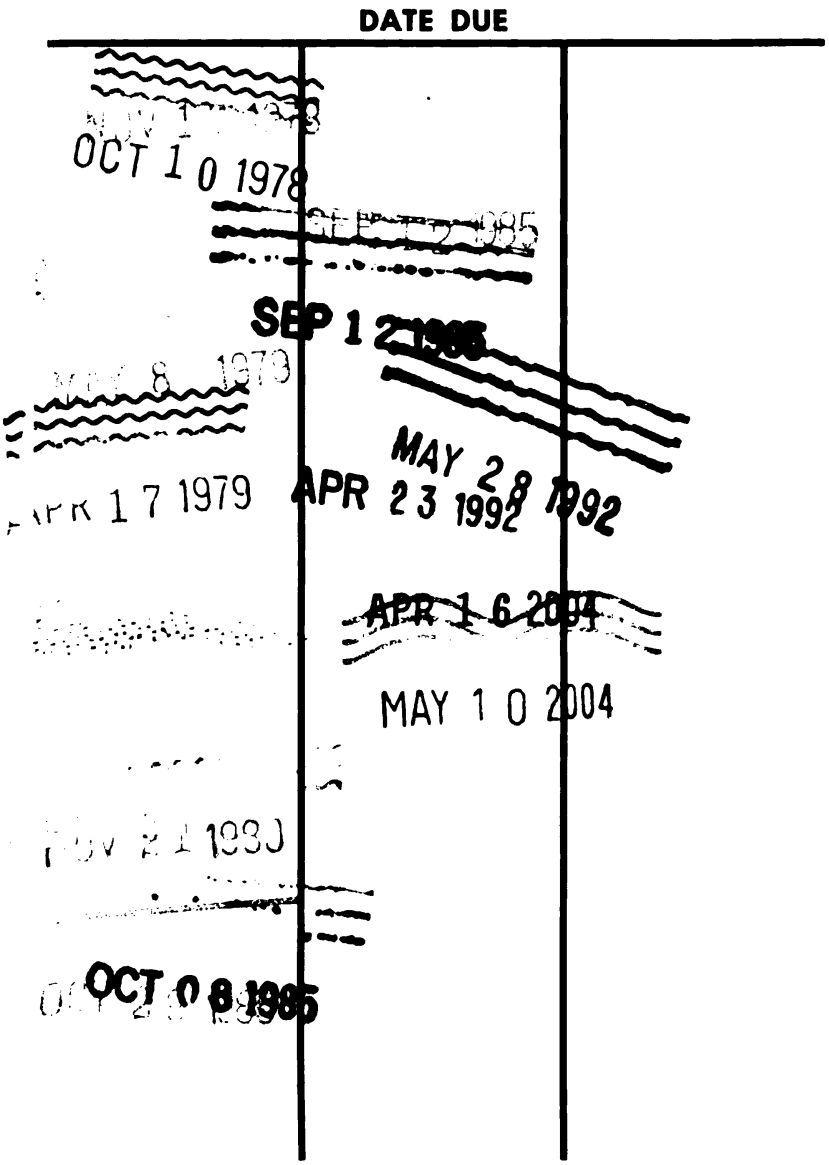
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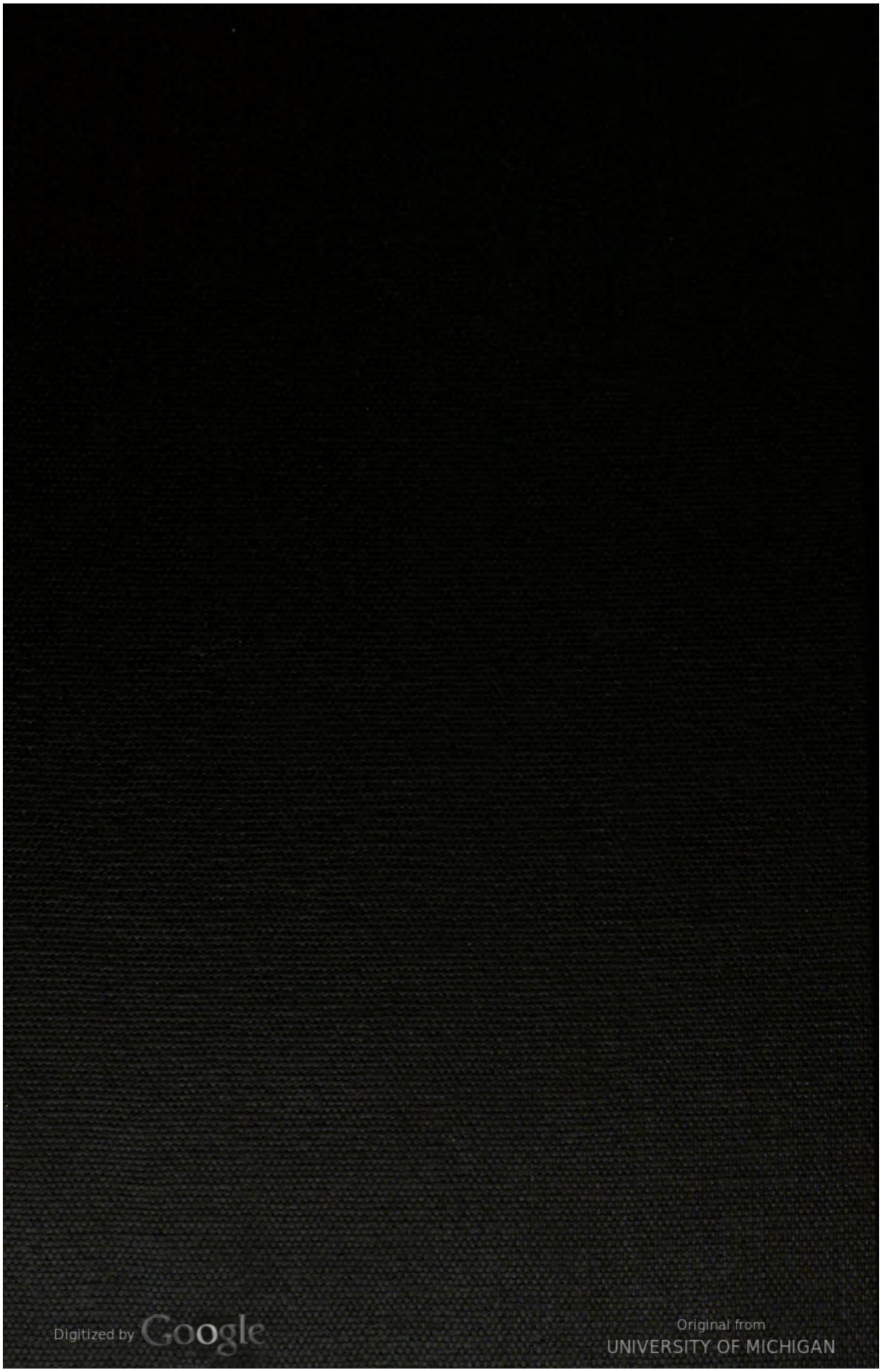


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